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INDEX TO THE FORTY-SIXTH VOLUME OF

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Attention is called to the following headings in this Index, under which are grouped related articles, some of which might otherwise be searched for under other titles: Balkan Situation, Canada, China, Congress, Cuba, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Labor, Politics and the Campaign of 1912, Russia, Trusts.

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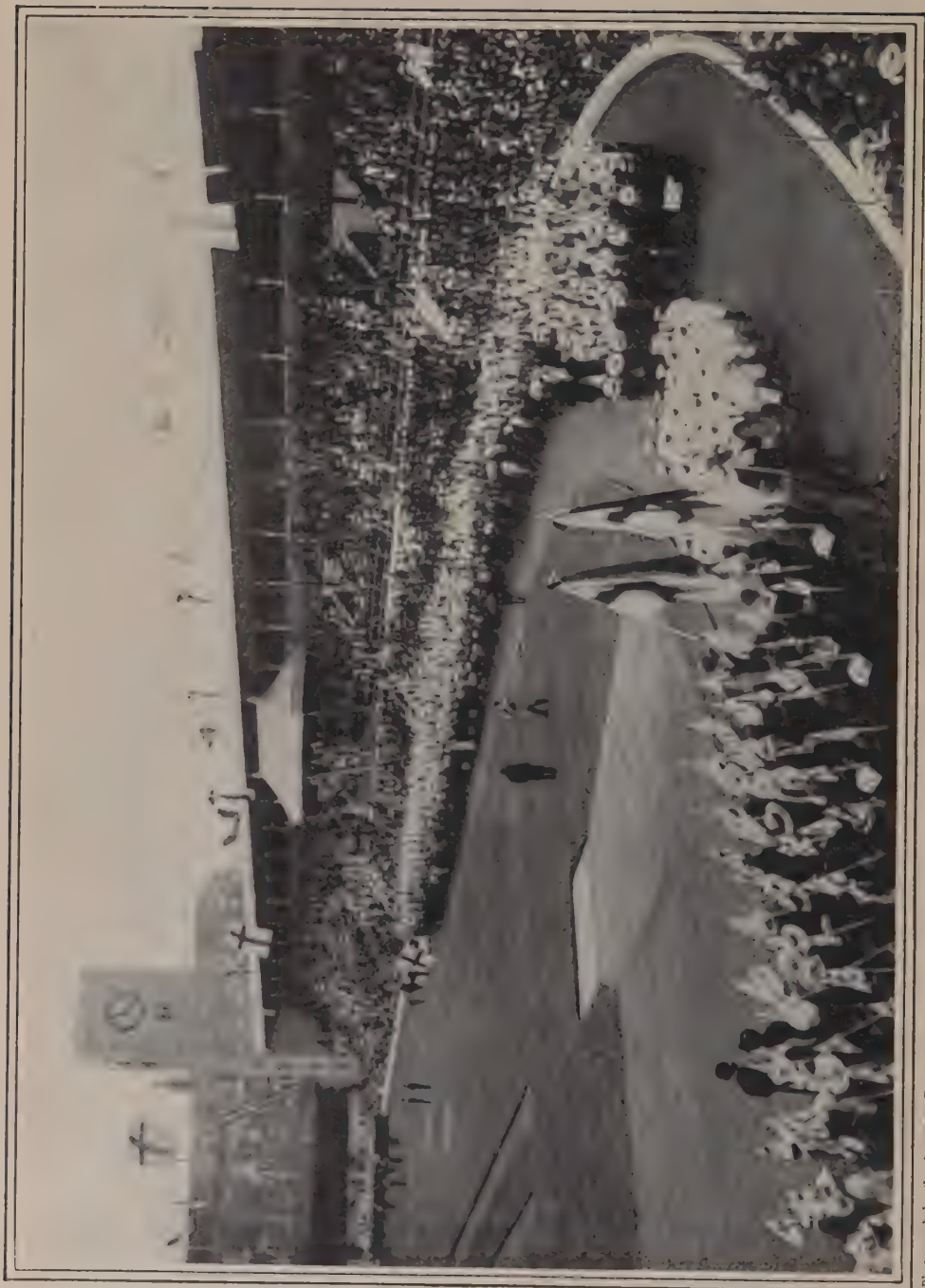
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SCENE OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES OF 1912 AT STOCKHOLM (SEE PAGE 15)
(Procession passing in review before the King of Sweden at the dedication of the Stadium on June 2)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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NEW YORK, JULY, 1912

No 1

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Competing for
the World's
Greatest Office*

When these pages are in the hands of their readers the great party conventions will have chosen their candidates and agreed upon their platforms. The position of the Democratic party had been more definite and less factional than at any time in many years. All of the candidates mentioned in these comments last month had made records that entitled them to some share in the favor of their party. Generally speaking, they were all of them men of modern, democratic views. If some were more radical in their avowals of political creed than were others, it was not certain that the moderately progressive might not prove more advanced in action than those whose political philosophy was regarded as more advanced. Nowadays so much more depends upon the individual character and temperament of the President than upon his creed, that there is not much practical point in the claim, for example, that Mr. William J. Bryan is more progressive than Governor Harmon of Ohio. What is chiefly wanted in the Presidency is firm and unselfish devotion to the duties of the office. The people of the country, through their representatives in Congress, can be relied upon to fix the broad trends of legislative action and general policy.

*An Extended
Political
Season*

The Republican clans had gathered at Chicago, but had not yet fought their differences to any conclusion, when these paragraphs were sent to press. We cannot, therefore, comment upon results or assume any particular outcome. Yet the preliminary politics of the year has provided enough for review and comment; and in our issues for the months of August, September, October, November, and December there will be ample oppor-

tunity for us to deal with nominees, platforms, and the events of the national "campaign" in the usual sense of that word. It will have seemed a very long political season, because never before have the contests within the parties,—those on behalf of particular candidates and particular points of political creed,—been so sensational or so long-continued as this year. The four months of regular campaign between parties is always exciting, and it is sometimes intense in its events and various distractions. But this year the four-months period (extending from the conventions to Election Day in November) has been preceded by five or six months of tremendous activity within the ranks of the two great parties. This activity has been made possible chiefly by the adoption, in a number of important States, of a direct system of ascertaining popular preference for candidates. This method has replaced the old system under which party caucuses and conventions were, in the main, controlled by the leaders of the State and local organizations, respectively.

*The
Progressive
Republicans*

As respects the Republican party, a very remarkable situation was soon disclosed. Wherever the rank and file of the voters had an opportunity to express themselves honestly, it was found that the Republican party was overwhelmingly opposed to the Taft administration and its political alliances, and that it was strongly in favor of the progressive movement and leaders. Wherever, on the other hand, there were no direct primaries, and the people were not able to express themselves, it was discovered that the Taft administration had secured the support of the local leaders who controlled party machinery, and that the old caucus and convention methods usually re-



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THE PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY CAMPAIGN.—MR. ROOSEVELT ADDRESSING A NEW JERSEY AUDIENCE

sulted in the obtaining of solid Taft delegations from such States.

Early in the preliminary campaign, the leaders of the progressive movement, including the governors of a number of States, had persuaded Mr. Roosevelt to permit them to make him their candidate. Since several of the most typical Republican States had provided for a direct expression of preference, it came to be understood that each of the two leading candidates would stand or fall by the popular verdict in these States. The

Taft forces made even more effort to carry the primaries than was made by the supporters of Mr. Roosevelt. President Taft virtually put the Presidency out of commission for many weeks, while he toured these States in person and added his appeals and arguments to the efforts of the party organizations that were controlled in his interests. He had expected to carry Pennsylvania, but lost it by a vote so overwhelming as to leave little doubt about the views of the Eastern Republicans. The verdict of Illinois was the same. California and the Pacific Coast stood with Pennsylvania and Illinois.

*Taft and
Roosevelt be-
fore the People*

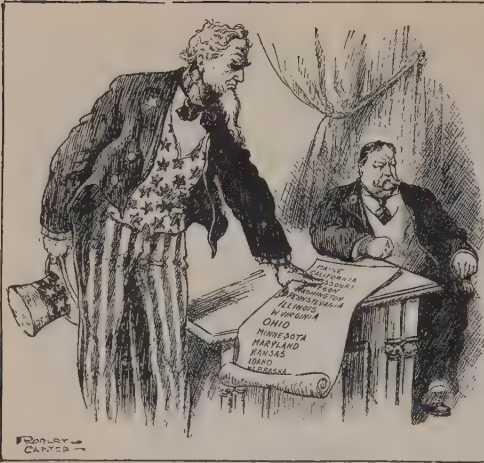


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PRESIDENT TAFT DEFENDING HIS ADMINISTRATION IN THE NEW JERSEY PRIMARY CAMPAIGN

*The Climax
in Ohio*

But Mr. Taft, even against the changed views of his own principal supporters, believed that there might be some moral excuse for his continuance as a candidate if he could carry his own State of Ohio. No resources were overlooked or neglected in his behalf. He spoke in practically every county of the State, and at many places in some of the counties. He had given it to be understood that he would accept as conclusive the verdict of his own State. After days of intense personal campaigning by both candidates, the Republican voters of Ohio rendered their decision. Mr. Roosevelt had not spoken in Mr. Taft's home city of Cincinnati, or that immediate region. The President, in consequence, was allowed to obtain the six delegates from the southwestern corner of Ohio, and he secured two from another district in the State. All the rest of Ohio's forty-two district delegates were won by Colonel Roosevelt, with a large aggregate majority. Thus Mr. Taft's defeat in his home State was crushing, and its discouraging effect upon his supporters was evident in all directions. They considered that his candidacy was no longer excusable or even possible, from the



THE RECALL

From the Times (Washington)

standpoint of those who were honestly looking forward to a Republican victory in November.

Flouting the Popular Verdict The President himself, however, could not give up. His determination to be renominated at whatever hazard to the party had apparently become a sort of obsession. He cheerfully announced that he would have at least a few delegates from Ohio, and that he was sure to obtain the six delegates-at-large that would be selected by Ohio's State convention on the third day of June. It was true that Mr. Roosevelt had carried almost every county in the State, and had carried the State at large by a majority of over 30,000. A State convention, therefore, which should give Mr. Taft the six delegates-at-large would not only act against the expressed wishes of the party, but would be guilty of a sort of flagrancy of defiant misrepresentation that few public men would care to profit by. The Taft forces were in control of the "hold-over" organization machinery long enough to give them the advantage in the State convention; and they actually succeeded in obtaining for Mr. Taft the six delegates-at-large by a close shave. This result, of course, was due to a defect in the primary-election law; and Mr. Taft's winning these six delegates was purely by technical methods in politics that simply added one more count to the already long list of steps and proceedings in discredit of his candidacy.

"Obtuseness" in an Acute Period One of Mr. Taft's most distinguished and unflinching advisers made use (in private) of the word that must have occurred to many men who had followed the daily course of this astonish-

ing attempt to capture a national convention by sheer command of any methods or resources that could be invoked. His word was "obtuseness." The history of the Taft methods in Michigan, where a special session of the Legislature provided a primary law, affords an illustration that is fairly typical. The sole object of calling a special session and passing a Presidential preference primary law was to put it into use this year. One word from Mr. Taft would have allowed the Michigan voters to express their preference. It took a two-thirds vote of the Legislature to give the bill immediate effect. More than two-thirds so voted in one House, and much more than a majority in the other House. One or two votes additional would have allowed Michigan to use its new primary law, which had been passed for no possible reason except that it might be used. Mr. Taft was not willing to allow any of his adherents in the Legislature to cast the one or two votes that would have subjected his candidacy to the fair test of public opinion. So Michigan was put in the silly position of having incurred the expense of an extra session of the Legislature to pass a Presidential primary act early in the year 1912 that will have practical effect in the year 1916.

Offending the Public Conscience

The Republican voters of Michigan were as overwhelmingly opposed to Mr. Taft as were those of Ohio, Wisconsin, or Illinois. But by preventing the Michigan voters from acting directly,



WILL HE HAVE TO TAKE THEM?

From the Dispatch (Columbus)

a part of the delegation was secured for Taft by methods of a kind that the direct-primary movement is intended to destroy forever in our political life. Through the whole of this preliminary campaign there had been this

same fatuous disregard of the public conscience,—an inability to see that delegates won in the very face of a verdict like that of Ohio are a liability rather than an asset. For undoubtedly it is true that even with his own minority of supporters in Ohio Mr. Taft was morally weaker after he secured the delegates-at-large that equitably belonged to Mr. Roosevelt, than he would have been if he had not taken these delegates by the pure practice of machine politics. Dismayed as were Mr. Taft's managers and chief supporters, after the stupendous defeat in the President's own State, the candidate himself would not admit any chance of final failure. Announcing that he already had delegates enough to nominate him, he proceeded at once to New Jersey, in order to stump that State even more thoroughly than he had traversed Ohio, in order to regain his prestige by a victory on May 28.

New Jersey
Follows
Ohio

Colonel Roosevelt also canvassed New Jersey during several days, and the State was aroused as never before in a preliminary contest. Mr. Taft, who was supported by the organization leaders, canvassed every nook and corner of the State, and spoke up to the very opening of the polls at one o'clock on May 28. Yet Colonel Roosevelt swept the entire State, carried every district, and secured all of New Jersey's twenty-eight delegates. Taft and Roosevelt alike had appeared before these great bodies of Republican voters in different States, admitting frankly in their hundreds of speeches that these voters were representative of the Republican party as a whole. The contest was personal, direct, and unsparing. When men enter into a campaign of that kind before voters, in all English-speaking countries, it is understood that they mean to respect those voters and to abide by their judgment. Yet Mr. Taft, having thus appealed to the voters, was unwilling to show the slightest consideration for the results. He proceeded to set fresh guards about the bunches of "roped and tied" delegates that had been secured by snap conventions south of Mason and Dixon's line in the winter and early spring. He proposed, with blind disregard of ultimate consequences, to offset the twenty-eight votes of New Jersey by his twenty votes from Mississippi and his eighteen from South Carolina, although New Jersey cast over 265,000 Republican votes four years ago, while these two Southern States cast only about 4000 Republican votes apiece.

Trying to
Work Both
Systems

No individual candidate, indeed, is responsible for a system that gives the so-called "rotten boroughs" their enormous voting strength in a Republican national convention. But this happened to be a year in which the real Republican party had made up its mind to express its preference and nominate its own candidate. And Mr. Taft had accepted this new system in a large number of the real Republican States, and had gone personally into those States to make his appeal. Under the circumstances existing this year, any man who,—like LaFollette, Taft, and Roosevelt,—had voluntarily become a candidate for the Presidency before the Republican voters, and had made his claim for support at the primaries, could not with consistency turn about



THE LONE FISHERMAN'S TALE OF THE "BIG ONES THAT GOT AWAY"

From the *Daily News* (Chicago)

and try to use the "rotten borough" delegations to defeat the expressed will of the Republican States in which he had been active as a contestant in the primary election. But this does not state the situation at its worst. In no case is it reasonable that the will of the Republican States should be defeated by delegates from States where there is not in fact a real Republican party. But when those delegates are secured, not as a result of voluntary action in the Southern States themselves, but by direct orders from the White House, issued to postmasters and other Presidential appointees, the continued exploitation of these delegates by a candidate subsequently defeated in the real Republican States, is not defensible from any political or ethical standpoint whatsoever.



HON. W. S. KENYON, THE IOWA PROGRESSIVE WHO
CARRIED THE JUNE PRIMARIES FOR
THE SENATORSHIP

*Failure
in Both
Directions*

If Mr. Taft had won great victories in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Illinois, California, Maryland and the other primary States, after he had spent weeks or months of his time in appealing to the voters, nobody would have objected to his retention of the Southern support. But everyone knows that if the Southern conventions had been held after the Northern primary elections, rather than many weeks previous, they would have refused to take White House orders, and would voluntarily have flocked to the standard of the Northern winner, who happened to be Colonel Roosevelt. The instructions under which these Southern delegates were pledged to Mr. Taft were not imposed upon them by Republican constituents in their own States, but by emissaries from the administration at Washington. The whole situation illustrates in the most perfect manner the reason why Mr. Taft has failed to secure the verdict of the voters in the primary election States. He has been unable through some moral or mental incapacity, to hold strongly either to the one course or to the other. If he had meant to nominate himself by the use of patronage and power, and the

method of bargain and dicker with machines and organizations in the different States, he should have adhered to that method consistently. If, on the other hand, he had been really willing to show faith in the Republican voters, he should have welcomed the direct primary everywhere, and in doing so he should have put himself confidently in the hands of the people. Unfortunately, he seemed to think he could play both games at the same time. The result is that he was repudiated at the primary elections by sweeping Republican majorities, and that he also lost altogether the real loyalty and moral support of the organization leaders who had been nominally brought to his support.

*South Dakota
—a Typical
Verdict*

The last in the series of great Presidential preference primaries was that of South Dakota, held on June 4. Taft, LaFollette, and Roosevelt were the Republican contestants. Mr. Taft received only about fifteen votes out of every hundred. La Follette received almost twice as many as Taft, and Roosevelt about twice as many as La Follette. South Dakota is a Republican State, strongly progressive. Its people are fairly typical as respects Western sentiment. Mr. Taft's supporters appeared actively before the people of South Dakota, and in so doing admitted that the Republican voters ought to be consulted about the choice of a candidate for President. Yet, having lost South Dakota, which has ten delegates, Mr. Taft was prepared to neutralize the verdict in that Republican State by the use of his twelve delegates from Florida. The South Dakota vote was particularly instructive, because it came at the very time when the leaders were gathering at Chicago to arrange for the convention. It showed, not a loss of Roosevelt sentiment, but a steady gain. And in that respect it indicated the trend of popular sentiment throughout the country.

*Iowa in a
Conclusive
Test*

An even more significant illustration of this definite growth of anti-Taft sentiment was furnished in Iowa, early in June, by the direct vote of the Republicans upon candidates for the United States Senate. It will be remembered that when Senator Dolliver died the Governor of Iowa appointed the Hon. Lafayette W. Young, editor of the Des Moines *Capital*, to fill the vacancy until the Legislature should act. Mr. Young was one of the Taft leaders of the State, and his newspaper was the principal Taft organ. When the Legislature assembled there was a long contest, with the result that

Mr. Young was defeated and the Hon. W. S. Kenyon was elected Senator to fill out the brief portion that remained of Dolliver's term. Mr. Young went back to Iowa, declaring his purpose to speak in every school-house in the State and to come back to the United States Senate for the full term with a popular majority of at least 50,000 over Kenyon. This contest has now been held, and Kenyon has won over Young by a plurality of about 75,000.

"Lafe" Young with the Progressives

The simple fact is that the widely known and very popular "Lafe" Young had been training in the wrong company. The vote of June 3 was not merely an expression of preference for Kenyon as against Young, but it was a vote of the progressive Republicans as against the Taft organization. Mr. Young happens to be a man who can recognize a fact when it has struck him in the face! He came out on the day after his defeat in a bold editorial declaring that his State and the country were progressive in sentiment and that "standpatism" was dead and might as well be buried. He at once abandoned his support of Taft for the Presidency and declared that the whole of Iowa should support Cummins as a progressive leader and as the State's favorite son. A direct Presidential primary in Iowa would have gone overwhelmingly against Taft. It will be remembered that no Roosevelt work whatever was done in Iowa when the delegates were chosen in April, because Senator Cummins had become a candidate, with Mr. Roosevelt's entire good-will, and it was thought that he could secure for himself a united Iowa delegation. It happened, however, that while Senator Cummins was busy with his work at Washington the Taft men were using organization methods to capture the district conventions. Thus Mr. Cummins secured only ten delegates, while Mr. Taft obtained the remaining sixteen. It was evident last month that either Cummins or Roosevelt, in a popular primary, could have carried Iowa against Taft by a vote that would have shown Iowa Republican sentiment to have been in harmony with that of Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, the Dakotas, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.

A Glance Over Republican Territory

At this point let the reader glance at a map of the United States, in order more clearly to grasp the geographical situation suggested by this list of States. Surrounding Iowa are South Da-

kota and Nebraska on the west, Minnesota on the north, Wisconsin and Illinois on the east, and Missouri on the south. All these surrounding States went strongly against Taft, and all of them had primary tests of one kind or another. Further eastward is Indiana, lying between Illinois and Ohio. Does anyone suppose that there is a different kind of Republican sentiment in Indiana from that which was expressed in the primary elections of Ohio and Illinois? Assuredly there is not. A direct vote of Indiana Republicans would probably have shown an even stronger Roosevelt strength than that of Ohio. The same thing is true of Kentucky, on the south; and as for Michigan, on the north, the Roosevelt sentiment would have proven still greater in its ratio if the primary law could have been put into effect. Next beyond Ohio we have the States of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Maryland, and New Jersey. In the three more important of these the State-wide Presidential primaries were treated as of the utmost importance by both Taft and Roosevelt; and Roosevelt carried them all by rousing majorities. The fourth of these States, West Virginia, without a State-wide primary, gave its entire sixteen delegates to Roosevelt in response to a popular movement so unmistakable that the Taft people were unable to check it in a single district.

A Party Facing Life or Death

It is only by a study of party conditions in this great series of Republican States that one can fully realize the situation that confronted the Republican convention when it met at Chicago. These are the States upon which a Republican candidate must absolutely rely if he is to be elected in November. It is true that Mr. Taft expected to retain in the convention the votes of most of the delegates from the great State of New York. But all political experts had admitted privately that a fair vote of the Republicans of New York, if held in June,—after Mr. Taft had lost Ohio and New Jersey as well as Pennsylvania,—would have given Mr. Roosevelt an enormous victory in his own State. With Mr. Barnes of Albany as the chief Taft manager in the convention at Chicago, it was deemed impossible for Taft, even if nominated, to come within 200,000 votes of carrying the State of New York against any popular Democratic nominee. Every competent Democrat, speaking in confidence, admitted that Mr. Roosevelt might carry New York, while denying that any other Republican could succeed this year.



From the Moffett Studio, Chicago

GROUP OF SUB-COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS FOR REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

(Upper row, left to right: R. E. Williams, Portland, Oregon; E. C. Duncan, Raleigh, N. C.; A. I. Vorys, Lancaster, Ohio; Fred W. Upham, Chicago; David W. Mulvane, Topeka, Kans.)
 (Lower row: William F. Stone, Baltimore, Md.; Francis Murphy, Newark, N. J.; Harry S. New, Indianapolis, Ind.; William Hayward, Secretary National Committee; Victor Rosewater, Chairman National Committee)

*The Line-up
at
Chicago*

The situation at Chicago was unprecedented in its character. Mr. Roosevelt was the choice of the great mass of Republicans in the States that usually give Republican majorities. Mr. Taft's largest element of strength was made up of the delegations from the far South, where the Republican party is almost non-existent; and these delegates had been procured by command and coercion from Washington through use of the Presidential appointing power. The next largest factor in the Taft support was the larger part of the delegation from New York, which had been arranged by Mr. Barnes and the State machine in advance of the holding of any primaries or conventions. There remained, in the Taft line-up, groups of delegates from one State or another representing in almost every case the old-fashioned kind of manipulation by machines and professional politicians. Thus the Taft support represented no definite body of public opinion, and no group or section of the Republican States. It merely

represented the results of the most drastic and unsparing effort ever made in the history of the United States to thwart the will of a great party, and to secure control of its convention at the price of its wrath and alienation.

*Motives of
the
Leaders*

It may well be asked if the Republican leaders who were associated in this desperate effort were blind or insane, or both. The answer is very simple and easy to give. They were neither blind nor insane, nor were they for a moment touched by the delusion that Mr. Taft could lead the party to victory. Many of them were convinced that this must be a Democratic year, beyond recovery, and that it would be far better to let Mr. Taft have his nomination and bear the brunt of the impending defeat than for them to have had a falling out with the administration during Taft's last two years, without any chance thereby to save the party. For it must be remembered that the anti-Taft forces were

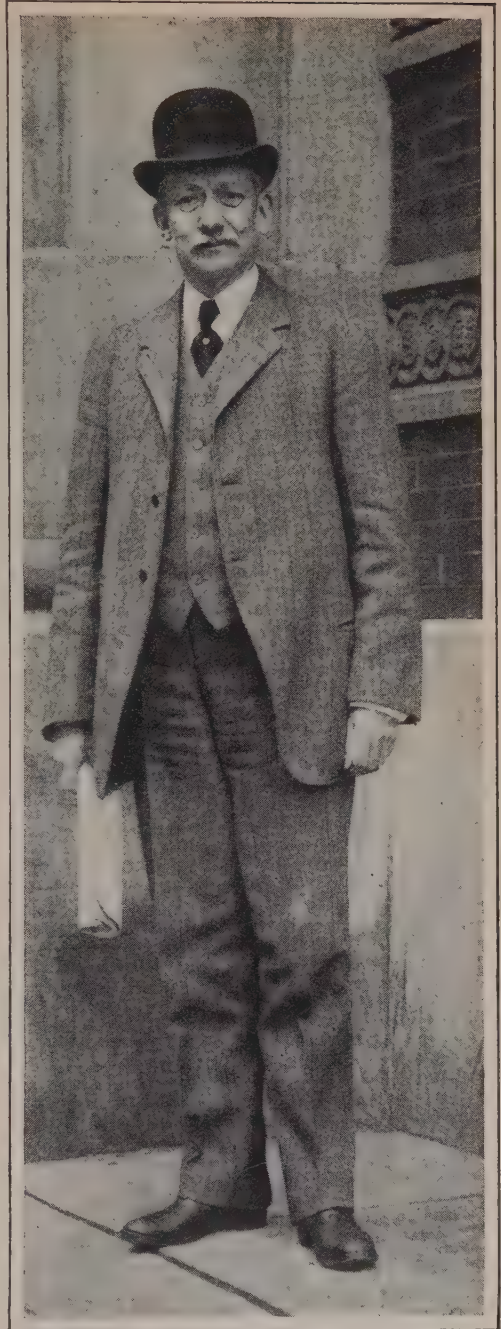
for a good while as sheep without a shepherd. Normal Republican leaders and organization men could not enlist under the banner of Mr. La Follette. The average Republican leader did not believe that Mr. Roosevelt would come forward as a candidate, or even that he would accept if nominated. This view was assiduously promulgated by the Taft people. They explained everywhere that they had confidential relations with Mr. Roosevelt, and that he would not only refuse to run, but would appear as a Taft supporter in due time.

*How They
Were
Persuaded*

The mistakes of the administration had resulted in the Democratic tidal wave of 1910, which had swept across nearly all the Republican States and elected the present Democratic Congress. Most of the regular Republican leaders found it easy to follow the line of least resistance. They were cajoled and pursued incessantly, and were committed to the Taft candidacy in ways from which they could see no honorable retreat, although they had cause to regret their predicament later on. Thus the National Committee was brought to Washington last December to make arrangements for the convention, and was lined up for Taft by every conceivable effort of a political and social nature. The committee should, of course, have met in Chicago, and done its work with loyalty to the Republican party rather than with loyalty to Mr. Taft and his candidacy. But beyond all these considerations, there lies the major reason why many Republican leaders took part in the desperate fight to renominate Taft. These leaders had kept political power and influence solely by virtue of the methods of professional politics. The anti-Taft movement was associated with direct primaries, and a new kind of politics. The progressive movement was directed not merely against Taft, but against the kind of leadership for which many of these men stood. To defeat Taft meant also the triumph of methods which would greatly reduce the political power of a set of party managers of whom Mr. Barnes is typical.

*The "System"
or the
Party?*

Mr. Roosevelt, when brought forward as the anti-Taft progressive leader, based his fight upon the principle of rule by the people and the overthrow of the bosses. Whereupon, the party managers and bosses found it necessary to adhere to the Taft cause. They became indifferent as to the success of the party in the



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SENATOR ROOT, OF NEW YORK

(Who was selected by the National Committee as temporary chairman of the Chicago Convention to make the "keynote speech")

November elections. They knew, in fact, that to nominate Taft meant overwhelming party defeat. But while to nominate Roosevelt would mean at least a fighting chance of party victory, it would mean the total recon-



"I'VE GOT A WHITE MAN A-WORKIN' FO' ME!"

From the *Journal* (Detroit)

struction of the party, under a new set of leaders. The old managers, for reasons of their own personal power and profit, wanted to control the party machinery. They had no possible use for Mr. Taft, and in private were more harsh in their condemnation of him than were the progressives. But they had still less use for Mr. Roosevelt, for the obvious reason that Mr. Roosevelt, if successful, would have no use for them. Thus these leaders were neither blind nor insane. They were reconciled, in advance, to party defeat this year. They wished to control the party machinery and be ready for reactions against the Democratic party that might come in 1914 and 1916.

To understand the situation which we have thus endeavored to explain is to appreciate the spirit in which the factions gathered at Chicago early in June, when the National Committee began to deal with the so-called "contests." More than 200 of the seats claimed by Taft delegates were contested by rival claimants who were supporting Roosevelt. The greater part of these were from the Southern States. In those cases, the Roosevelt claimants appeared for purposes of *protest* rather than of real *contest*. It was easy to show that the Taft delegates had been secured by means wholly disreputable and un-

worthy. But it was not easy to show that the Roosevelt contestants represented any regular processes of choosing delegates. That the Roosevelt contestants came nearer representing such opinion as could be found in the "Black Belt" was undoubtedly true. If the National Committee had been capable of acting with large and substantial views of justice, it could not indeed have seated most of these Southern Roosevelt contestants; but neither could it have seated the Taft delegations who were clearly chosen by methods saturated and malodorous with impropriety. The whole country, regardless of party, was looking on; and it would have applauded a National Committee capable of rising to the level of obvious wisdom and justice, if both sets of delegates from these manipulated rotten boroughs had been thrown out. In England, Canada, or Australia—where Anglo-Saxon fair play is found in politics as well as in sport—the seating these Taft delegations would have been impossible. What does the progressive movement mean, after all? It means that the people are tired of indecency in their politics, and want honor and justice throughout the realm of political and governmental life. We are running politics and government in America on an ethical plane far below that of the Stock Exchange or the grocery store, the business corporation or ordinary retail trade.

The
"Contests"
at Chicago



HON. WARREN G. HARDING, OF OHIO

(Chosen to make the speech putting President Taft in nomination at Chicago)



HON. WILLIAM A. PRENDERGAST, OF NEW YORK

(Who was designated to make the nominating speech for Colonel Roosevelt at Chicago)

*Instances of
Low Ethics*

The National Committee, in passing upon contests, acted of course in the most superficial and rapid way, without going much into the facts. Its duty was to prepare a temporary roll of the convention, leaving to the convention itself the final question of determining the rights of its members. But it was shown repeatedly before the National Committee that Taft delegates had been procured by trickery. It was made plain that in several State conventions, where a number of seats had been under contest, the State committees had admitted the Taft contestants to the temporary roster without giving the Roosevelt men a hearing, and had then permitted these contestants to vote themselves in as permanent members, and to vote the Roosevelt men out. The contest over the delegates at large from Indiana illustrated these unworthy methods. No opportunity was given to prove conclusively that the Indiana Roosevelt delegates-at-large were entitled to seats in the convention; but enough was shown to convince outsiders and Democratic onlookers that the Taft control of the Indiana convention had not been secured by fair and open methods. The Taft managers went so far as to attempt to throw out entire delegations from great States like California, which had been carried by Roose-

velt, and which they themselves had tried unsuccessfully to win. Their argument was that the California primary law does not accord with the rules of the National Committee for choosing delegates by districts. If they had meant to raise a quibble of this kind, they should not have taken part in the California primaries. Men like Senator Crane, of Massachusetts, sitting in the National Committee, could not support plans so flagrant as this for the disfranchisement of a great State. And so the California delegates were duly admitted. But the incident showed how far below ordinary standards of decency and fair play the methods of our machine politics have descended.

*The Gains
of This
Political Year*

Candidates will come and go, and parties will rise and fall with the decades or the centuries, but the political life of the people must go on, and their government must live and serve the ends of common justice and the general welfare. This struggle of 1912 is chiefly significant because of its relation to the great perennial movement for the betterment of human conditions through the improvement of the organs and instruments of government. Whatever may have been the exact outcome of the Chicago and Baltimore conventions,



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

AN AMERICAN CANDIDATE FOR OLYMPIC HONORS

(Mr. George L. Horine, of Stanford University, holds the world's record for the high jump and will be one of the American contestants in the Olympic Games at Stockholm)

there will be permanent gain to the people of the United States by reason of the struggles of 1912. In some of the States, the new primary laws have been imperfectly drafted. They can be greatly improved. It costs a good deal of money to operate these primary systems, and there are still some people who prefer to have our political arrangements made for us quietly by little groups of interested gentlemen, conspiring in secret. But the people of the country will not be induced to return to any such methods. The President of the United States is no longer a modest executive official, obeying the Constitution and seeing that the laws are enforced. He has become an arrogant ruler, exercising power in a more personal way and with more profound effects than any other ruler on earth whether czar, emperor, sultan, king, president, or prime minister. The people will no longer be content merely to choose in November between two candidates, one called "Republican" and the other called "Democratic,"—selected for them by hidden forces having interests of their own to be served. The people will insist upon having a part in the earlier selection of the candidates, as well as in the later and final election of the President himself. We have gradually come under a personal government; and since this

means much to the people, they will insist upon selecting their ruler.

*As to
Second
Terms*

And it is this fact of the new autocracy exercised by the President that gives significance to the pending discussion about successive terms. We have witnessed the power of the Presidency ruthlessly exercised during the past two years, in order that the autocracy may be retained in the hands of the present ruler until March 4, 1917. And we have seen the real issue purposely diverted by some of the newspapers to a meaningless discussion of a "third term." Mr. Roosevelt is a man in private life. If his fellow-citizens choose to bring him forward as a candidate, it is clearly enough their right to do so. But Mr. Taft is in office as President, and his candidacy for another term has been upon his own initiative. The leverage he has brought to bear to obtain another term has been almost solely that of his power and prestige as President. The time has come not for objecting to Presidential terms separated by intervals of retirement to private life; the objection henceforth must lie against *any consecutive terms whatsoever*. It is not necessary to amend the Constitution, although that might be desirable. The way to have one-

term Presidents is for all other candidates to do as Mr. Roosevelt did in November, 1904, when elected *for the first and only time* to the Presidency. He immediately announced that he would not be a candidate for another term in 1908; and he resisted all pressure that was brought to bear to make him change his mind. If Mr. Taft had followed that good example, and made a similar announcement in November, 1908, he would have been spared many troubles; and he would have been enabled to see the path of his public duty with a much clearer vision. Nobody will really care,—nor ought anybody to care,—how many times in the future William Howard Taft may yet come forward as a candidate for the Presidency,—always provided he is not using the White House as his campaign headquarters, and the President's power of patronage as a means for securing delegates. This is all the point there is to the talk of second terms or of third terms. And everybody at Washington who really understands our great national game of politics, knows that this is true.

*The
Olympic
Games*

The fifth Olympiad will be held at Stockholm, Sweden, in the second week of July. The program of games includes events in running, jumping, cycling, and other usual track features, as well as fencing, football, horse riding, lawn tennis, shooting, rowing, and yachting. In past Olympiads, American athletes have made a very creditable showing, in spite of the handicaps they have usually had to contend with from the travel involved and the change of climate. The track events will, of course, excite the greatest interest. At the fourth Olympic games, held in London in 1908, the Americans won nine of the field events as against two won by England. In the third Olympiad, at St. Louis in 1904, the Americans won all the track and field events with the exception of throwing the fifty-six-pound weight and lifting the bar. At Paris in 1900, eighteen of the twenty-four championship contests were captured by the teams from this country, while at Athens in 1896, at the first revival of the Olympic games, the nine men sent to Greece by the United States won every event in which they were entered. Mr. James E. Sullivan, one of our foremost authorities in the field of athletic sports, is the American Commissioner for the Fifth Olympiad, and other men who have been active in arranging for American representation and in gathering the athletes together are President G. T. Kirby, of the Amateur



DR. ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN
(President-elect of Amherst College)

Athletic Union, Mr. Everett C. Brown, president of the Chicago Athletic Club, and Mr. Bartow S. Weeks, of New York.

*Amherst's
New
President*

After the installation of President Hibben at Princeton, to which reference was made in our last number, the most important academic event of the past spring was the election of Dean Alexander Meiklejohn, of Brown University, as president of Amherst College, to succeed the Rev. Dr. George Harris, who resigned last November. Although a young man,—Dr. Meiklejohn is now in his forty-first year,—it is predicted that the new president will to a certain extent restore the old traditions of American college life in that he will be a classroom teacher, as well as an executive officer and financial agent. Furthermore, it is said



PRESIDENT BRUCE PAYNE, OF THE GEORGE PEABODY COLLEGE
FOR TEACHERS

of President Meiklejohn that he is, a firm believer in the ancient college disciplines,—notably the study of the classics and philosophy, and that the principles recently set forth by the Amherst Class of '85 as the guiding precepts of college development in this country will find in him an ardent exponent. Amherst is one of the most vigorous and progressive of the New England colleges, and her wise determination to remain a college and to attempt only college work of high quality has been distinctly strengthened by the election of President Meiklejohn.

*Rural
Education in
the South*

In the field of Southern education nothing has occurred for a long time more significant than the action of the General Education Board, on May 24, in bestowing \$250,000 on the George Peabody College for Teachers at Nashville;

Tenn., for the establishment of the Seaman A. Knapp School of Country Life. In connection with this gift the board made a statement recognizing in generous terms the important service that has been rendered to the South in past years by the Peabody Education Fund and expressing interest in the promotion of practical farming in the Southern States and in the development of an efficient system of rural schools. It is fitting that the name of the late Dr. Seaman A. Knapp, who for ten years was in charge of the farmer's co-operative demonstration work in the South, should be commemorated by this gift. Since 85 per cent. of the people of the South live in the country it is most important that a system of efficient rural schools should be built up in that section. Dr. Bruce Payne has recently been called to the presidency of the George Peabody College and is now engaged in completing an endowment fund which will enable the institution to go forward with its work. The South has already contributed \$600,000.

*The Minimum
Wage in
Massachusetts*

The Massachusetts Minimum Wage bill, to which allusion was made in our April number, has been passed by the Legislature. The new law establishes a commission with power to organize wage boards in any industry in which it shall appear that the wages received by women are insufficient to supply the necessary cost of living and to support them in health. These wage boards are empowered to recommend a wagescale and to publish the names of employers who fail to comply with their recommendations. Farther than this the authority of the boards does not extend. It is expected, however, that the chief value of such boards will consist in the element of publicity rather than in their power to bring about a radical rise of wages. It is believed that employers who are sensitive to public opinion will soon take steps to establish better standards.



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

VISITORS ON BOARD THE GERMAN BATTLESHIP "MOLTKE" IN NEW YORK HARBOR
ON JUNE 9-12

Germany
on the
Sea

The strength of German sea power and the solid achievements of German shipbuilding were demonstrated last month in an impressive way to the American people by the visit of the German squadron to the United States and the launching, at Hamburg, of the *Imperator*, of the Hamburg-American line, the largest steamship in the world. Three German warships, the *Moltke*, the *Bremen*, and the *Stettin*, came, by command of the Kaiser, to return the visit of the American warships to German waters last summer. Their reception in Hampton Roads and New York Harbor was made the occasion of an exchange of international courtesies, pleasantly expressing the friendship between the two countries. The *Moltke* is a battle-cruiser, a speedy vessel, capable of making more than 29 knots an hour. The Germans claim that she is the fastest war vessel of her size afloat. Her commander, Rear Admiral Rebeur-Paschwitz, the first of German seamen of his rank to visit this country, is an important official in the fighting section of the German navy. The fleet staff of officers includes two princes and two barons. On May 23, Ger-

many won one of the coveted blue ribbons of the sea when the largest steamship ever built, the Hamburg-American liner *Imperator*, of 50,000 tons, was launched from the Vulcan Yards at Hamburg, and christened by the Kaiser himself. At the ceremony the fate of the *Titanic* was inevitably present in people's minds, but, as was pointed out by officers of the line, this German steamship carries life-boats and life-rafts sufficient to take care of every one of her passengers and crew, which will aggregate more than 4000. The *Imperator* has new and specially designed safety appliances, and she will carry three wireless telegraph operators and two first officers, one of whom will always be charged with the security of the vessel. The *Imperator*, it is expected, will go into commission next summer.

Is it to be a
Third Intervention
in Cuba?

Last month, for the third time in fourteen years, an American military force landed in Cuba. In 1898 our troops and sailormen came to the aid of the Cuban people against the tyranny of Spain. In 1906, at the request of the Cuban president, they were sent to restore peace to a country distracted between two



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THE GENIAL AND EFFICIENT COMMANDER OF THE
VISITING GERMAN FLEET

(Rear Admiral Rebur-Paschwitz, commander of the German warships which visited this country in June)

political parties just about to fly at each other's throats. They are now called in to protect American property and, it may develop later, to assure stable government in the island against the ravages of a race war—black against white. No sooner had the trouble over the demands made by the Spanish War Veterans' Association (explained in these pages for March) been disposed of, than a revolt of negroes broke out in Oriente, the easternmost province of the island. An army of negroes, variously estimated at from two to four thousand strong, under General Evaristo Estenoz, began attacks on some of the smaller towns and plantations in the region north of Santiago and Guantánamo. The insurrection soon spread throughout Oriente and into the neighboring province of Santa Clara.

Gomez
and the
Revolt

General Gomez, who has been President of Cuba since January, 1909, took measures to put down the rebellion, and a force of Cuban regulars, under the chief command of General Mon-

teagudo, was despatched to the scene of the disorder. It soon became evident, however, that, partly owing to the nature of the country, and partly, it is claimed, for mysterious political reasons, the loyal troops were not able to cope with the situation. Considerable American property was destroyed, and when it was seen that the administration was unable to protect its own interests, as well as the property and interests of foreigners, American warships were sent to the scene and marines landed. Confirming the official statement made by the American Minister at Havana, President Taft, on May 27, sent a message to President Gomez, stating that the landing of marines was "merely to be able to act promptly in case it should unfortunately become necessary to protect American life and property by rendering assistance to the Cuban government. . . . But these ordinary methods of protection are entirely dissociated from any question of intervention." In reply, President Gomez asserted his ability and firm intention to put down the revolt. He admitted the right of the American government to land troops to protect American property; and "hoped" that intervention would not be thought of.

The Case
for the
Negro

Cuba, it should not be forgotten, is in the midst of a presidential campaign. When this and the usual amenities of Latin-American election-eering are borne in mind, it becomes easier to



UNCLE SAM DOESN'T LIKE THE WAY CUBA CONDUCTS
HER PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

From the Journal (Minneapolis)



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THE CAMP OF THE AMERICAN MARINES AT GUANTANAMO

understand some of the otherwise mysterious developments at Havana, as well as in the much disturbed province of Oriente. On another page this month we print a survey of the general political situation in the Cuban Republic at present by one well qualified to speak. This writer rather minimizes the strength and by implication condemns the cause of the negroes. It should not be forgotten, however, that the Cuban negro, who makes up almost one-third of the population of the island, has a real grievance. The negroes fought for Cuban independence along with the whites against the Spanish. Several of their race, notably the Maceo brothers, rose high in the military councils of the country. The negroes supported the Liberals in the campaign which put Tomas Estrada Palma in the presidential chair. Estenoz, their leader, insists that they have been denied many civil rights by the government and the courts. They have generally de-



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

AMERICAN JACK TARS MARCHING THROUGH ONE OF THE STREETS OF THE CUBAN CITY OF SANTIAGO

served more consideration than the government has been willing to concede to them. The Morua law, recently passed, which forbids the formation of political parties along race lines aroused strong protests from the negro element. They claim that, while it may be good patriotism to forbid the formation of a political organization on the basis of color,—“if people are opposed because they are dark-skinned, it is as dark-skinned men that they must organize.” General Evaristo Estenoz, a man of ability and vigor, is at their head. Undoubtedly many outrages must be laid at the door of the negro guerrillas, but it is certain that they honestly believe they have a cause for which, moreover, they seem willing to suffer and die.

*What
Justifies
Intervention?*

It is believed by an increasing number of Americans that the Cuban situation, as well as the troubled affairs in Mexico, are very largely due to financial and other assistance from persons in the United States who desire to force annexation because of their interests in these Latin-American countries. This has been more than once openly charged in both houses of Congress. In the Senate, on June 8, Senator Nelson, of Minnesota, who is always conservative and careful in his statements, stated that he had reliable information for the statement that

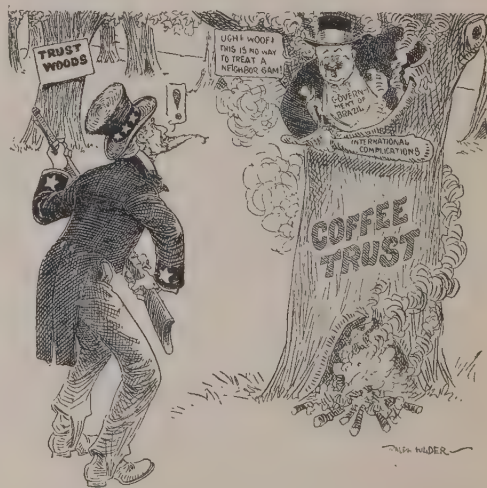
these frequently recurring troubles in Cuba and Mexico have their origin in this country. I protest plainly that the people who are interested in sugar plantations in Cuba are, to a large extent, instrumental in stirring up these troubles. Their evident purpose is to get up such a condition there that they can move for the annexation of Cuba to the United States, and thus get rid of the sugar duty which they are now paying.

In the discussion following Senator Nelson's speech, Senator Bacon, of Georgia, the ranking Democratic member of the Foreign Relations Committee, introduced a resolution calling for some formulation of “the sense of the Senate regarding intervention without express sanction from Congress.” Mr. Bacon wants Congress to prescribe fixed rules for intervention. His resolution states that, except in the case of sudden emergency for the protection of American interests, “there is no authority for the use of the army or navy of the United States for any military operations within the territory of a foreign nation, unless the same is expressly authorized or directed by act of Congress.” The resolution further directs the Foreign Relations Committee to “examine as to what

conditions or circumstances will constitute such conditions of emergency as will justify the use of the army or navy of the United States in the prosecution of military operations within the territory of a foreign nation in the absence of such express authority from Congress.” And, further (the resolution provided), to report such legislation, if any is required, to prescribe and regulate such military operations.

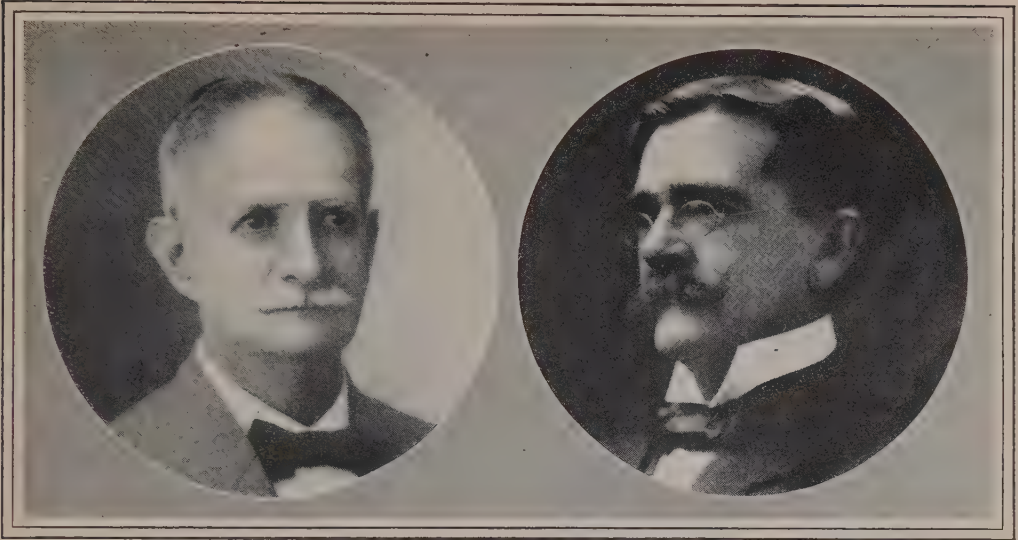
*Supervising
the Panaman
Election*

This month there is to be a presidential election in the republic of Panama. President Arosemena and his administration have endorsed the candidacy of General Pedro A. Diaz, who is at the head of the party known as the Patriotic Union. The opposition has concentrated its support upon Dr. Belisario Porras, who for some years represented his country at Washington. At the earnest solicitation of President Arosemena and other Panaman public officials, the balloting will be supervised by an American commission, in order that fair and business-like elections may be assured. This supervisory board consists of Mr. Dodge, our Minister at Panama City; Colonel Goethals, chairman of the Canal Commission, and Colonel Green, of the Tenth Infantry, commander of the forces in the Canal Zone. These gentlemen, with the assistance of Panaman officials, have already gone over the registry lists and are coöperating with these officials to the end that a free expression of the public will at the polls may be assured. The American commis-



TRUST BUSTING AND INTERNATIONAL COMPLICATIONS
(Uncle Sam's threatened tilt with Brazil over the coffee valorization scheme)

From the *Record-Herald* (Chicago)



Gen. Pedro A. Diaz, President of the Patriotic Union, candidate of the Administration

Dr. Belisario Porras, formerly Panaman Minister at Washington, candidate of the Opposition

CANDIDATES FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA

sion has been authorized by the Panaman authorities to settle all controversies and maintain order during the election. Of course, the offices of the commission are entirely friendly, the aid of the United States Government having been sought by both parties.

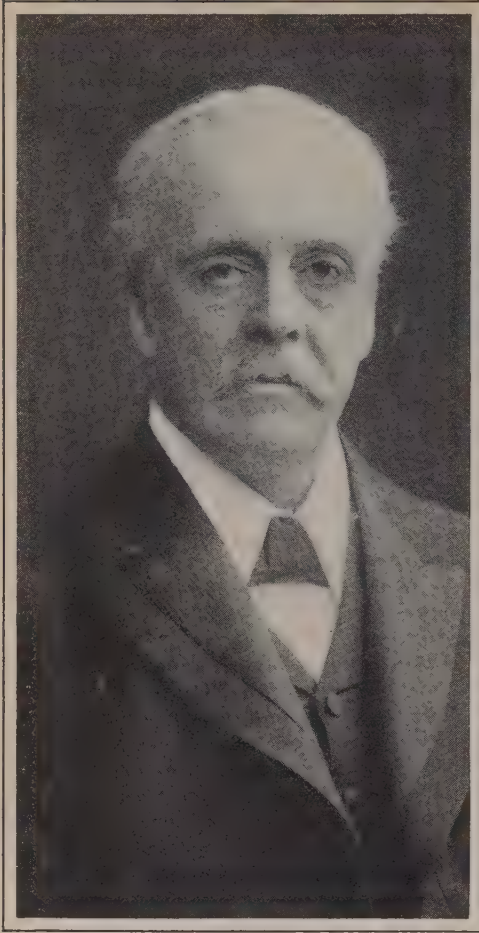
"Valorizing" Coffee

It is six years since the republic of Brazil began its unique attempt to defy the law of supply and demand by inaugurating the much discussed, but little understood, coffee valorization plan. It was not, however, until several weeks ago, when the "Money Trust" investigators, began their efforts to fix Wall Street's share in raising the price of coffee, that the inside history of Brazil's efforts in behalf of her coffee trade became known. Approximately 80 per cent. of the world's supply of coffee is grown in the Brazilian state of Sao Paulo. This is the most progressive section of the commonwealth, with the greatest railroad mileage, the most extensive internal improvements, the best schools and the greatest wealth. It alone contributes one-half of the total revenue of the republic. Therefore, it is easy to understand the solicitation of the federal government at Rio de Janeiro for the well-being of the 3,000,000 inhabitants, mostly coffee producers, of Sao Paulo. The world's leading coffee producing countries, according to the figures of the Department of Agriculture for 1909 (in millions of pounds) are Brazil, 2,250;

Venezuela, 94; Mexico, 80; Colombia, 92½; Porto Rico, 45; Haiti, 41; Java, 35; India, 28; Arabia, 15¼; Abyssinia, 10. Total, three billions. During the decade from 1885 to 1895 coffee sold high. Then, owing to poor crops and other economic causes, the price declined, and the financial condition of the planters in Sao Paulo became increasingly less favorable until there was much distress and the government was appealed to for aid. The cabinet and representatives of the three coffee-producing states of the republic—Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Minas Geraes—then evolved the valorization scheme.

How Brazil Launched the Scheme

The object of this plan was to maintain coffee at a remunerative price to the grower. This was to be effected by a minimum quotation at which it was to be maintained, a managing committee purchasing coffee as the market might demand on account of the three states concerned. The act embodying this into law passed the congresses of the states and of the national government of Brazil in August, 1906. In order to carry out this scheme, the government of Sao Paulo floated a loan which was guaranteed and added to by the federal government at Rio de Janeiro. This loan was guaranteed and paid by a tax on every bag of coffee shipped. The three contracting states bound themselves to maintain a minimum price per bag and to raise this price gradually,



MR. BALFOUR AS HE LOOKED LAST MONTH

(The opposition leader made a noteworthy address last month on Britain's social problems and her foreign relations, particularly with Germany)

to a stated maximum, after the first year. They also agreed to restrict or discourage by a discriminating tax the exportation of inferior grades; to impose a surtax on all coffee exported, such tax to be increased or decreased according to the condition of the foreign market. Other items of the agreement had to do with the limiting of the acreage planted and the disposition of the proceeds and regulation of the expenditures of the loan. In brief, the valorization scheme was intended to give the allied coffee planters of Brazil, with the powerful backing of their central government, unlimited control over the production, distribution and price of coffee. Producing, as these states do, more than 80 per cent. of the world's supply of a commodity which does not fluctuate in its consumption, it has been possible to accomplish the object sought.

*Is There a
Coffee
Trust?*

This control cannot be broken until Porto Rico, Venezuela, Mexico, Hawaii and other coffee-growing countries of the world are able to influence the market by the crop from their new trees, which take from three to four years to bear. Even when they come to maturity, however, the Brazilian states may remove restrictions from their planters and again flood the market with coffee at a price with which no other country could hope to compete. It would seem as though, owing to its favorable position as a coffee producer, Brazil would absolutely control, for years to come, the coffee business of the world. A large section of the loan necessary to maintain the valorization scheme was floated in this country through American bankers. Last month a consignment of coffee belonging to the state of Sao Paulo was held in a Brooklyn warehouse to influence the price. Attorney-General Wickersham instituted proceedings under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, to force this coffee into the market. The Federal Circuit Court, however, denied the government's application. There was a flurry of excitement reflected in the newspapers on May 27 after the remarks of Senhor Da Gama, the Brazilian Ambassador, at a public dinner, declaring that this was a matter of purely Brazilian concern in which neither the United States Department of State nor of Justice had any right to interfere. It is important here to note the fact that the United States is the largest consumer of coffee in the world, using more than a third of the annual crop. The price of coffee has advanced steadily within the past decade, and during the year, the consumer has begun to feel the pinch of the advance in cost.

*Alert
British
Labor*

The strike of nearly 200,000 dock workers in England, which began last month, with the general object of securing recognition for the transport workers' union, very soon reached the stage, according to keen observers of British labor conditions, at which nothing will satisfy the men but the passage by Parliament of another minimum wage law, this time for their own craft. British labor conditions are, at present, more chaotic than those in any other of the great industrial nations of the world. The British workman does not respond quickly to revolutionary ideas. He has, during the past decade, however, been developing rapidly from an over-individualized, almost helpless unit, into a conscious part of a class, with an ever-increasing sense of

solidarity. A keen and illuminating editorial in a recent issue of the London *Daily Chronicle*, which is very fair in its attitude toward labor questions, sketches the situation so accurately and comprehensively that we quote part of it here:

There can be no doubt that they [the British workmen] are examining the whole structure of our competitive system with a more critical and a more discerning eye than ever before. Their critical faculties have been stimulated by the disappearance—consequent on the development of the limited liability companies—of the old human relationship between master and workman which so often mitigated the rigors of the industrial system. The wage-earner is now up against capital in a coldly impersonal and therefore a more callous form. Half the social and industrial problems that confront us to-day have been bequeathed to us as a *damnosus hereditas* by the unbridled individualism of the nineteenth century. Collectivism has been called in to repair the mischief wrought in the long, smug, self-complacent reign of *Laissez-faire*. Free education, municipal ownership of monopoly services, like water, gas, electricity and trams, workmen's compensation, old-age pensions, state-aided insurance against illness and unemployment, minimum wage acts—these mark stages on the line of new advance. We may have to move forward still more boldly on the same road. Society must adjust its machinery and methods to the needs of an industrial democracy whose intelligence has been sharpened by education and whose standards of comfort have risen. How to do that is the problem which is now being investigated by a committee of the cabinet presided over by Mr. Lloyd George. We believe that the claims of labor to more leisure and larger opportunity can be met without inflicting injury on any class. Righteous treatment of labor means not a subtraction from but an addition to national wealth. It means also security to property and added strength to the state.

*Political
Strikes in
Europe*

The so-called strikes which have taken place in Belgium and in Hungary so frequently during the past year are not fundamentally labor demonstrations. They are revolutionary movements. If they can be called strikes at all, they are political strikes,—organized, violent protests of the masses of the people against a form of government which gives more political power to one class of its citizens than to the others. Both Belgium and Hungary have the plural voting system. The only difference is that every man in Belgium has at least one vote. In Hungary, on the other hand, there is a property qualification,—a low one, it is true,—on an income varying with occupation, for the right of franchise. In both cases the franchise question is complicated by racial and language animosities. In Belgium the French and Flemish languages, with an increasing German influence, contend for the predominance. In Hungary

the Magyars, themselves in a minority, are by ability and organization able to dominate with their language and institutions the various subject peoples. Finally, in Belgium there is the radical political and social difference between clericals, anti-clericals, and Socialists, and in both countries these warring elements are factors in the popular struggle against uneven and illogical voting systems.

*Electoral
Reform in
Belgium*

For more than a year the subject of electoral reform has been violently debated in the Belgian Chamber of Representatives. The electoral system in King Albert's kingdom has no unity. Proportional representation has been in force in the elections during the past decade, but in the communal elections the system of absolute majorities still obtains, as well as the system of plural votes. It is claimed that the Clerical party has profited by the inconsistent voting system, and therefore is opposed to reform. A Parliamentary Commission, appointed a year or so ago, brought forward a measure which reorganized the communal and provincial elections on the same basis as those for the Parliament. The Clerical ministry then in power was opposed by the Liberals and Socialists, who coming together on this franchise question, as also upon the question of government schools, formed an alliance and proclaimed a definite program. Their chief demand was the immediate enactment into law of the electoral reform measure submitted by the Parliamentary Commission. The ministry put off consideration of this until the municipal elections of October last, when in Brussels and several other large cities all the Liberal-Socialist candidates were elected at the expense of the government.

*The School
and the
Church*

Meanwhile, the government had begun the consideration of a measure providing for the subsidizing of clerical schools. The Clerical party aims to place the church schools on the same financial footing as the public schools, the necessary funds being provided by the communes, the provinces and the state. The opposition of the Liberal and Socialist groups became exceedingly bitter, and even some of the government supporters were alienated by the "exceptional measures" which were used to push the bill through the Chamber. The opposition press urged that church schools should be paid for by the church, and not by the government. A deadlock resulted, and the budget has not yet been adopted. At

this juncture the King intervened and asked Premier Schollaert to consent to the postponement of the school question in order that the budget might be passed. M. Schollaert, however, was so committed to this school policy that he resigned rather than consent to the postponement suggested. A new ministry was formed under Baron de Broqueville, the former Minister of Railways, who is the present Premier. Following upon great demonstrations and processions participated in by more than 200,000 people in the larger cities, as the protest against the government's educational policy, the Premier announced that another plan would be considered. This was the situation when the general elections were held on June 2.

*The
Belgian
Elections*

The result of the balloting showed that the new chamber will contain 101 Clericals, 44 Liberals, 39 Socialists and 2 Democrats, a Clerical majority of 16 over the opposition coalition. The Clerical victory was immediately followed by rioting all over the country. Demonstrations in various cities took on almost a revolutionary character. Many persons were killed and wounded, and the military was called out to restore order, the soldiers, however, in many cases, making common cause with the enraged populace. The leaders and press of the opposition to the victorious Clerical government declare that the disorder has been due to fraud at the polls and the system of plural voting. Every Belgian citizen over twenty-five years of age has one vote. Heads of families of thirty-five years and paying a certain house tax have an additional vote, a privilege granted to twenty-five-year old citizens owning property of a certain value. Two supplementary votes are given to citizens of over twenty-five who have certain scholastic qualifications or who have attained certain professional eminence. The Socialists contend that this greatly strengthens the Conservative or Clerical forces at the expense of the great masses of the people in the great manufacturing centers. They are claiming that adult manhood suffrage is the only cure for Belgian industrial ills. Meanwhile the race and language questions have again come to the fore. The Walloon provinces, the language of which is French, have begun to clamor for annexation to the republic. The Flemings, on the other hand, remain loyal to the Brussels government. It is interesting to note the fact that at the elections last month the Belgian women voted in large numbers. In

the capital, Brussels, they cast more than one-third of the votes, and a number of them were elected to office. Even the Clerical journals, notably the *Handlesblad* of Antwerp, praise "the new women electors, who," says this journal, "have disarmed all critics, and voted as if it were the most natural thing in the world."

*Electoral Incon-
sistencies in
Hungary*

Hardly had the new Hungarian cabinet, with Dr. George Lukacs as Premier, been formed last month than a number of serious riots broke out in Budapest, resulting in more serious disorder and loss of life and property than in any such demonstration in Hungary since the revolution of 1848. The immediate occasion of the outburst was the election of Count Koloman Tisza to the presidency of the Diet. Count Tisza is one of the bitterest opponents of the extension of the franchise in Hungary. Not only are the restrictions on the suffrage narrow, but they are aggravated by the system of the distribution of seats in the lower house of the Hungarian Parliament, which increases the power of the upper class and of employers of labor. It is against these privileges that the present agitation has been primarily aimed. Universal suffrage, with a fair distribution of seats, would be likely to curb the power of the Magyars, already, as we have said, in the minority in their own land. The displacement of the Magyars from the overlordship of Hungary, however, might work grave changes in the entire structure of the Dual Monarchy.

*And
Other
Complications*

After the first riots several members of the opposition arose in the Diet and bitterly criticized the government. Violent scenes ensued, and these members were expelled. On June 7 the climax of the disorders was reached, when one of the opposition members fired three shots from a revolver at Count Tisza, and then killed himself. Meanwhile the Hungarian Socialist Union had been conducting a strike for bettering conditions of labor. Hungary has made very rapid progress, during recent years, in industry, and the Hungarian labor unions have been making great strides in wealth and numbers. The Social Democratic party, which is largely made up of the laboring class and their sympathizers, is openly anti-military in spirit. The magnates, on the other hand, are strongly imbued with the military idea. They are proud of the Hungarian army, are constantly demanding the use of their lan-

guage on a par with German, and their leaders are known to be anxious to join in the work of expansion to which the Dual Monarchy became committed two years ago when Baron Ahrenthal brought about the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The issue, therefore, in Hungary is complicated. It is universal suffrage, anti-militarism, and the advancement of labor against the Magyar predominance, antiquated, unfair electoral methods and special privilege for the employer class.

*France's
Task in
Morocco*

The task of France in Morocco seems to present difficulties without end. Reports come continually of revolts and counter revolts at Fez, with rumors, more or less well founded, of a "holy war" against the infidel, largely incited, it may be, by lack of dramatic success on the part of the Italians against the Arabs in Tripoli. Much progress has been made in the negotiations with Spain over the limits of the Spanish "sphere." Meanwhile, an excellent result of the French occupation will be the new map of that vast region which we know as Morocco, but which is made up of such diversified land under so many different scattered tribes. This part of Africa, which is nearest to Europe, is less known and more inadequately charted than most of the regions in the center of the Dark Continent. The French have already mapped Algeria and Tunis on the scale of about a mile to the inch. The Italians have mapped that part of Tripolitania which they control on the same scale. It will not be long before those parts of North Africa that have lagged most behind the rest of the world will become known geographically and climatically. The incorporation of Morocco within France's African empire receives the support of practically all political parties at home. It is part of the public creed of M. Paul Eugène Louis Deschanel, recently elected to succeed the late Henri Brisson as President of the Chamber of Deputies. M. Deschanel, who is a member of the Academy, a famous orator, and a writer on political and social questions, is now in the position which theoretically gives him the best chance to become president of the republic at the election which will be held in January.



PAUL DESCHANEL, RECENTLY ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH SENATE, AND NOW REGARDED AS THE MOST LIKELY CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE REPUBLIC

*The
International
"Game"*

Every now and then some clever journalist discovers documentary and other proof of the inner workings of the great game of international politics, a "find" which may cast a vivid light upon more than one world event the under-

lying causes of which had not been suspected by the general public. Such, for example, was the publication, some months ago, as recorded in these pages for March, of the "deal" which ex-King Manuel, of Portugal, attempted to carry out with some of his brother monarchs to head off the republic, by soliciting foreign aid, in return for which he was to turn over generous sections of Portugal's colonial empire. Even more widespread in its ramifications and more significant in its revelations is the plot revealed by a modest little pamphlet recently issued by the *Courrier Européen*, the wide-awake and usually well informed Parisian journal. This pamphlet is entitled "The Secret Diplomacy Under the Third Republic 1910-1911," and subtitled "From the Quay d'Orsay to the Criminal Court." It is a remarkable collection of political documents, the publication of which has evoked a vast deal of discussion, and it can now be seen to have had much to do with the break up of the Caillaux Ministry. In the introduction to the collection which is written by M. Charles Paix-Seailles, the well-known French journalist, the significance of the revelation is pointed out in these words:

The mechanism of international politics in our day obeys the action of springs about which one may have suspicions, but of which one has rarely the opportunity to catch a glimpse of the secret gear. The people hear the principles discussed; they know nothing of the realities. They divine, doubtless, the rôle of the financiers and the press. Certain indiscretions, the mutual accusations of rival groups, reveal occasionally the hidden undercurrents of official acts. Rarely is it permitted to follow from one end to the other the genesis of those great international affairs in which are intermingled the interests of peoples and those of some particular privileged persons.

*Subterranean
Politics*

The immediate subject of this collection of documents, which was first brought to light by M. André Tardieu, foreign editor of the *Paris Temps*, and a high official of the ministry of the interior, is the project of a railway from Homs, a small town on the Damascus-Hedjaz Railway to Bagdad, intended to bring the Mediterranean into direct communication with the Persian Gulf from the port of Tripoli, not the country for which Italy is fighting, but a small seaport town on the Syrian coast of Turkey. This enterprise was originated, it seems, by a clever but impecunious member of the Young Turk party at Constantinople. With the assistance of a Jewish adventurer he managed to raise about \$100,000 from a group of business men for preliminary expenses. They then attempted to enlist the assistance of M. Tardieu in order to bring about the construction of this railway with the help of British and French capital. They hoped to secure the support of the British and French Foreign Offices by giving as their object the "holding off" of the building of the German-Turkish line from Anatolia via the Tigris valley to Bagdad, and thence to the Persian Gulf.

*"Backdoor
Negotiations"*

With this for a foundation, a story is built up that reads like a fairy tale, and includes frequent mention of some of the most noted diplomats, financiers, and business men of all Europe. Among them are M. Pichon, formerly French Minister of Foreign Affairs; Sir Edward Grey, now British Foreign Minister; Sir Ernest Cassell, director of the National Bank of Constantinople, at one time advisor to the late King Edward VII; Lord Brassey; Sir Charles Hardinge, now Viceroy of India; the French ambassadors at London and Constantinople, M. Bompard; and M. Paul Cambon; besides several noted railway engineers and contractors. Page after page is given up to the reproduction of letters that passed between these exalted personages in the discussion as to whether the line should be built entirely

under French or British auspices or both combined; also as to the personnel of the company and the efforts to squeeze financial guarantees from the Turkish government; and, finally, as to the best method of "creating disputes that could eventually be made to serve as pretexts for intervention by the two governments." It was finally agreed that 60 per cent. should be built under French auspices and 40 under British. Then, for some unexplained reason, the British Foreign Office evinced a "disinclination to commit itself irrevocably to a course that might involve serious consequences." At this point the French promoters began "backdoor negotiations" with Berlin. Almost immediately afterward came the revelations (in the early part of last year) of the so-called "Potsdam Agreement" between the German and Russian governments regarding the proposed connection between the Anatolia-Bagdad Railway and the Russian railway system about to be built. Then the whole scheme collapsed.

*Stealing
State
Documents*

The final act was almost tragic. Articles appearing in the *Paris Temps* and other papers with which M. Tardieu was connected and used by him in favor of the scheme by which he and others expected to realize millions and bring about great political results, were so manifestly based on information surreptitiously obtained, that the French and Turkish Foreign Offices instituted inquiries. These finally led to the arrest of a number of officials attached to the French Foreign Office for abstraction of numerous documents relative to eastern matters, and particularly to the Homs-Bagdad Railway. This was on March 31, 1911. About the same time the Turkish promoter (Youssef Said) was arrested at Constantinople. The Frenchmen were charged with having sold to two English collectors seventy volumes containing Turkish official documents, after having vainly tried to pass them off on the French and British Foreign Offices. One conspirator, in a written confession, acknowledged to having taken twenty documents, notably a résumé of the Russo-German Convention concluded at Potsdam, and information on the confidential notes exchanged between M. Pichon and the French Ambassador at Constantinople.

*The
Lessons
Therefrom*

Some of those who were involved in the use of the stolen documents escaped judicial investigation, but others were imprisoned for various terms. At the conclusion of the col-

lection of documents, allusion is made to the fact that hardly had the case against the purloiners of state documents closed than another opened in connection with the Franco-German Congo settlement in which M. Pichon and M. Tardieu are involved and which led to the Agadir incident. It is known as the N'Goko-Sangha scandal and will form the subject of another issue in the near future from the press of the *Courrier Européen*. This case is perhaps even more important than the Homs-Bagdad, one which never emerged from the sphere of diplomacy. N'Goko-Sangha with its Agadir sequel brought France and Germany to the verge of war and with it all Europe. The importance of these incidents, of course, lies chiefly in the effect they and the debates in the French Chamber to which they give rise, have on the mind of the French people. They are coming to understand more clearly year by year that the wars of the past in which so much life was sacrificed, and that left a crushing burden of debt which they still have to carry, were made for the benefit of a few who were not even French. A few more cases such as the Homs-Bagdad and the N'Goko-Sangha scandals will do more to promote anti-militarism in France than anything else, and in the long run will undoubtedly end the power of those international patriots who profit by rousing national prejudices, and compel governments to combine in the future for the development of civilization for the masses of humanity by peace and not, as in the past, for the benefit of great financial combinations by war.

*The New
Woman of
the East*

It is probable that if given time the new régime in China will justify itself. During recent weeks, however, there have been signs that a reactionary movement is gaining strength. The financial question is a thorny one. The original loan arranged for by financial representatives of the six powers (the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia and Japan) has failed, owing to conditions demanded by Russia and, it is reported, concurred in by Japan. These conditions refer chiefly to what Russia terms her special interests in Manchuria and Mongolia. Administratively the new government is apparently doing well. The franchise law, recently passed, demands educational qualification, but concedes the right of voting to both men and women. We give on another page this month an article presenting a review of the progress made by the far Eastern woman in India, as well as in Japan and China, during

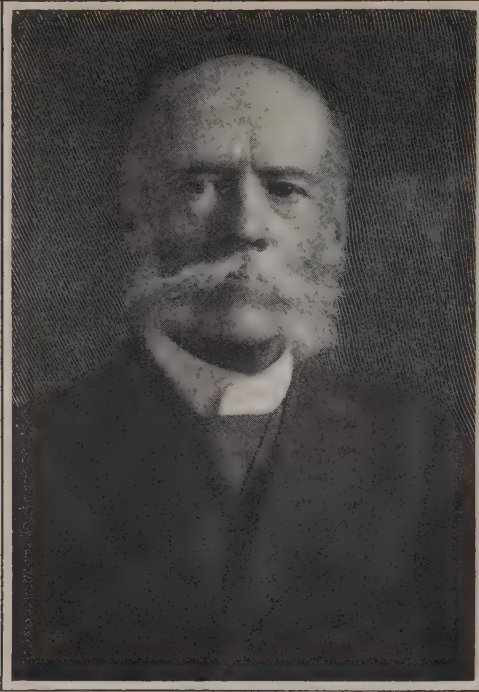
recent years, which will surprise most Western readers. Since the establishment of the Republic of China we learn that girls are crowding into the schools in such numbers that the room is already exhausted, and new buildings are constantly being erected for educational purposes.

*New
Australian
Capital*

The new federal capital of the Australian Commonwealth will be built upon designs drawn up by a young American architect, Walter B. Griffin, of Chicago, to whom has been awarded the first prize (\$8750) in the international competition for the site design. The Australian constitution, adopted when the Commonwealth was proclaimed on the first day of the present century, provided that the seat of the Federal Government, temporarily located at Melbourne, should be determined within ten years. The State of New South Wales offered a tract between Melbourne and Sydney in the district known as Yass-Canberra, and in 1910 this was accepted by the Federal Parliament. Immediately the international contest for the plans of the capital was opened, and Mr. Griffin's design was accounted the best. It provides for a capital city to cover an area of twenty-five square miles and for an immediate population of 75,000, with ample provisions for growth. The city is planned upon a radial type with three principal centers from which boulevards and streets radiate. The plan is complete in every detail and covers all the city will ever need, street railway systems, steam railway lines, business and manufacturing districts.

*The
Australian
Census*

The figures of the Australian census, taken in April, are now available, and are causing some disquietude to the people of the Commonwealth. In a territory of 3,000,000 square miles there is now not quite four and a half million of persons (4,455,005) or slightly less than the population of the city of New York. There has been only a slight increase in the past decade. Meanwhile, the vast empty spaces in the west and north are constant temptations to the yellow races of Asia crowded now to the point of starvation. At the same time Australian labor conditions are uncertain. The new transcontinental railway, which the Commonwealth government is undertaking, offers an opportunity for filling up the waste places with immigrants. But the labor ministry at Melbourne is apparently not anxious to add to the popu-



REV. DR. JAMES M. BUCKLEY, WHO LAST MONTH RETIRED FROM THE EDITORSHIP OF THE "CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE," AFTER THIRTY-TWO YEARS OF SERVICE

lation of the commonwealth unless the newcomers are of its own political faith.

*Dr.
Buckley
Retires*

Under the editorship of Dr. James M. Buckley, the *Christian Advocate* has had no superior as a denominational journal. It has been an efficient, dignified organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but it has been, at the same time, an all round, well conducted weekly newspaper, always interesting to its readers whether of that particular denominational faith or outside of it. Late in May, at the General Conference of the Methodist Church, in Minneapolis, Dr. Buckley announced his resignation as editor of the *Advocate*, a position he had held since 1880. James M. Buckley has been one of the best known figures of American Methodism for a generation. He has been a pastor and a writer of wide experience, wielding a forceful pen and commenting trenchantly and cogently upon contemporary history, as it is being

made inside and outside of the church, for more than thirty years. Dr. Buckley, who is a native of New Jersey, retires from active editorial work in his seventy-sixth year. He will not, however, he avers, retire from "as active participation as may be in the work of the church." He is succeeded in the editorship of the *Advocate* by Dr. George Peck Eckman. In passing here, we call our readers' attention to the article which we print on another page this month on the careers of the new Methodist Bishops, chosen at the conference at which Dr. Buckley announced his retirement from active editorial work.

*Interesting
Little
Royalties*

The rising generation of European royalty is, generally speaking, very modern, and if the paradox be permitted, very democratic. Take, for example, the heirs to the thrones of four of the continental countries which have been prominently in the eyes of the world during the past few weeks. The little Prince of Piedmont and heir-apparent to the Italian throne—Umberto Nicola Tommaso Giovanni Maria, to give him his full name—who will soon attain his eighth birthday, is a healthy, normal lad, and said to be enthusiastically patriotic over the war his country is waging with Turkey. Little Princess Juliana (Louise Emma Marie Wilhelmina), just passed three, is immensely popular with the Dutch people. That she has a mind of her own as well as a sweet little face is evident from the reports quoted in the English newspapers to the effect that now and then she has to be physically corrected. The new Queen of Denmark, who was Princess Alexandrine of Mecklenburg, has a reputation of being a model mother of two very normal boys. The eldest, Prince Christian Frederick, was thirteen years old in March, his brother, Knud, is just twelve. The disturbed state of politics in Belgium, to which we refer in another paragraph this month, has no reference to the personalities of the reigning family, who are very popular with the Belgians of all tongues and creeds. Queen Elizabeth is the mother of three children, Prince Leopold, in his eleventh year, Prince Charles, in his ninth, and the Princess Marie, just turned six. The pictures on the opposite page show the faces of these little royalties as they look to-day.





PRINCE UMBERTO OF ITALY, WITH HIS FATHER IN THE GARDENS OF THE PALACE AT ROME



PRINCESS JULIANA OF HOLLAND IN HER OWN FLOWER GARDEN OF THE ROYAL PALACE, HET LOO



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York
THE NEW QUEEN OF DENMARK AND HER TWO BOYS,
CHRISTIAN AND KNUD



KING AND QUEEN OF THE BELGIANS WITH THEIR
SONS AND THEIR LITTLE DAUGHTER



A FEW OF THE NOTABLES AT THE CHICAGO CONVENTION

From the *Commercial Appeal* (Memphis)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From May 17 to June 11, 1912)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

May 17.—The Senate discusses the Steel bill.

May 18.—The House confers additional powers on the committee investigating the Money Trust.

May 20.—The Senate committee investigating the election of Mr. Lorimer (Rep., Ill.), by vote of 5 to 3, reports that no evidence had been submitted to show that the election was brought about by corruption.

May 22.—In the Senate, Mr. Smoot (Rep., Utah) concludes a four-day speech against the Metal bill and in defense of the Payne-Aldrich tariff. . . . The House passes a measure placing the so-called Friar Lands under the jurisdiction of the Philippine Government.

May 23.—The House passes the Panama Canal bill, admitting American-owned ships free, fixing a toll of \$1.25 per net registered ton on foreign ships, and debarring vessels owned directly or indirectly by railroads.

May 27.—The conference report on the Army bill is presented in both Houses, the clause affecting Major-General Wood being retained. . . . The House adopts an amendment to the Naval appropriation bill, applying the eight-hour law to the mining of coal used by the navy.

May 28.—In the Senate, the special committee which investigated the causes leading to the wreck of the *Titanic* makes its report; a resolution is passed, conferring the thanks of Congress upon the officers and crew of the *Carpathia* for rescuing the survivors. . . . The House passes the Naval appropriation bill (\$119,000,000) without provision for new battleships.

May 29.—The Senate adopts, as an amendment to the Steel bill, a provision repealing the Canadian reciprocity measure and reducing the duty on print paper to \$2 a ton. . . . In the House, Mr. Diefenderfer (Dem., Pa.) introduces a resolution calling for a thorough investigation of the anthracite coal trade.

May 30.—The Senate passes the House Steel bill, with the amendment repealing the Canadian reciprocity act.

May 31.—The Senate passes the House bill applying an eight-hour day to all contract work performed for the government; the conference

report upon the Agricultural appropriation bill is rejected.

June 1.—In the Senate, the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial appropriation bill is reported from committee, with the radical provisions of the House eliminated.

June 4.—In the Senate, the fight against Mr. Lorimer (Rep., Ill.) is begun by Mr. Kern (Dem., Ind.). . . . In the House, the Tariff Board is attacked by Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee.

June 7.—The House votes not to appropriate money for the defense of the Tariff Board.

June 8.—In the Senate, Mr. Kern (Dem., Ind.) concludes his speech on the Lorimer case; July 6 is fixed as the date for final action. . . . In the House, the resolution directing an investigation of anthracite coal prices and wages is unanimously reported from committee.

June 10.—The Senate adopts the conference report on the Army appropriation bill, which legislates General Wood out of office as Chief of Staff.

June 11.—The Senate votes to retain in the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial appropriation bill the provision abolishing the Commerce Court.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

May 17.—The Socialist National Convention, at Indianapolis, nominates Eugene Victor Debs, of Indiana, for President, and Emil Seidel, of Wisconsin, for Vice-President.

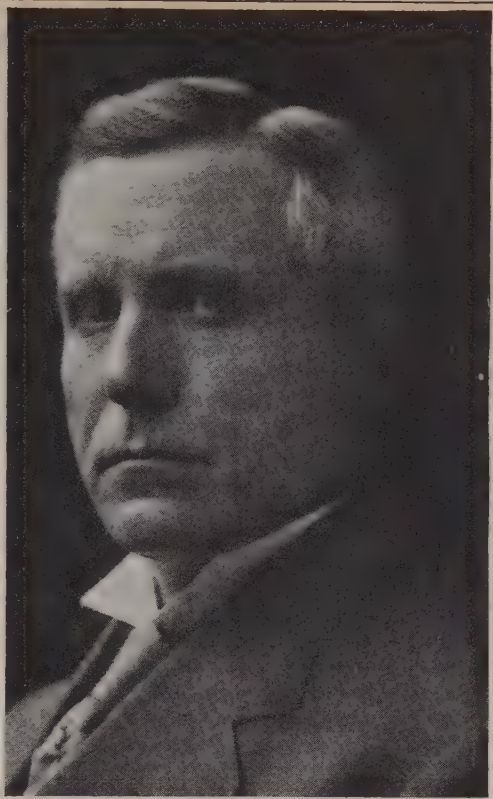
May 18.—A suit is brought by the United States District Attorney at New York to break up the alleged Coffee Trust.

May 21.—In the Ohio Presidential preference primary, Colonel Roosevelt defeats President Taft by more than 30,000 votes, electing thirty-four of the district delegates; Governor Harmon carries the Democratic contest. . . . The Louisiana Legislature elects Representatives Joseph E. Ransdell (Dem.) and Robert F. Broussard (Dem.) to the United States Senate for the terms beginning 1913 and 1915, respectively. . . . Henry J. Arnold is elected mayor of Denver on the Citizens' ticket. . . . United States Senator W. Murray Crane (Rep., Mass.) announces that he will not be a candidate for reelection.



HON. JOHN W. WESTCOTT OF NEW JERSEY

(The Democratic orator chosen to nominate Woodrow Wilson at Baltimore)



SENATOR JAMES A. REED OF MISSOURI

(Who was selected to make the speech nominating Champ Clark, of his State, at Baltimore)

May 22.—A conference committee of the Senate and House adopts a provision in the Army appropriation bill which would make Major-General Wood ineligible as Chief of Staff.

May 24.—The Massachusetts Senate passes a bill establishing a minimum wage for women and minors in manufacturing mercantile establishments. . . . The defendants in the government's suit against the alleged Wall Paper Trust, at Chicago, are acquitted of the charge of conspiracy in restraint of trade.

May 28.—Colonel Roosevelt carries the New Jersey Presidential primary by 16,000 votes over President Taft; Governor Wilson wins in the Democratic contest. . . . The Ohio Constitutional Convention adopts a proposal granting the suffrage to women.

May 31.—The twenty-eight New Jersey delegates to the Republican National Convention select Borden D. Whiting as national committeeman and agree to vote—first, last, and always—for Mr. Roosevelt.

June 1.—The Ohio Constitutional Convention adjourns, having prepared forty-two constitutional amendments (see page 83).

June 3.—The Ohio State Republican Convention is controlled by the Taft forces, although Walter F. Brown, the Roosevelt leader, is reelected chairman of the State Central Committee. . . . The

Senate Committee on Naval Affairs restores to the appropriation bill the provision for two new battle-ships, which had been dropped by the House Democrats. . . . President Taft urges that the Republican National Committee dispose of all contests in open sessions.

June 4.—In the South Dakota Presidential primary, Colonel Roosevelt received 33,600 votes, Senator La Follette 17,900, and President Taft 10,100. . . . The Ohio Republican Convention elects six Taft men as delegates-at-large to the national convention.

June 6.—The Republican National Committee meets in Chicago, elects Victor Rosewater, of Nebraska, chairman, and decides to admit press representatives to hearings of contested delegations.

June 7.—Twenty-four contested seats in the Republican National Convention are decided in favor of President Taft. . . . The United States Supreme Court unanimously reverses the Commerce Court in several cases, and declares that that court must not substitute itself for the Interstate Commerce Commission.

June 8.—The second day's hearings of the cases of contested delegations to the Republican National Convention result in the seating of forty-eight Taft delegates.

June 10.—The Republican National Committee decides all the Indiana contested seats in favor of



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

HON. WILLIAM FLINN OF PENNSYLVANIA, ONE OF
THE ROOSEVELT LEADERS AT CHICAGO

the Taft men. . . . The United States Supreme Court adjourns for the summer.

June 11.—The contests for Kentucky's delegation to the Republican National Convention are decided in favor of the Taft men, with the exception of one seat. . . . Governor Oddie of Nevada appoints George Wingfield to succeed the late United States Senator Nixon.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

May 18.—The draft of the constitution of the Chinese Republic, which will be submitted to the National Assembly, is made public at Peking. . . . The Japanese elections result in a return of the Seiyukai government.

May 20.—It is reported at Havana that an outbreak of negroes is imminent throughout Cuba, because of discontent in the matter of political rewards. . . . The Mexican rebels are forced to evacuate the town of Escalon. . . . The governor of Sin-Kiang province, China, is murdered by Mohammedan reactionaries.

May 21.—The German Reichstag passes the bills increasing the army and navy. . . . A new ministry (coalition) is formed in Chile. . . . The \$41,000,000 Paris bond issue is oversubscribed eighty times.

May 22.—During the final session of the German Reichstag, the Emperor is severely criticized by the Social Democratic leader.

May 23.—As a protest against the election of Count Tisza as president of the lower House in Hungary, a general Socialist strike is called, with serious rioting and loss of life in Budapest. . . . Paul Deschanel is elected president of the French Chamber of Deputies. . . . Tang Shao-yi, Premier of China, resigns; the budget shows a deficit of \$200,000,000. . . . The Mexican insurgents are decisively defeated in a battle near Rellano.

May 24.—The negro uprising in Cuba assumes serious proportions.

May 26.—The Presidential election in Peru is declared off because of rioting. . . . A large force of Moroccan tribesmen attack the French garrison at Fez.

May 28.—Efforts are made by government officials to settle the dock strike in London.

May 29.—President Gomez issues a proclamation belittling the Cuban insurrection. . . . An attempt is made to blow up with dynamite the House of Parliament at Budapest.

May 30.—Several skirmishes are reported between the Cuban insurgents and the government forces.

June 2.—The parliamentary elections in Belgium result in an increased majority for the Clerical party. . . . President Gomez requests the Cuban Congress to suspend constitutional guaranties. . . . It is reported that the Moorish tribesmen have been repulsed from Fez with the loss of six hundred men.

June 4.—Serious political disturbances occur throughout Belgium. . . . Sixty Hungarian Deputies are ejected from Parliament for violence in obstructing the passage of government measures.

June 5.—Count Tisza suspends the sittings of the Hungarian Diet. . . . Chancellor Lloyd-George advocates, in the British House, a conciliation board to settle the dock strike. . . . The Vasconcelles cabinet in Portugal resigns.

June 6.—The rioting continues in Belgium; 100,000 men are reported to be on strike.

June 7.—The Chihuahua legislature in Mexico authorizes the issuance of \$1,000,000 bonds, carrying the guarantee of the state and of General Orozco, to be used in financing the revolution. . . . An attempt is made to assassinate Count Tisza, president of the Hungarian Diet, by an opposition member.

June 8.—A Bosnian student attempts to assassinate the Governor of Croatia, at Agram.

June 9.—Mexican rebels are routed near Torreon by federal cavalry.

June 10.—Col. John E. B. Seely is appointed Secretary of State for War in Great Britain, Viscount Haldane becoming Lord High Chancellor. . . . The Czar of Russia visits Moscow for the first time in nine years.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

May 17.—The Turkish garrison at Rhodes surrenders to the Italian troops after an eight-hour battle.

May 18.—A British cruiser is sent to the island of Ormuz, in the Persian Gulf, which is threatened by a force of Arab tribesmen.

May 20.—The Turkish island of Symi, near Rhodes, is captured by the Italians.



Photograph by The American Press Association, New York

(From left to right: Representatives Brown, W. Va., Neeley, Kan., Byrnes, S. C., Pujo, La. (chairman), Daugherty, Mo., Hayes, Cal., and Heald, Del.)

THE PUJO "MONEY TRUST" COMMISSION IN SESSION IN NEW YORK CITY

May 23.—The situation in Cuba is deemed so acute that two battalions of United States marines are sent to protect American interests.

May 25.—A fleet of nine United States war vessels, with extra marines, is ordered to assemble at Key West for possible service in Cuba. . . . The United States consul-general at Mexico City is warned by Zapata, the revolutionary leader, that he plans to attack the city and that all Americans should leave.

May 27.—President Taft informs the Cuban President that the mobilizing of the fleet at Key West is not a step toward intervention.

May 28.—Seven hundred American marines are landed at Guantanamo, Cuba.

May 31.—Consul Letcher, at Chihuahua, Mexico, is ordered to investigate the reports that Orozco, the revolutionary leader, had threatened American life and property.

June 1.—Americans at El Cobre, Cuba, appeal to the State Department for help, and a gunboat with marines is rushed to their assistance.

June 3.—The German battleship squadron, visiting the United States, is received by President Taft in Hampton Roads.

June 4.—The German Emperor cables to President Taft his thanks for the hearty greeting accorded the German fleet.

June 6.—A convention is signed at Washington which provides a parcels-post arrangement between the United States and Panama.

June 7.—The United States battleships *Ohio* and *Minnesota* arrive at Guantanamo, Cuba.

June 10.—The officers of the German squadron are entertained at a banquet in New York given by Mayor Gaynor.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

May 17.—Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, dean of Brown University, is elected president of Amherst College.

May 18.—The battleship *Texas*, the greatest yet constructed for the United States Navy, is launched

at Newport News. . . . The anthracite mine workers, in convention at Wilkes-Barre, ratify the wage agreement and will return to work. . . . Eight persons are killed and sixty injured in a railroad accident outside the Gare du Nord, Paris.

May 19.—Melville, La., is inundated by the breaking of a levee on the Atchafalaya River, and five hundred persons are made homeless.

May 20.—A new working agreement is signed at Philadelphia between representatives of anthracite miners and operators. . . . The French dirigible *Clement-Bayard III* ascends to a height of more than 9500 feet near Paris.

May 22.—Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, the suffragette leader, and Mr. and Mrs. F. Pethick Lawrence, the editors of *Votes for Women*, are found guilty of conspiracy and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment.

May 23.—A strike is called of all transportation workers throughout Great Britain. . . . The Presbyterian General Assembly, at Louisville, refuses to open the pulpit to women. . . . The twelfth International Congress of Navigation begins at Philadelphia.

May 24.—The strike of transport workers, affecting 100,000 men, begins in London. . . . The last three of the eight new Methodist bishops are elected at the general conference in Minneapolis (see page 42). . . . The Board of Estimate of New York City approves the new subway system. . . . After a serious riot in Budapest, the government induces the manufacturers to take back the locked-out metal workers. . . . Edson J. Chamberlain is chosen president of the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada.

May 27.—Rev. Dr. James M. Buckley retires as editor of the *Christian Advocate*, after thirty-two years of service. . . . Henry B. Bond, of Vermont, is elected president of the Northern Baptist Convention, at Des Moines.

May 29.—A committee representing the survivors of the *Titanic* present a silver loving cup to Captain Rostrom, of the *Carpathia*, and medals to every officer and member of the crew. . . . The first meeting of the European section of the

Carnegie Foundation for International Peace ends at Paris. . . . A strike is declared by the street-railway employees of Lisbon.

May 29-30.—Many of the London dock employers and shipowners refuse the government's invitation to a joint conference.

June 1.—The New German military dirigible, *Zeppelin III*, makes her maiden voyage from Friedrichshaven to Hamburg, a distance of 450 miles. . . . M. Robi is killed by the capsizing of his aeroplane at Savigny-sur-Orge, France.

June 2.—The *Zeppelin III* flies without stop from Hamburg to Bremen and back. . . . Two German aviators, Albert Buchtaetter and Lieutenant Stille are killed by a fall in their machine at Bremen.

June 3.—Fire in Stamboul, the Mohammedan section of Constantinople, destroys 2000 houses.

June 6.—Gottlieb Rost, a German aviator, is mortally injured by a fall at Hamburg.

June 7.—The leaders of the London dock strike threaten to call a nation-wide strike unless the employers agree to the men's demands.

June 8.—An imposing monument to Christopher Columbus, in the plaza before the Union Station in Washington, is unveiled by the Italian Ambassador. . . . The French submarine *Vendémiaire* rises under the bows of a battleship during maneuvers off Cherbourg, and sinks, twenty-three lives being lost.

June 9.—A strike of elevated railway employees in Boston necessitates the presence of police on all cars. . . . The German battleship squadron, with its American escort, anchors in the Hudson River off New York City. . . . Two French aviators, Kimmerling and Tonnet, are killed at Mourmelon. . . . The departure of *La France* from Havre for New York is postponed on account of a strike of the crew.

June 10.—A general strike affecting 300,000 transport workers in Great Britain is called. . . . The seamen's strike at Havre grows more serious. . . . The aeroplane race between Berlin and Vienna is won by Helmuth-Hirth; the 330 miles are covered in 395 minutes.

June 11.—Lieut. Leighton W. Hazelhurst, Jr., U. S. A., and Al Welsh, a professional aviator, are killed following an accident to their machine at the army aviation field, College Park, Md.

OBITUARY

May 18.—Brig.-Gen. Paul A. Oliver, U. S. A., retired, 80. . . . James D. Porter, formerly governor of Tennessee and later minister to Chile, 84. . . . Dr. Ferdinand Herff, a noted Texas surgeon, 92.

May 19.—Henry Ware Putnam, one of the founders of the Germanic Museum at Harvard. . . . John Clay Ferriss, founder of the famous Ferriss Nursery in Nashville, 75. . . . Alexander Glowacki ("Boleslaus Prus"), the Polish novelist and publicist, 65.

May 20.—Associate Justice Christopher M. Lee, of the Superior Court of Rhode Island, 57.

May 21.—Sir Julius Charles Wernher, head of the De Beers Diamond Syndicate, 62. . . . David Brainerd Perry, president of Doane College (Nebraska), 73.

May 22.—Count Nicolai Dmitrijevitch von der Osten-Sacken, Russian ambassador to Germany, 81. . . . George H. Peabody, of New York, a writer on art subjects, 81. . . . Valdemar F. Lasso, associated with Ericsson in the designing of the

Monitor, 76.

May 23.—Frank Davis Hill, United States Consul-General at Frankfurt-on-Main, Germany, 50. . . . John Wesley Hoyt, formerly territorial governor of Wyoming, 80.

May 24.—Alexander Stewart, a former member of Congress from Wisconsin, 82.

May 25.—Ex-Governor Austin Lane Crothers, of Maryland, 52. . . . Edward E. Kilbourn, inventor of hosiery machines, 81.

May 26.—Jan Blockx, the noted Belgian composer, 61.

May 27.—Matthew Chaloner Durfee Borden, the prominent cotton goods manufacturer, 59. . . . Mrs. Katharine Stark Tyler, formerly professor of music at Syracuse University. . . . Alejandro Lopez de Romana, a former President of Peru.

May 28.—Dr. William McMichael Woodworth, of Harvard University, an authority on zoology, 48.

May 30.—Wilbur Wright, the noted inventor of the aeroplane and the first man to fly in an engine-driven, heavier-than-air machine, 45 (see page 44). . . . Gen. Henry Moore Baker, formerly Congressman from New Hampshire, 71.

June 1.—Daniel Hudson Burnham, the noted architect, 66. . . . P. O'Neill Larkin, of Massachusetts, a well-known Irish Nationalist leader, 68. Major William H. Lambert, of Philadelphia, prominent in insurance circles, and a noted collector of Lincoln relics, 70. . . . Dr. John Arthur Irwin, of New York, a well-known writer on medical subjects, 59.

June 2.—Sidney Thomas Fuller, an expert on railroad engineering, 76. . . . Col. Joseph E. Caven, formerly a prominent newspaper proprietor, 67.

June 3.—Mrs. Margaret Elizabeth Sangster, the noted author and editor, 74. . . . Rt. Rev. John Sheepshanks, formerly Bishop of Norwich (England), 78. . . . Henry S. Dickinson, a prominent paper manufacturer of New England, 49.

June 4.—Gen. Duncan S. Walker, of New Jersey, formerly a well-known newspaper writer. . . . Representative Elbert Hamilton Hubbard, of Iowa, 63. . . . Royal Chapin Taft, formerly governor of Rhode Island, 89.

June 5.—George Stuart Nixon, United States Senator from Nevada, 52. . . . Brig.-Gen. Aquila Wiley, U. S. A., retired, 80. . . . Rev. Dr. Wilson Amos Farnsworth, the oldest missionary of the American Board, 89. . . . Professor Arthur Herbert Merritt, of Trinity College, a leading Greek scholar. . . . Mrs. Mary D. Lowman, the first woman mayor in Kansas, 70.

June 6.—Giulio di Tito Ricordi, the noted Italian music publisher, 72. . . . Judge Thomas John Morris, of the federal District Court of Maryland, 74. . . . Stephen A. Chase, treasurer of the Christian Science Church of America, 73.

June 8.—Rev. Abraham C. Levinson, of Baltimore, a noted Jewish scholar. . . . Capt. Alvin C. Norcross, of Boston, builder of one of the first automobile carriages, 69.

June 9.—Rear-Admiral Benjamin Peffer Lambertson, U. S. N., retired, 68.

June 10.—Miss Sophie B. Wright, the noted charitable worker and educator of New Orleans, 46. . . . Justice William Schofield, of the Superior Court of Massachusetts, 55.

June 11.—Representative Robert C. Wickliffe, of Louisiana, 38.

CARTOONS OF THE MONTH

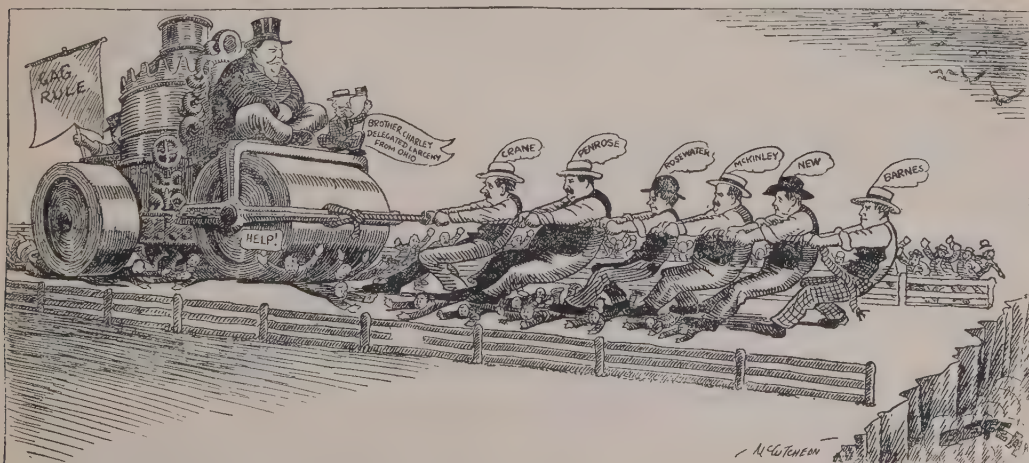


PRESIDENT TAFT: "I AM A PROGRESSIVE!"

From the *Leader* (Cleveland)

ON this page are shown some symbols of present-day politics—the great mogul locomotive of “Progressive Sentiment,” the stagecoach of stand-patism, and the delegate-crushing “steam-roller” of the so-called “party leaders.”

ment,” the stagecoach of stand-patism, and the delegate-crushing “steam-roller” of the so-called “party leaders.”



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THE JUGGERNAUT

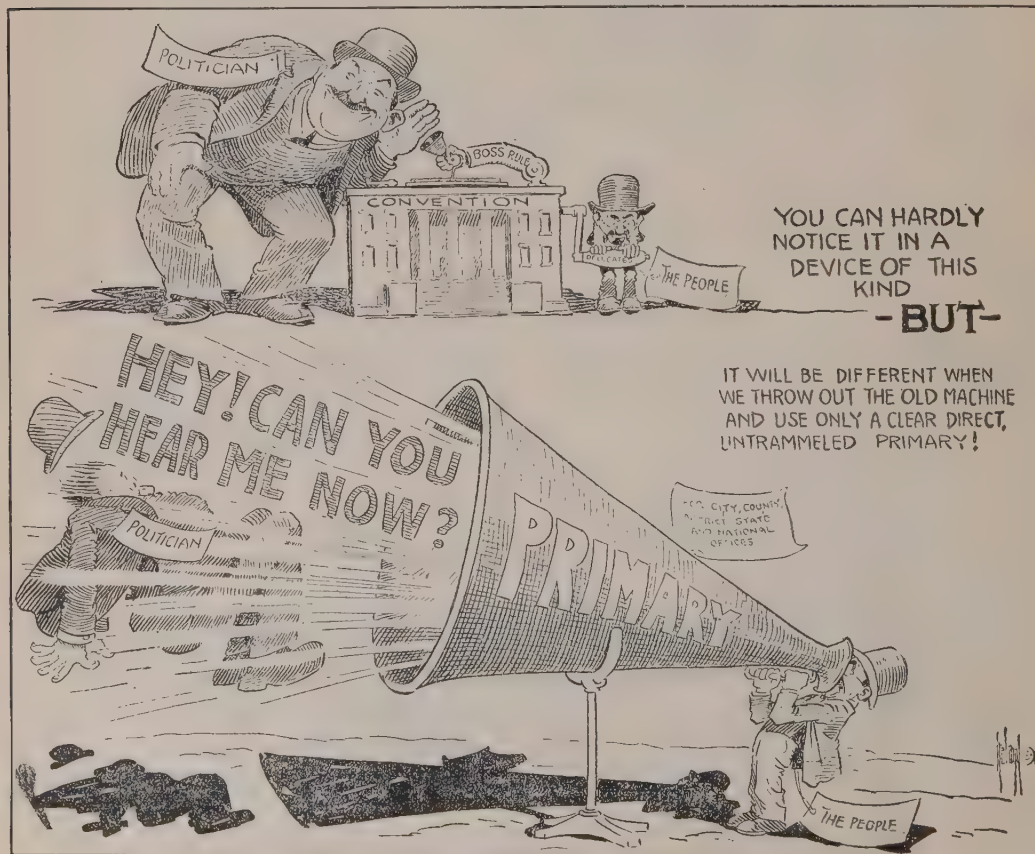
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)



THE OLD ORDER—THE LASH OF THE BOSS

Mr. Barnes, of New York, just the man to manage the Taft delegates at the National Convention!

From the *Associated Newspapers* (New York)



AND THE NEW—THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

From the *Dispatch* (Cleveland)



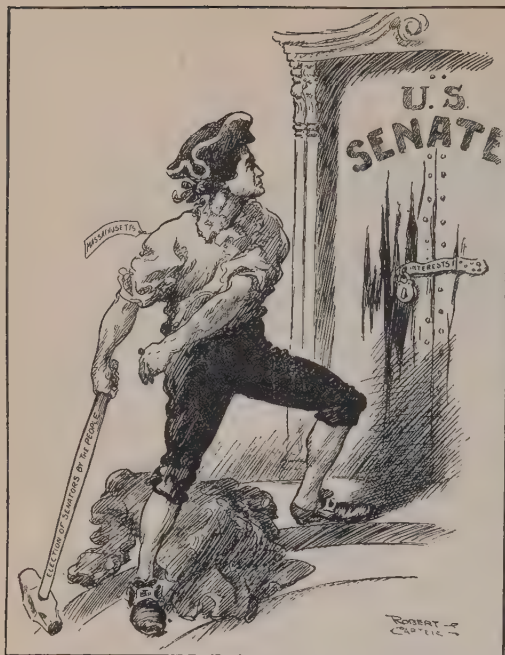
UNCLE SAM: "HURRY UP, ALL YOU FELLOWS THAT WANT TO GET IN ON THIS CAMPAIGN!"
From the Plain Dealer (Cleveland)

The Presidential campaign, which formerly started with the nomination of the candidates at the national conventions, has now, as a matter of fact, been considerably lengthened by the primary campaigns preceding the conventions. So all our old friends shown in the cartoon above—the Constitution, the Declaration, and other an-

cient and honorable historical documents and episodes—have already been with us for some months, and doubtless will continue to be quoted *ad libitum* during the campaign. In view of our own campaign here in the United States, it is interesting to note the cartoonist's comparison of some of our methods of political controversy with those of other countries.



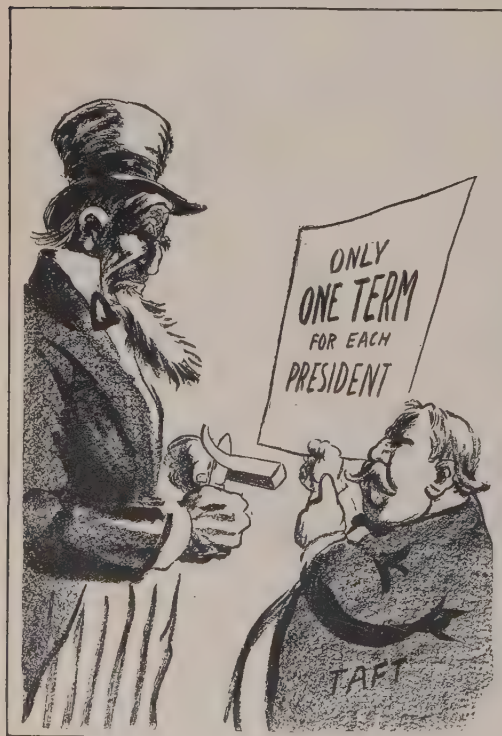
VARIOUS METHODS OF CONTRADICTING POLITICAL ASPERSIONS
From the Daily Star (Montreal)



MASSACHUSETTS LEADS THE WAY IN RATIFYING DIRECT
ELECTION OF SENATORS
From the Times (Washington)



—OR WAS HE PUSHED?
(Apropos of Senator Crane's announcement that he would
not be a candidate for another term)
From the Globe and Commercial Advertiser (New York)



A PRESIDENTIAL SUGGESTION
UNCLE SAM: "Good idea! Let's do it now."
From the Post-Dispatch (St. Louis)



THE WHITE-WASH BUCKET SEEMS TO BE EMPTY
(Referring to Senator Lorimer's impending retirement)
From the Evening Mail (New York)



THE STAMPEDE OF THE STATES IN THE GREAT PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY CONTEST
From the *Saturday Globe* (Utica)

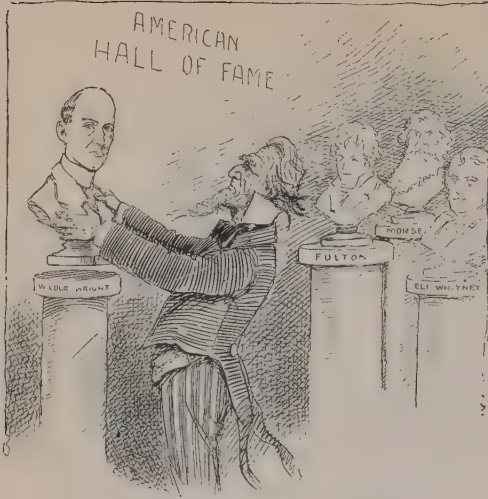


"I HAVE BEEN IN POLITICS FOR THIRTY-THREE YEARS AND I NEVER BEFORE HAVE FELT SUCH UNADULTERATED SATISFACTION IN ANY CAMPAIGN AS IN THIS ONE"—Colonel Roosevelt at Hoboken.
From the *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia)



GOING BACK TO WASHINGTON, A Sadder AND A Wiser MAN
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn)

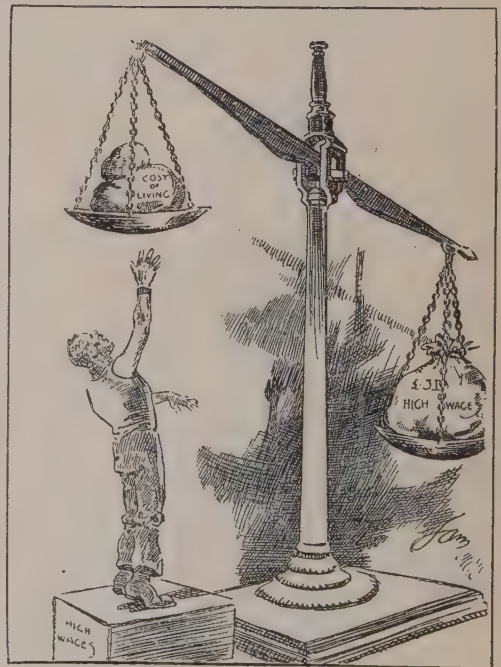
AFTER THE BIG PRIMARY CAMPAIGN



TRIBUTES TO WILBUR WRIGHT

From the *Spokesman-Review* (Spokane)From the *Daily News* (Dayton)

The illness and death last month of Wilbur Wright, one of the two famous brothers who did so much to make human flight possible, was a matter of national concern and grief. Elsewhere in this issue will be found a portrait of Mr. Wright, with some biographical details. One of the two dignified cartoon tributes to the great aviator reproduced on this page is from his home city of Dayton, Ohio, and is the work of Mr. Evans, of the *News*.



THE COST OF LIVING

COAL BARON (dropping another weight in the consumer's pack): "What's a little thing like that to such a big fellow?"

From the *Tribune* (New York)

THE WORKER (standing on his "high wages" box): "Well, I'm blowed! It's almost as difficult to reach as when I had much less to stand on."

From *Punch* (Melbourne)



"GOLLY. I'VE GONE AN' DID IT AGAIN!"

(Apropos of Cuba's governmental troubles) From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland)



THE "INFANT TERRIBLE" OF EUROPE

ITALY: "I want Tripoli! Tripoli is what I want. Do you hear, you fellows, give me Tripoli."

From *Jugend* (Munich)



THE PEACE MARSHALL

The Kaiser sends a new ambassador—a veritable "dread-naught"—to his cousin, John Bull, with the hope that he will be able to keep the peace.

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)



WILLIAM O. SHEPARD

HOMER C. STUNTZ

FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL

THEODORE S. HENDERSON

NEWLY ELECTED BISHOPS OF THE

THE NEW METHODIST BISHOPS

BY FERDINAND COWLE IGLEHART

THERE are six million members of the Methodist Church in the United States and from twelve to fifteen millions of church population in that denomination. More than half of this number belong to the Methodist Episcopal branch of the church, whose General Conference has just been held at Minneapolis. The session marked the one hundredth anniversary of that legislative body. The first session had ninety delegates representing 184,000 members; the last 815 delegates, making laws for 3,500,000 members.

John Wesley, the founder of Methodism in the world, never left the Established Church, although his followers were organized by him into societies outside of its pales. He was never ordained a bishop, but actually in his appointment of ministers, in his promulgation of education, in his widespread benevolences, in his ceaseless preaching and in his statesmanship, he did the work of a number of bishops. He was a presbyter in the Church of England and put his hands in consecration upon the head of Thomas Coke and sent him over to America to be a bishop for the Methodists there. Coke laid his hands on the head of Francis Asbury and made him bishop, and so the episcopacy for the new church was created, which has been marked by a long line of singularly able men and preachers, patriotic citizens, educators and reformers. It is claimed that Coke was the first Protestant bishop in the Western Hemisphere. The most important work of the bishop is that of holding annual conferences and assigning appointments to the ministers.

Of the 150 or 200 candidates for the episcopacy at the recent General Conference, held at Minneapolis, eight were elected. They are all men of piety, training and wide experience, and well fitted for the great work before them. The briefest of sketches of these new bishops will show their equipment.

Homer Clyde Stuntz, one of the best known of all, was born at Albion, Pennsylvania, in 1858. He began the study of law in Iowa. Then, however, he finished a course at the Garrett Biblical Institute and took a number of appointments in Iowa. He then went as a missionary to India and the Philippines. He was assistant corresponding secretary of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church at the time of his election. Doctor Stuntz, while a missionary, was editor of the *India Witness* at the same time that Rudyard Kipling was on the staff of an English paper at Hyderabad. They became fast friends and have been ever since and Doctor Stuntz in his lectures on Kipling has perhaps been the best interpreter of the author's thought and sentiment. Bishop Stuntz is a large man, physically as well as intellectually and morally. He is one of the best preachers and platform orators in the country.

Theodore S. Henderson is a native of New Jersey, and just past his forty-fourth birthday. He is a graduate of the Wesleyan University and Drew Theological Seminary. He was Field Secretary of the General Conference commission on aggressive evangelism and was taken from the pastorate of the Hanson Place Church in Brooklyn for the Episcopacy. He has traveled much and is widely known,



FREDERICK D. LEETE

NAPHTALI LUCCOCK

RICHARD J. COOKE

WILBUR B. THIRKIELD

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

especially amongst the colleges of the country, as a successful evangelist. Clear in his intellect, strong in his executive ability, he is tireless in his industry and able and popular as a preacher. One of the events of the General Conference was his address on "The Evangelism Needed To-day."

William O. Shepard has for several years been Superintendent of the Chicago North District. He is a cool, calculating, level-headed man and successful preacher, pastor and administrator, who commands the esteem, not only of the members of his own, but of all denominations in Chicago. He was born on April 11, 1862, in Whiteside County, Ill.

Naphtali Luccock, the finished product of Methodism in the Middle West, was born at Kimbolton, Ohio, in 1853. He was graduated from Ohio Wesleyan University, afterward serving churches in Pittsburgh and St. Louis. Three years ago he was sent to Hyde Park, Kansas City, from which he was chosen Bishop. As a preacher he is brilliant and witty and strong.

Francis John McConnell, the youngest of the eight Bishops elected, first saw the light in a Methodist parsonage at Trinway, Ohio, in 1871. He was graduated at Ohio Wesleyan and Boston Universities. For several years he was pastor of the strong New York Avenue church, Brooklyn, from which he was taken to the presidency of De Pauw University, where he has had phenomenal success. In his clearness and originality of thinking, in the depth, breadth and eloquence of his sermons, good judges of various denominations have counted him one of the ablest preachers of the entire country.

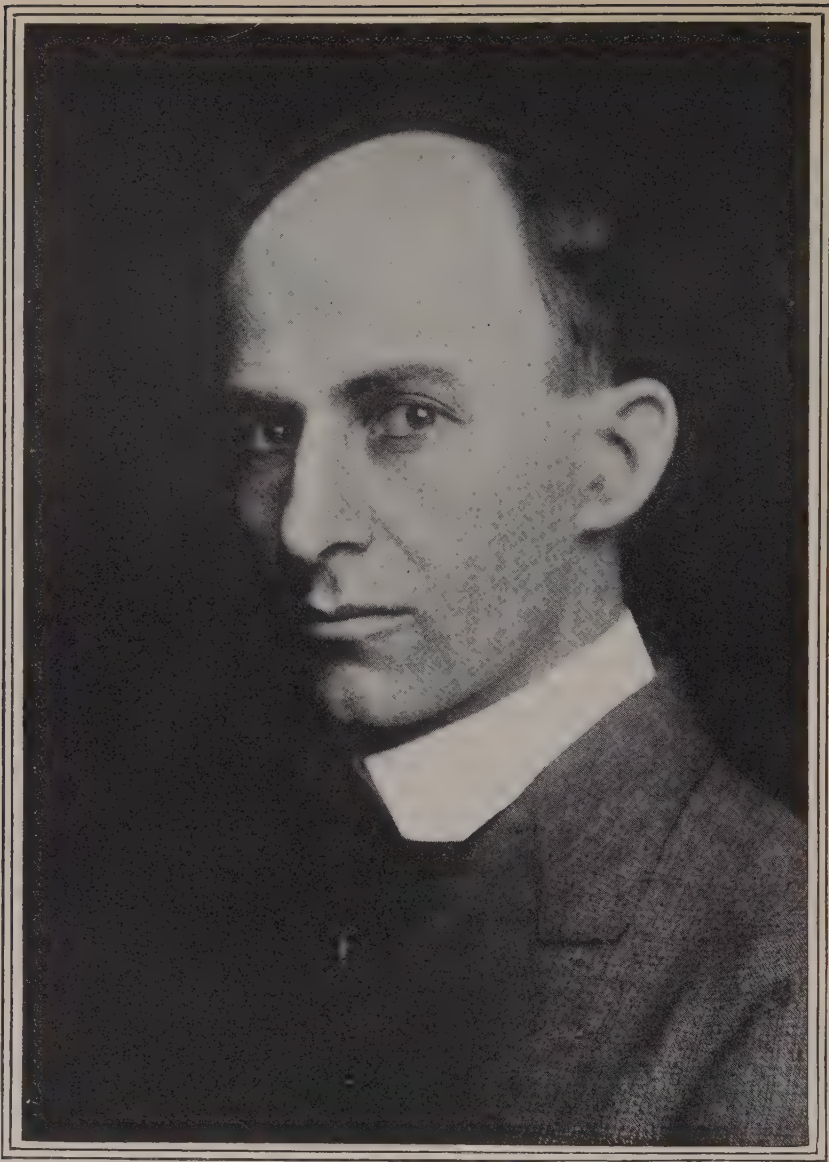
Frederick DeLand Leete, another child of a parsonage, was graduated from the Syracuse University. He had important pastorates in northern New York and was transferred to the beautiful Central Church in Detroit

where he had a very successful administration and from which he was made bishop. He is a popular preacher, a good organizer and is an exponent of the brotherhood idea in the church. He was identified with the Brotherhood of St. Paul's from its beginning and later with the Methodist Brotherhood. He was born in New York State forty-six years ago.

Richard Joseph Cooke is the only city-born man among the new bishops and also the only one selected from south of Mason and Dixon's Line. His Conference home is at Knoxville, Tenn. He was born in New York City in January, 1853. He was educated at the East Tennessee University and in Berlin. He had been for eight years book editor of the church at the time of his election. He is approachable and affable, and has marked literary instincts. He is noted for his knowledge of the discipline and polity of the church.

Wilbur Patterson Thirkield was born at Franklin, Ohio, in September, 1854. He is a graduate of the Ohio Wesleyan and Boston Theological School. He has given much time to the education and betterment of the southern negro, having been secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society and of the Epworth League. At the time of his election, he was president of the Howard University of Washington, D. C. Bishop Thirkield, by his ability and character, has succeeded everywhere in his ministry, and the development of Howard University under his leadership, has been marvelous.

The conference took advanced ground on sociological questions demanding the abolition of many industrial abuses and oppressions, insisting that the church must meet these conditions and return to the primitive championship of the poor and oppressed and common people, which was such a strong factor in the marvelous progress of early Methodism.



WILBUR WRIGHT

LESS than a decade ago two brothers, at Dayton, Ohio, began making flights in heavier-than-air machines of their own devising and construction. On May 30, last, the elder of the brothers, Wilbur Wright, died at his home in Dayton at the age of forty-five, a world-figure in the new science of aviation, recognized in Europe, even more fully than in his own country, as one of the imperishable names of the new century. The French Academy of Sciences had awarded a gold medal to this modest American inventor, and other honors had been conferred on the brothers without stint,—honors richly deserved, for everything that the Wrights achieved in the development of the aeroplane had a scientific basis. The whole weight of their influence has been thrown against recklessness in flight and the needless risk of life and limb. Their efforts, especially of late, have been centered on the securing of stability, and hence safety, in aeroplane flight. To the masterly self-restraint, not less than to the invincible genius, of Wilbur and Orville Wright, is this age of human air-flight indebted.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN CUBA

[The writer of the following survey of the general Presidential and military situation in Cuba is particularly well qualified to speak. He has lived in the island for more than fourteen years, has ridden all over its territory on horseback, and has recently visited the scene of the negro uprising in the east. He holds an official position in connection with the Department of Agriculture in the Cuban Government. This can be said without necessarily accepting his point of view.—THE EDITOR.]

CUBA is confronted to-day by a situation in which it would seem that the civic virtues of her people are almost entirely obscured by political ambitions. The plague of politics is fastened upon the island with a tenacity which is sapping the vitality of the people. It has attained such baneful proportions that no higher service could be rendered the country by the better class of Cubans than in devoting their energies to a "saneamiento" (purification) of politics. The people generally need to be educated to a serious understanding of their individual and collective relations to the government. The public mind in Cuba must be disabused of the idea that the government is an institution especially designed for the support and maintenance of its citizens.

Cuba is now on the threshold of a political campaign which is pregnant with possibilities, for good or evil. Two parties are in the field with candidates for the presidency. The Conservatives have selected, for the second time, General Mario G. Menocal, who was defeated at the last elections by General José Miguel Gomez, the Liberal candidate and present incumbent. General Menocal, like General Gomez, his opponent, is a veteran of the "War of Independence" of 1895-8, and enjoys a wide popularity throughout the island. When the first American occupation of Cuba occurred, on January 1, 1899, General Menocal was entrusted with the organization of the first police force of Havana, and he performed the duties of his office creditably. He resigned from his post to take up the preliminary work in connection with the establishment of the great Chaparra sugar mill. This estate is situated on the north coast of the province of Oriente, near Puerto Padre, and since its inception General Menocal has been its guiding spirit. Last year it returned to the American capitalists, interested in the company, a dividend equivalent to 39 per cent.

Cuba, however, is actually a Liberal country, and General Menocal is the candidate of



GEN. JOSÉ MIGUEL GOMEZ, PRESIDENT OF CUBA
SINCE JANUARY, 1909

the minority party which polled, at the last elections (1908), 124,044 of the 318,179 votes cast. The only hope it can entertain of being victorious in the coming elections is that the division now existing among its opponents will continue. Under present conditions it is not at all improbable that General Menocal could carry Oriente, Camaguey, Santa Clara, and Matanzas, the four eastern provinces of the island.

The probabilities are, however, that these conditions will not continue, for it is likely that the Liberals will finally agree upon concerted action. The danger is too evident for them to do otherwise. At the present time there are three Liberal candidates in the field for the Presidency. Dr. Alfredo Zayas, an eminent lawyer, and the Vice-President of the Republic, is the leading candidate. Gen-



GENERAL ERNESTO ASBERT, GOVERNOR OF HAVANA PROVINCE AND CANDIDATE FOR THE CUBAN PRESIDENCY

eral Ernesto Asbert, who took an important part in the revolution of 1906, which overturned the Palma administration, and who is Governor of Havana Province, is also a candidate. Governor Asbert is considered to be an upright man and is credited with having administered his office in an efficient and commendable manner. General Eusebio Hernandez holds the chair of gynecology in the Havana University and is a physician of high repute. He distinguished himself in the war of 1895-8.

The Zayistas claim that their candidate alone has the official recognition of the party, he having been nominated by the national convention of the Liberals held in Havana on April 15, last. At that time Dr. Zayas and Governor Rafael Manduley, of Oriente Province, received eighty of the eighty-two votes cast in the convention, for President and Vice-President, and the nomination of this ticket was then made unanimous. Dr. Zayas, as president of the Liberal party, was chairman of the convention, which the Zayistas claim was legally constituted, but both the Asbertistas and the Hernandistas assert that it was not. They charge that the Zayis-

tas packed the convention with unauthorized alternates from several provinces. Immediately after the convention charges and counter charges became rife, and on May 2 the Asbertistas issued a "manifesto," or proclamation, to the people, which embraces their full bill of complaint. Of course the Zayistas deride the two opposing factions and all their charges.

Governor Asbert has a substantial following and must be reckoned with as a factor in the present campaign. His opponents endeavor to injure him by stating that he does not possess the legal qualifications, because he will not be forty years of age until after the election this fall. His enemies have published his birth and baptismal certificates to show that he will not be forty until May 2, 1913. He claims that he is entirely satisfied on this point as he would not have to be forty, to qualify under the law, until May 20, 1913, the day he would be called upon to take the oath of office, if elected.

The Zayistas some time since alleged that Governor Asbert was the protégé of Presi-



GEN. MARIO MENOCAL, CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY



DR. ALFREDO ZAYAS, VICE PRESIDENT AND
LIBERAL CANDIDATE

date for reelection, nor in favor of any particular candidate, his only interest being for the success of the Liberal party. The Zayistas, however, remain very bitter toward him and claim to have proof of his deception. The differences between the "Miguelistas," as the supporters of President Gomez are known, and the "Zayistas" are of long standing. The latter charge the former with having violated the "pacto" made before the election of 1908, by which, it is asserted, Dr. Zayas was to be the party candidate in 1912. This is a lengthy and complicated story, allusion being made to it only to show how hopelessly the Liberal party is split up at the present time with its "istas" and "isms."

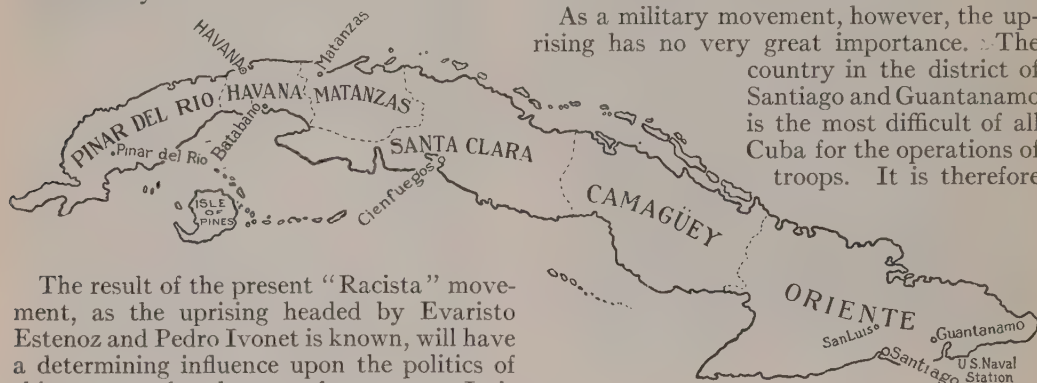
Dr. Zayas holds a commanding position because of the strength he developed in the convention, but it is seriously doubted if he can harmonize the party throughout the island. Without this being effected and faithfully observed there is little hope to be entertained by the Liberal party. The Asbertistas and Hernandistas vehemently assert that they will never accept from or make overtures to the Zayistas. If something is not speedily done to unify the party, the breach between the factions will widen as the elections approach, and the Conservatives will reap an easy victory.

dent Gomez and accused the latter of bad faith charging that he had designs upon another term. President Gomez replied in an open letter stating that he was not a candi-



CUBAN VOLUNTEERS DRILLING IN HAVANA PREPARATORY TO LEAVING FOR THE SCENE OF THE
INSURRECTION IN ORIENTE

President Gomez, who led the Liberal party to victory some time ago, announced that he would not be a candidate for reelection. He is not a candidate at the present time, but it is not improbable that he may be called upon by the people to make the race again. Some candidate must be found who will be able to unite the warring factions, and whoever combines the qualifications and ability to bring about this harmony will undoubtedly be elected.



The result of the present "Racista" movement, as the uprising headed by Evaristo Estenoz and Pedro Ivonet is known, will have a determining influence upon the politics of this country for the next four years. It is charged that Estenoz, as the leader of the Colored Independent party, despite his declarations to the contrary, incited the negroes to rise against the whites. His campaign was begun, it is alleged, soon after the present administration came into power. It is charged that he was so imbued with the idea that the government was created especially to support him that he became rebellious when he was not given a place. He was arrested with a number of others on April 22, 1910, charged with conspiring against the government.

Upon the arrest of Estenoz one of the leading politicians of the Conservative party rushed to his defense, and he, and some of his political colleagues, gave bond to enable Estenoz to regain his liberty. The case against him was finally quashed through the efforts of his defenders. No sooner was he clear of the courts than he again took up his campaign through which he hoped to make Cuba a black republic. Within the year he was threatened with a second arrest, for incendiary utterances, but some of the Conservative leaders went to the President, interceding for him and promising that he would behave. The government has, all along, been well informed of the race movement and has kept in contact with it, but did not wish to make arrests and thus furnish their opponents with political thunder.

The negro uprising is a calamity to Cuba, first, because of the effect it will have on the

credit of the country; second, the damage it does to all lines of business; third, the spreading of a propaganda among the negroes which will be very difficult to eradicate; fourth, the restricting effects which must in future be visited upon the colored population in order to correct this public evil, and, fifth, the ideas and ambitions awakened on the one side, with the consequent suspicions and animosity which must hereafter exist in both elements toward the other.

As a military movement, however, the uprising has no very great importance. The country in the district of Santiago and Guantanamo is the most difficult of all Cuba for the operations of troops. It is therefore

CUBA, SHOWING THE SCENE OF THE INSURRECTION
(San Luis, in the Province of Oriente, is the center of the negro uprising)

probable that the negroes may hold out and commit petty depredations for some time, if they are of a mind to do so, and are lucky in evading a decisive engagement with the government forces. Many of the negroes who have joined Estenoz in the eastern part of the island are inured to the hardships of that section, and, having lived there all of their lives, have a thorough knowledge of the mountainous trails and passes with which the troops are not so well acquainted. If the government forces are fortunate, they are capable of annihilating the rebels in the first encounter. If they are not, it seems likely that they will at least have the movement well under control within a short time. The rebels have no resources to fall back upon, while the government is well prepared, and has a large and efficiently equipped force in the field.

The prompt manner in which the government has taken the initiative, and the energy shown by the chief executive, has created a most favorable effect on the country. There is no doubt that to-day President Gomez is the strongest man in Cuba, and it seems highly probable that the trouble the island is now experiencing will so increase his popularity as to compel his candidacy and assure his reelection.

THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS

THIS is the second of a series of seven articles on the general subject of "The People and the Trusts" now appearing in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS." Each article in turn discusses the great question from the point of view of a different individual concerned. The first, "Big Business and the Citizen," of which this is a continuation, appeared in the June number. Others to follow are "The Borrower," "The Laborer," "The Investor," "The Middleman" and "The Captain of Industry." By thus limiting the field a simplicity and clearness otherwise impossible of attainment is achieved, though scientific accuracy is preserved.

BIG BUSINESS AND THE CITIZEN,—II

BY HOLLAND THOMPSON

(Assistant Professor of History, College of the City of New York)

THE familiar charges against Big Business to-day are echoes from past centuries. The real sin, from the standpoint of the Citizen, is Secrecy from which the other evils spring. Why?

The first half of this paper (see REVIEW OF REVIEWS for June) showed that monopolies of larger proportional size, exercising more nearly complete control and using more vigorous methods than their modern successors, flourished at various periods in history. They were operated primarily for selfish purposes, but often the whole people shared their gains. When Society had done with them they ceased to exist, but many left a permanent contribution to the general welfare.

The mediæval guilds encouraged commerce and gave stability to industry; the Hanseatic League broke up nests of pirates, served the public convenience and carried light into darkness; the East India Company created the British Empire and indirectly made the Suez Canal a reality, instead of a dream; the Hudson's Bay Company maintained a British foothold in Canada, explored the trackless reaches of the unknown land, and thereby hastened the settlement, though against its will; even Joseph's corner in grain furnished bread (though at an enormous price), when otherwise there would have been none.

So in its turn our modern Big Business has, through pure selfishness, brought certain real public advantages in its train. The small concern was often unable to make the best combinations of men and material, and waste, the deadly economic sin, resulted. Compare the speed, comfort and certainty of railway travel to-day with what our fathers knew. Compare the prices of hundreds of articles with those our fathers paid, and we must acknowledge that the public has had a share in the economies of production on a large scale.

One great distinction between ancient and modern Big Business as it has developed in the United States, is the difference in attitude toward the state. In former days the paramount authority of the ruler (himself often a monopolist) over trade and commerce was recognized. The king did not always maintain a consistent control, for his administrative system was not efficient, but *when he wanted information, he got it*. When he wished to restrain, regulate or crush a monopoly, whether induced by his own greed or impelled by the pressure of public opinion, he did it without hesitation.

Some modern managers of Big Business would deny the right of the state to question its organization or its methods. The People, who have succeeded to all the authority once claimed by the ruler, have neglected to assert all their rights, and some of our Captains of Industry have grown to believe that business is a law unto itself. The public interest has been ignored and depredations against competitor and consumer alike have been secretly planned. Such Secrecy is the sin of which we speak.

Such a spirit is characteristic of America

and has grown out of the peculiar conditions of our national life. There has been so much pioneer work to be done in the United States that the important question has been how much, not how well, or how justly, work has been done. Lavish energy has been devoted to subduing the wilderness, or has been poured into trade and commerce. Life in a new country developed independence of spirit, a certain fierce individualism, which ignored the common rights of all. Every man felt that he was the best, and in many cases the sole, judge of his own conduct.

The Kentucky Mountaineer and the Bank President

This feeling that a man may do as he pleases with his own has persisted in business, though the spirit of the times is changing. Gradually we are realizing that no man has the right to be the sole judge of his conduct, that all the people must be considered before the interests of a few. We say that the Kentucky mountaineer, who demands that he be permitted to make his own rules of conduct, who claims the right to constitute himself judge, jury and executioner, is a survival from an earlier and ruder age. The bank president who boasts of his refusal to answer the questions of the House of Representatives is likewise a survival of another stage of civilization in the United States.

The marvelous improvements in means of transportation and communication are rapidly making the United States (and to a less degree the world) an industrial unit; somewhat more slowly a social unit. The country is no longer made up of separate divisions. A shock in one section is felt in all. Inefficiency, industrial or social, is paid for by the whole country. We cannot afford the deadly sin of waste, for our wants are increasing faster than the means of gratifying them. Neither can we afford to have the occupants of a field expend their energy which should go into making their plants efficient, in the attempt to destroy one another, and then join forces to rob those outside.

The unrestricted, relentless competition of the nineteenth century wasted not only our natural resources, but also energy and capital. Since it was easier to waste than to save, the wealth which should have been preserved for future generations was squandered. This competition either left one organization triumphant among the slain, or else has resulted in agreements, divisions of the field, combinations or consolidations. The Citizen is told that large economies have been

effected. To what extent is the Consumer sharing them? Is the Laborer getting his share? Has Society gained? Undoubtedly oil is cheaper than forty years ago, but is this because of Standard Oil or in spite of it? How can the Citizen know, for he must know in order to judge wisely, and govern his conduct accordingly?

Why the State Has the Right to Control

It is too late for Big Business to bluster about "unwarranted interference with private business." Such business is not private business. *The creation by the state of limited liability corporations was the most extensive interference with private business in history.* The old monopoly was, generally speaking, built upon a royal grant of powers and privileges. Modern business is built upon the corporation through which the capital of many separate individuals is subjected to unified control.

No invention, no discovery in the whole history of the world has so vitally influenced the whole field of business. This artificial person, combining, as it does, nearly all the advantages of private ownership without the disadvantages, and in addition many advantages given by the state, has become increasingly important with industrial growth, and has made possible the large scale business we have to-day. Few individuals have the capital necessary to finance any one of these large undertakings, and still fewer would be willing to invest such large sums in a business which might be thrown into confusion or even ruin, by death. The partnership allows somewhat larger establishments, but even here there are certain disadvantages compared with the newer forms of association. A statement of some elementary facts of contract law will make the matter clear.

Why the Corporation is Displacing the Partnership

Smith, Jones and Brown form a partnership. According to the common law none of these may be a married woman, nor under twenty-one years of age. Every one of them is responsible for the debts of the firm, even to the extent of his entire possessions, no matter if this debt is caused by the unauthorized action, or even the dishonesty of one of the partners, presumably acting for the firm. A suit against the partnership may tie up all the enterprises of every member. No fourth partner can be introduced without the consent of every one of the three. No one of

them can make any private profit out of any dealings with the firm. Though Smith may desire to withdraw or to sell his interest, he may still be held responsible for the debts of the firm made before he leaves it. If Brown dies, or Jones becomes bankrupt, the partnership affairs must be wound up.

Compare these restrictions with the freedom allowed when Smith, Jones and Brown form a corporation. Its life is perpetual or at least renewable. Every member then is liable only for the property he has invested. (The double liability of the stockholders of National Banks is a special case.) Jones may withdraw by selling or giving away his stock at any time, without the consent or even the knowledge of his fellows; he may own the whole or a part of a competing business, may sell goods to the corporation, or may buy from it. The insolvency or death of a shareholder has no effect upon the corporation, nor can an officer without authorization of the directors embark in a course which will involve all in ruin, a course which any partner may take. Has not the state here given great advantage to the corporation?

So then the corporation is the child of the state. From the state come its great advantages which have made possible the domination of certain fields. The state gave these powers *not for the benefit of the shareholders but for the public interest, to enable the corporation to do the work which an individual or a partnership could not do, or, at least, was unwilling to do.* Then when the state finds that these powers are used, not for the interest of its citizens but to oppress them, who can say that the state may not interfere?

What Do the Courts Say About this Theory?

This is not only sound ethics, but it is good law. In the beginning of the history of the

corporation, the judges were disposed to treat it precisely as an individual. We are told that in the early days of illuminating gas, it was held that the company was free to sell or to refuse its product to any individual. The absurdity of such a decision was apparent, and the courts soon declared that all applying must be supplied without discrimination. Now it is further settled that the state may prescribe a minimum quality and a maximum price, provided that this price will afford a reasonable return to capital.

As the public consciousness has become able to think in terms of corporations as well as in terms of individuals, the law has advanced still further.

It is useless to deny that in their interpretation and application of the principles of the common law, judges are profoundly influenced by the social consciousness. *In the long run the law is what the people demand that it shall be,* and this is true regardless of any of the modern machinery which promises to turn instantaneously a passing whim into a statute.

A Great Case in Corporation Law

A landmark in modern corporation law is the great case of *Munn v. Illinois*, popularly known as

the "Elevator Case," decided by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1877. The question in dispute was the right of the state to regulate the rules and charges of grain elevators. Chief Justice Waite delivered the opinion of seven members of the court and showed that from time immemorial the right of the state to regulate various activities of its citizens had been assumed, and went on to say that, "when private property is 'affected with a public interest it ceases to be *juris privati* only.' Property does become clothed with a public interest when used in a manner to make it of public consequence, and affect the community at large."

WHAT FORM OF OWNERSHIP IS GROWING?

These figures from the Census Report on Manufactures, just published, show clearly how the corporation has gained and is gaining on other forms of ownership. Various co-operative forms of ownership also increased, but their product is negligible. The individual and the partnership both lost ground.

CHARACTER OF OWNERSHIP.	Number of establishments.	Average number of wage earners.	Value of products.
All classes:			
1909.....	268,491	6,615,046	\$20,672,051,870
1904.....	216,180	5,468,383	14,793,902,563
PER CENT. OF TOTAL			
1909.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
1904.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
Individual:			
1909.....	52.4	12.2	9.9
1904.....	52.7	13.8	11.5
Firm:			
1909.....	20.2	12.0	10.6
1904.....	22.2	15.4	14.4
Corporation:			
1909.....	25.9	75.6	79.0
1904.....	23.6	70.6	73.7
Other:			
1909.....	1.5	0.2	0.5
1904.....	1.5	0.2	0.4

Upon this case as a pivot the "Granger Cases" which prepared the way for regulation of public service corporations turned.* Regulation of corporations serving the public was declared to be lawful in spite of the emphatic protest of Justice Field (approved by Justice Strong), who said: "There is no business or enterprise involving expenditure to any extent which is not of public consequence and which does not affect the community at large." In another place the same justice declared that the opinion of the seven justices was a "bold assertion of absolute power by the state to control at its discretion the property and business of the citizen and fix the compensation he shall receive." Nevertheless the decision stands.

How Social Forces Have Influenced Judges

Note the progress of the law as interpreted by the courts. First the corporation is treated precisely as an individual, and, with the conception of the power of the state which prevailed at the time, its right to arbitrary action is affirmed. Then the so-called public service corporation is separated from the corporation in general, discrimination on its part is forbidden, and next the right to regulate the prices of its product, whether goods or services, is asserted. Finally the idea of regulation is logically extended to all corporation of "public consequences," that is, having an element of monopoly.

* This name was applied to a group of cases coming from the Middle West decided by the Supreme Court 1876-77. Their purpose was to test the constitutionality of the restrictive legislation on common carriers placed in the statute books through the influence of the National Grange of Patrons of Husbandry, so powerful in that section a generation ago.

What in fact is the difference between gas and kerosene? The state regulates the terms on which gas may be sold, because it is a public necessity supplied by a monopoly. Kerosene is likewise a necessity and in some sections of the country is supplied only by a monopoly. Again gas is used for heating and cooking. So is anthracite coal, and if it is subjected to unified control, why are not the cases similar?

The Citizen is not yet ready to go to such lengths. Perhaps he never will be. In the Middle Ages such regulation was not particularly difficult. To-day such action would be attended with infinitely more complications, though the increasing concentration of business would make such regulation easier now than forty years ago. Some students see no other way to curb the power of those great industrial combinations, which have gained substantial control of their fields, but the average Citizen is as yet too individualistic. Only as a last resort will he agree to such action, *but his right cannot be logically questioned.*

How Much Information Is There To Get?

Big business is becoming the distinctive feature of American industrial life. The census

shows that just over one-fourth of the manufacturing establishments of the United States are under corporate control, *but they do 79 per cent. of the business.* Only a little more than one per cent. of the establishments produce more than a million dollars worth of goods in a year, *but these establishments do nearly 44 per cent. of the business.* These 3061 organizations (there were only 1900 of them

HOW BIG BUSINESS IS GROWING

This companion table taken from the same source shows the tendency toward concentration in manufacturing. Every bake-shop, every little creamery, is classed as a manufacturing establishment. If the figures for these industries, together with women's clothing, furniture and lumber, which industries are not yet concentrated, were omitted, the proportion of the business done by the "million-dollar class" would rise to 48.5 per cent.

VALUE OF PRODUCTS.	Number of establishments.	Average number of wage earners.	Value of products.
All classes:			
1909.....	268,491	6,615,046	\$20,672,051,870
1904.....	216,180	5,468,383	14,793,902,563
PER CENT. OF TOTAL:			
1909.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
1904.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than \$5,000:			
1909.....	34.8	2.2	1.1
1904.....	32.9	1.9	1.2
\$5,000 and less than \$20,000:			
1909.....	32.4	7.1	4.4
1904.....	33.7	7.7	5.1
\$20,000 and less than \$100,000:			
1909.....	21.3	16.5	12.3
1904.....	22.2	18.8	14.4
\$100,000 and less than \$1,000,000:			
1909.....	10.4	43.8	38.4
1904.....	10.3	46.0	41.3
\$1,000,000 and over:			
1909.....	1.1	30.5	43.8
1904.....	0.9	25.6	38.0

This means that though the very small establishments increased in numbers and also in proportion to the whole number of establishments, they actually did a smaller proportion of the business in 1909 than in 1904. Only the "million-dollar class" increased both in number and business.

five years ago) are divided among all branches of industry. Not all of them are trusts. The highest estimate of such combinations is about 800, and this is much padded, but the figures shown do indicate that the large establishment is growing more important.

Have these leviathans succeeded on account of superior ability or exceptional skill in management, or because of advantageous location, and special advantages in transportation, natural or artificial? Has the success been due to the possession of basic patents, or to any one or more of these advantages combined with sheer brutality toward competitors, and contemptuous disregard of the producer of raw material and of the consumer alike?

No one knows. We do know the secret of a few. The Standard Oil colossus owed much to the freight rebates, not only on its own product, but also on that of its competitors, obligingly collected and paid over by the railroads. Practically all the older concerns have profited by rebates, for that matter. The ownership of popular brands, together with imagination and ruthless singleness of purpose, made the American Tobacco Company the dictator of the nicotine world. The ownership of its raw materials, and, in a large measure, of its means of transportation has enabled the Steel Corporation to hold its own and pay dividends upon capitalized visions.

We can surmise the reasons for the success of others, sometimes creditable, sometimes not. We are told that some have grown great because they best serve the public, because they give as well as take. We have heard that others have set out to win a monopoly without scruple as to methods, but the Citizen does not know the truth.

Regardless of past history, what is the present attitude of these great aggregations of capital toward the public which has allowed them to grow strong enough to control prices,—for after all this is perhaps as good a definition of a trust as we have—an organization strong enough to affect prices at will. Are they pursuing the paths of fairness and justice, or do they seek to accomplish by indirection what they no longer dare to do openly? Are they obeying the law of the land? The Citizen does not know, and he has no means of knowing. Some of the managers say that they do not know either, and that they wish to be told.

The Citizen demands the answers to all these questions and more besides? When a new combination is organized he wishes to know how much of the capitalization repre-

sents physical value, how much is allowed for good-will and trade-marks, how much is water only, and how heavy are the promoters' and underwriters' fees. He is also interested in the relationship of different corporations. Do they really work together while pretending to be opposed? The Citizen is always a consumer and he is sometimes an Investor also.

He knows that in this day he cannot be sure of a fair price unless he knows the costs. Therefore he wishes to know the cost of the raw material, and the transportation charges on it, how much is paid for wages, how much for interest and depreciation, and how much for expenses of management.

Then, too, he is inquisitive about the cost of selling the product. How much difference is there between the price at the shop and on the doorstep of the consumer? Was the man who dropped into the plate a cent for the heathen, but wrapped it in a dollar bill to pay the expense of getting it to them, thinking of modern middlemen? Further, are prices uniform in all sections regardless of a real or potential competitor?

The Club with Which the Great Combination Wins

This is one of the points on which the Citizen is particularly inquisitive. He has been told that the great organization which sells in every part of the country sometimes reduces prices unduly in the corner where a small competitor is located, while maintaining them in other sections. Usually the competitor must yield, for it must meet these prices,—often below cost, which the larger concern can offer because it is sustained by profits gained elsewhere. This competitor may be able to produce goods as cheaply as the trust,—for in some lines, size beyond a certain point does not necessarily mean increased efficiency—but it cannot match the resources of the larger organization. If uniform prices were the rule, the competitor might be able to lose one dollar as long as its great rival could afford to lose ten.

Then, too, there are stories of the attitude of some great combinations toward labor, about which the Citizen is curious. He has heard that an organization operating perhaps a dozen plants sometimes closes one arbitrarily until the workers are brought to terms, regardless of the justice of their contention. Then this plant is reopened and the same process is repeated in another.

Combination is taking in new fields. Openly the cotton farmers have been urged to organ-

ize, to reduce the supply and hold even that reduced supply from the market until a monopoly price is offered, and some slight progress toward such an end has been made. In some sections the growers of fruits and berries have made agreements, or formed combinations, with the ostensible purpose of securing better packing and more intelligent marketing. There are stories of concerted action on the part of the producers of milk and butter.

Deep down in his mind the most individualistic citizen is beginning to doubt both the efficacy of competition in regulating prices, and even its desirability in many lines of industry. He sometimes asks himself *whether any law could make him fight against his will, and if he would not fight himself, how can others be made to struggle?* But the Citizen has a very lively curiosity concerning all these agreements to restrain trade. He wishes to know their terms, and their effects.

These are some of the points upon which the great body of American citizens desire information, and without which there is little hope of unwinding the tangled skein of our industrial and economic life. In a word they wish to know the costs of both goods and services which they must buy, and next, how these costs are reached.

The Citizen will know. This does not mean either arbitrary interferences or confiscation, but social justice must be done. *If this end is to be reached by regulated competition, the Citizen must know; if by regulated monopoly, the state will survive.* But it is to be a deliberate choice and not a supine acceptance of unregulated monopoly.

Who Will Get the Information?

A Commission on Interstate Trade is the answer.

Just what form this Commission shall take and what powers shall be granted it are questions upon which there is difference of opinion. *From the point of view of the framers of this series, the fundamental necessity is that it shall be an effective agency for Investigation and Publicity.* Beyond this they are, for the present, less concerned. Others have urged that powers of regulation be added, and many separate schemes have been suggested.

The different plans, though varying in details may be reduced to three, which may be characterized as (1) the Investigation and Publicity plan; (2) the License plan; and (3) the Regulation plan. These differ chiefly in the amount of Federal control demanded.

The plan of Senator Francis G. Newlands,

of Nevada, as set forth in his bill introduced into the United States Senate February 26, 1912, calls for a commission of three members, to be appointed by the President for a term of nine years, with terms so arranged that there shall be a vacancy every three years. The Bureau of Corporations is to be absorbed with its staff of investigators and accountants, and the present Commission of Corporations is to be a member of the Commission.

The powers given may be stated as those of Visitation, Examination, Investigation and Publication. All corporations engaged in interstate commerce having gross receipts of \$5,000,000 (except those already subject to the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Comptroller of the Currency, *i. e.*, public utilities and banking) are directly in charge of the new Commission. From these a report in a prescribed form giving a statement of organization, financial condition and operations will be required at once under oath. Thereafter such reports are to be regularly made. A report of similar nature is to be made by corporations beginning business.

The Commission, or its agents, will have the right to examine all books, records, and minutes, and the power to subpoena witnesses, examine them under oath, and to compel the production of books and papers is also given. These powers are to be enforced by the *mandamus* of the United States District Court. The Commission shall make public so much of the information gained as shall seem proper, *striving always to distinguish between what is purely private and what is of public interest.*

The bill further provides that the Commission may require reports of the condition of any particular corporation regardless of size, and may publish the information gained. Likewise it may investigate, on its own initiative, or upon the complaint of any citizen or of the Attorney General, any corporation to determine whether it has been guilty of violating the Sherman Act. If improper practices are found, it may inform the officers and prescribe readjustments. If the practice or condition is not corrected within sixty days, a copy of the finding and the evidence is to be sent the Department of Justice.

Further it is provided that the Commission shall be charged with carrying out the decisions of the courts on the Sherman Act. It is certain that a commission with broader knowledge of economic questions than that possessed by the judges of the United States Courts in New York, for example, would have

worked out a plan for the reorganization of the American Tobacco Company, which would have received, and deserved, less criticism than the solution finally announced.

The assumptions behind this bill are of course that the Sherman Act can be made effective, and that we are too ignorant of the facts to attempt more definite legislation at present. It leaves the question whether it is possible to retain competition in all lines to the future. It lays out a program, comprehensive so far as it goes, and undoubtedly effective to a degree, and leaves further action to the time, when the results of the Commission's activities will furnish more exact knowledge than is now available.

On the other hand the effect of this bill on the corporation, should it become a law, might be beneficial in many cases. The preparation of the figures required by the Commission would force the officers and directors to scrutinize with care their system of accounts. There is a strong suspicion that many of the plants of certain great combinations are neither well equipped nor efficient. It is also believed that several of the combinations cannot manufacture so cheaply as some of their independent rivals. The reports to the Commission would show the truth.

What of a Federal License?

The different plans suggested for a Federal license add to the activities of the Commission (more or less the same as described above), the duty of licensing corporations engaged in interstate commerce. These plans differ chiefly on the question of making the application for license permissive or mandatory.

In one case the license is a reward of merit for the "good trust." Those corporations above a certain size which can satisfy the Commission that they are organized in accordance with the law, that they do not prey upon producers of raw material, competitors or the public, are to have the privilege of adding "United States Registered" or similar words to their title. Upon proof of improper conduct the Commission is authorized to revoke the license.

The advocates of the plan claim that the possession of a Federal license would soon be highly prized and would in time be regarded as a necessity, since the public, feeling that the possession of a license gave some assurance of fair dealing, would give the preference to the registered corporation; that the obligations of this class would bring a higher price than those of the unregistered for the

same reason that the bonds issued by various public service corporations which are approved by the Public Service Commissions of some of the states have a wider market and a readier sale.

The advocates of requiring a Federal license would bar from interstate commerce all corporations to which the Commission refused a license. Such a plan is not, in fact, essentially different from Federal incorporation, or from regulation, to which we now come.

Senator Cummins' Plan for Regulation

The wisdom of preserving competition is not a debatable question to Senator Cummins. His mind is settled upon that point, and his plan is based upon the intention of preventing any corporation from obtaining control of any field. His bill, introduced the same day as Senator Newlands', provides for a commission organized much as that advocated by the latter, but with greater powers.

While believing firmly in the Sherman Act he feels that it is not, as it stands, sufficiently definite, and that to wait until a consistent body of law is developed by the decisions of the Supreme Court would be fatal. Therefore the greater part of his bill is devoted to what may be described as an amplification of the Sherman Act.

The Commission is charged with the duty of preventing any corporation from employing sufficient capital to destroy effective competition. Every corporation engaged in interstate commerce with capital of \$5,000,000 or over is made subject to the control of the Commission. No man may be director in two corporations in the same line, nor are dummy directors permitted. The "holding company" is declared illegal and, in fact, no corporation may own stock in another corporation. No officer or director of a company with a capital stock of \$10,000,000 or more may be an officer or director of a bank.

Not only must there be no holding companies, but also the ownership of common carriers or any interest in the same is forbidden. Discrimination in prices is forbidden except for carload lots, or where charges are paid by the manufacturer, these may be added to the fixed price.

The Position of the Citizen

The chief question of the citizen about any of these plans is whether it will work. With the aim of Senator Cummins' plan he is in

sympathy, but he realizes that men are only human. This bill imposes upon a new commission more difficult tasks than have been given to the Interstate Commerce Commission after twenty-five years of experience, and calls for an exercise of discretion and judgment which would tax the ablest jurists and economists.

The License plan is chiefly advocated by those who are directly interested in "big business" and while the Citizen is not unduly suspicious, he is afraid that in the present state of our knowledge, the Federal seal of approval will come to mean little more than "U. S. Inspected and Passed" in the packing industry, and largely for the same reason—too much work for the inspectors. Discovering facts and approving practices are two entirely distinct things.

At the present time what the Citizen demands most insistently is knowledge. All that the muckrakers have said cannot be true, and yet he knows that all is not well. He believes that a Commission of Investigation and Publication will work, because he has before him the success of a commission which has proved its ability to use broader powers than he is disposed to grant to the new body.

A Lesson from Ancient History

Forty years ago the railroad question was the vital economic problem. Rebates to favored shippers were so common that a prominent railroad man said, "Only the unwary paid tariff rates." The shipper without influence often paid a freight rate, one fourth or even one half greater than that paid by his competitor. One town was favored at the expense of another, the railroad was in politics all the time, and "the public be damned" was the ruling policy. Twenty-five years ago the Interstate Commerce Commission was formed and, after a period of weakness, its powers have been increased until it is now a singularly strong and effective body. No one in his senses would claim for a moment that it has been entirely successful, but, on the other hand, no one except an antediluvian would deny that the Publicity it has caused has been beneficial to the railroad, the shipper and the public alike.

The Commission has not entirely stopped rebating, but rebating has become the exception and not the rule. Freight discriminations exist, but they are growing fewer. The Citizen who buys a ticket may help to pay for a certain amount of free transportation, but fewer politicians or "influential citizens" ride

on passes. The Commission has not taken the railroads entirely out of politics, but their political power has been reduced, partly because of the work of the Commission, partly for other reasons.

The Commission has decided many cases (though often overruled by the courts), but the injustices it has prevented are many times as numerous as those it has corrected. A very large majority of the complaints have been redressed without formal action, and the very existence of a body to which appeal was possible has made the necessity for appeal less frequent. Publicity has been effective, for no railroad manager any more than an individual wishes the reputation of being an extortioner.

There are, according to the estimate of the Commissioner of Corporation, somewhere between 325 and 500 corporations doing a business of more than \$5,000,000 a year. The task of supervising these would be less difficult than the task the Interstate Commerce Commission has performed. It is amusing and interesting to read now the prophecies of failure given elsewhere in this article, which were made only twenty-five years ago.

What Will You Do with the Information When You Get It?

Publish it, is the answer. The ease and rapidity of communication and transportation have made possible the phenomenal growth of capital and also its concentration. It is proposed to use these same modern agencies to restrain the modern Midas, when he forgets that he has grown wealthy and powerful only through the permission of Society.

What Can Publicity Accomplish Against Such Great Forces?

Light is one of the strongest preventives of crime. Increasing the illumination will do more to reform a street than doubling the force of policemen. A light hung in front of a safe is better protection than a watchman, for all the passers-by are transformed into watchmen. So it is the obscurity with which the transactions of our great corporations are covered that allows those acts of which the Citizen justly complains.

Aroused and informed Public Opinion is a force which is almost irresistible. As a witness before the Senate Committee aptly said, "No one except a fool disregards public opinion." It forced Elizabeth to revoke the charters of many monopolies she had granted, it brought on the Civil War, it forced the United

States into the war with Spain, it forced the settlement of the recent textile strike in New England.

There are hundreds, even thousands, of such cases in history. Where the great mass of the people has had no direct voice in the government, wise rulers have always made concessions to public feeling. The influence of this force is shown in our everyday life. Many men lead decent lives from no higher motives than the desire for the approbation of their fellows. Other thousands abstain from open evil from fear of public censure alone. This has always been true of individuals and now the corporation has fallen into line. It also seeks to gain approbation and to avoid blame, and is showing a new deference to the opinion of its patrons.

Instances could be multiplied from the daily papers. A few years ago the Long Island Railroad wished to raise its rates. It bought columns of the newspapers to explain the financial reasons which made such action necessary. The same course was taken by the management of the Hudson River tubes, when the fare from New Jersey to New York was increased a few months ago. Twenty years ago similar corporations would never have dreamed of paying for advertising space to placate the public. Now nearly every great corporation has a publicity agent to spread all that is favorable, and to offer a plausible explanation of occurrences which might cause unfavorable comment.

So the simple publication of acts of injustice and unfairness would in many cases work their cure, just as the investigations of the Bureau of Corporations have changed the rules of the Cotton Exchanges. Herbert Knox Smith, the Commissioner of Corporations, says:

The report of the bureau in the transportation of petroleum published in May, 1906, effected a sweeping decrease in the granting of railway rebates throughout the country. Practically every railroad involved . . . canceled the objectionable rates within six months after the issuance of the report.

Again there is another advantage. Fifty years ago the hero of the Sunday-school book became a successful merchant or manufacturer. Now suspicion is attached to wealth and all the rich are classed as predatory. Too often the question is, "Where did he get it?" or "What does he want?" All men of wealth have suffered for the deeds of a few. Those coming through the fires of investigation unscathed would find the attitude of the public different, and the Citizen would lose

his suspicious attitude which is harming him no less than its object.

No one class will profit more by Publicity than the small stockholders in the large corporation. Too often the dominant interests have treated them as of no account, have concealed earnings, withheld dividends, or declared them when not earned, solely that they might juggle with the stock market. We saw the price of Standard Oil rising after dissolution had been decreed, because those on the inside withheld information until their hands were forced. The stockholders knew nothing of the affairs of the corporation except that it paid good dividends. It could have paid a higher rate. Again Publicity would bring to light the concealed corporations, largely composed of insiders, which often take the lion's share of the profits which should belong to the stockholders of the larger organization. Insiders could no longer form "construction companies" to which contracts would be let at exorbitant prices. The sling of David was an object of derision, but it prevailed against Goliath.

As we have said above, the Citizen has begun to doubt the possibility of maintaining competition in all lines of business. He is forced to believe that the badly located plant with insufficient capital cannot produce cheaply, and increasing cheapness of production is necessary for economic progress, for waste is a sin. He is told that a drug store with too little capital, and lacking efficient management cannot properly serve the public. Yet the Citizen must be certain that these are really inefficient, for he is sorry to see his neighbors fail.

But if under a régime of Publicity, the larger and better equipped plant, or the intelligently managed chain-store, can fairly and honestly offer cheaper goods, or afford better service, the Citizen is not a Mrs. Partington, who will try to sweep back the waves of the sea. The relatively inefficient must go, in the long run, just as the hand-loom weaver disappeared before the factory, and, in our own day, we are seeing the hand compositor give place to the linotype operator.

The Citizen *knows* that savage, intolerant competition destroys the weaker and leads toward monopoly. He *hopes* to see the present uncertainty replaced by an era of "tolerant competition," when efficient plants will strive to secure the business by producing better and cheaper goods, or by offering better service. In other words, he hopes to preserve all the economies of large-scale production without the dangers of monopoly.

The Conclusion of the Whole Matter

Finally, under the reign of Publicity the real culprits will stand revealed. Those who deliberately and defiantly deny their obligation to Society and avow their motto to be "Let him get who hath the power" will no longer be protected. For them is the scourge of the law.

Let us now trace again the path by which we have come. Monopoly is as old as history and practices of the modern monopolist were common to his predecessor. The old monop-

olist, however, seldom denied his responsibility to his creator. The modern monopolist has grown great, largely because of the privileges granted by the state. The state, then, can regulate the business as soon as it becomes of "public consequence." But in order to frame proper legislation, we must have all the facts of organization and conduct. The agency which will get these facts is a permanent commission organized for the purpose. When the monopolists find that their actions will be brought to the light, many improper practices will disappear. If they do not, we shall know how to deal with them.

A CHAPTER OF ANCIENT HISTORY

These extracts below on the question of establishing the Interstate Commerce Commission are only a little more than twenty-five years old, but they sound as if they belonged to another age. They show better than pages of explanation could do some of the common ideas a quarter of a century ago,—the arrogant individualism, the absolute lack of any conception of the rights of the public. On the other hand there is the demagogic appeal to the prejudices of the people.

They are taken, either from the report of the Cullom Committee of the United States Senate 1885-86 or from the *Congressional Record*.

John Norris, editor *Philadelphia Record*:

A commission would be dangerous. In the first place it would bring the railroad interests into politics. . . . It would give an almost autocratic power to some few men.

Charles E. Perkins, president of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R.:

To require absolute publicity of rates and that changes should not be made without public notice would be a great inconvenience to the business community. . . . It is of the utmost importance to the public that the parties interested, the railroads and the shippers, should be free to make and take advantage of varying rates when circumstances make variations necessary.

I am unable to perceive any reason why railroads should be required to make annual reports

to the government, any more than any and all corporations.

Senator Stanford:

Therefore if legislation interferes to decrease income, surely the value of the property is affected to the extent of the diminution of the income. This is taking property without compensation. It is confiscation.

Senator Sherman:

I believe that it will be repealed within a short time.

Senator Riddleberger:

. . . this bill as it stands legalizes discrimination against nine-tenths of the people of this country. I believe it is just such a bill as the railroads want.



WHAT THE WEST EXPECTS FROM PANAMA

THE AWAKENING OF SOUTH AMERICA AND THE OPENING
DOORS OF CHINA

BY AGNES C. LAUT

IT goes without saying, when the ports of the Pacific Coast are spending a hundred million dollars in preparation for the opening of the Panama Canal, that they are not spending such an amount on the expectation of the whooping boomster, on "hot air" and "tall talk" and street-corner prophecies. They have figured out the benefits from the canal in dollars and cents.

Having planned an expenditure of a hundred million on improved harbors, terminals, lowered rail grades, what return do the Pacific Coast ports expect from their investment?

For three times the distance by water, the rate is one to three. By rail, one cent buys, say, one hundred miles. By water, one cent buys one thousand miles. That is what Panama means in a saving to Prince Rupert. In fact the necessity of attracting grain to the Atlantic as against Panama has this year caused a drop of a cent a bushel for lake ports to New York *via* Buffalo. One Western firm, which shipped 16,000 bushels to Liverpool *via* Tehuantepec, saved 8 cents a bushel as against the Montreal and New York rate.

CANADIAN PORTS

Begin at the most northern Pacific trans-continental terminal—Prince Rupert, the Western end of the Grand Trunk. The Grand Trunk passes over as vast grain areas as the Canadian Pacific or the Great Northern. The wheat crop of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba has fluctuated from one hundred to two hundred million bushels according to the season; and the Grand Trunk has a perfect right to expect the carriage of one-third this total. It must be remembered, too, that the crop of the three Canadian provinces is likely to treble in the next ten years. Now the Grand Trunk has announced that after the opening of Panama it will ship its quota of grain from the Canadian provinces *via* Panama. Its low mountain grades enable it to bring grain down to sea level on the Pacific cheaper than the other roads can reach Atlantic level in the East.

In 1910 Montreal exported twenty million bushels of grain. Supposing in ten years the Grand Trunk is sending twenty million bushels by way of Panama, what will it mean in the saving of freight charges to the West? No one yet knows what the Prince Rupert rate *via* Panama will be; but the standard comparison of rail *versus* water on wheat will do. From Chicago to New York by rail the rate for wheat is ten cents a bushel. From New York to Liverpool the rate is three cents.

THE LUMBER PORTS

Come on down to the great lumber ports of Vancouver and Tacoma and Seattle. What returns do they expect for the millions spent on harbor improvement? For ten years there has been a fight on the lumber rate by rail from these points to the Atlantic seaboard. By schooner round the Horn lumber can be sent east for from \$4.50 to \$5 a ton; by steamer, breaking bulk at Panama, for from \$5 to \$8 according to the company. That means a car rate by water—40,000 pounds to the car—of from \$90 to \$100 for schooners to \$100 and \$160 by steamer. By rail, the rate runs from \$395 to \$407. That is the saving that the lumber shipping ports expect from Panama.

SAN FRANCISCO'S LOSS AND GAIN

On the surface, it looks as if San Francisco would be hurt by Panama. Will not all the Oriental traffic which has hitherto broken bulk at San Francisco to be transshipped across the continent for Europe, will not all this traffic sidestep San Francisco and go direct from the Orient to Europe? It certainly will; and you may write that down as a loss; but look at the other side of the account. California has land, space, and labor for twenty million people. There are less than three million people all told on the Pacific Coast. Now the steerage rate from

the south of Europe for emigrants to Atlantic ports is from \$21 to \$35; and this rate has literally poured hundreds of thousands of immigrants into Atlantic ports. This is the very class of labor—gardeners, small fruit farmers, nut growers; manual workers—for which the Pacific Coast is at its wit's end. Now look at the figures. The steamship companies carrying *via* Panama are already considering an emigrant rate from Mediterranean ports to California of \$40 the trip without a break. Is California mad in reckoning that at last she will get her much needed share of the incoming tide of foreign workers? That Oriental trade at best was but a forwarding business. This will be a permanent traffic, a permanent aggregate to the stable wealth of the Pacific States.

NO MORE RAILROAD OPPOSITION

This probably explains why the railroads, instead of curtailing in anticipation of Panama, are really expanding. Said a representative of the Santa Fé: "You know the gigantic strides the West has made in the past ten years. Well, we consider that is only 20 per cent. of what is possible. It taxes the resources of the railroads to handle the present traffic. My opinion is, Panama will simply relieve us of a great pressure and let us concentrate our efforts in local freight."

Said a representative of the Great Northern: "If all the orchards set out in the West were bearing, not twenty times all the rolling stock that to-day exists could haul the fruit to market."

As to the difference in freight rates to San Francisco, one example is sufficient. One Antwerp liner will carry a ton of grocer's commodities round the Horn for exactly the same amount as it costs to ship that commodity by rail from San Francisco to Los Angeles. In other words, a ton is carried from Antwerp round the Horn, 14,000 miles, for \$7.25. The same ton is hauled by rail 420 miles for from \$7 to \$10.

There is another feature in this Panama traffic that appeals tremendously to San Francisco. Scattered through the Pacific Coast States are bulky commodities that would be a veritable gold mine if they could be put on the Atlantic market cheaply. There are infusorial earths and ores used in smelting. There are salt fields. I know of one where almost pure salt can be shoveled on the wagons as fast as it can be hauled away. Near a market, these salt fields would be worth millions. To-day, at time of writing,

promoters have failed to sell them at any price. With more freight than they can handle and more demand for rolling stock than they can finance, the railroads cannot carry these bulky commodities for less than \$10 or \$16 a ton to the Eastern market. The commodities cannot be worked profitably with a higher freight rate than \$5 a ton. San Francisco hopes, when Panama opens and these bulky commodities find their market, that it will prove a second Yukon.

PORTLAND'S PLANS

As to Portland, nothing needs to be said farther than that she is already one of the big grain shippers of America. With Celilo Canal completed, giving her access to an inland empire for four hundred miles, it is hardly necessary to give any proofs of how she will benefit from Panama. Before the opening of the waterway up the Columbia, the freight rate from Portland to the Dalles used to be \$6.40 a ton on nails. When the river traffic began, the rate dropped to \$2. Where the river steamers run, the rate on salt is \$1.50 for eighty-eight miles. Beyond the steamers, that salt has to carry a rate of \$8 for a hundred miles. In fact, though there are some very sore heads in Portland over the city going into civic stevedoring and civic steamboating, you can set it down that Portland knows exactly what she is doing. The prize she aims at is to bring down the traffic of that inland empire *via* Portland and Panama.

THE CITRUS GROWERS

Down at Los Angeles, Panama is in the very air. Men sleep with and eat with it and walk with it, though all the other cities on the coast may call San Pedro "a frog pond." Los Angeles yearly handles a citrus crop running from \$38,000,000 to \$50,000,000 according to the season. In the shipment of that citrus crop East, \$15,000,000 goes for freight. By water *via* Panama, "we will save \$6,000,000 annually on our oranges and lemons alone," declared Mr. Woodford, the General Manager of the Fruit Growers' Associations. "We have already tried one experimental shipment of oranges to New York by way of Panama. It is 40 per cent. lower than across the continent."

FOREIGN TRADE

Two other prizes the Pacific Coast ports are aiming at in connection with Panama,—

South American trade and Oriental trade. Asia is being modernized, republicanized. Can the Pacific ports make a bid for the trade of the 800,000,000 Orientals? South American trade with the United States totals from six hundred million to a billion a year, imports and exports altogether to all countries to two billions. What is to prevent the United States bidding for that? It's a curious thing and you have to look at a map to understand it; but it is shorter for freight to go down the West coast of South America and be shipped inland from Chile or Peru than to go out round the bulging East coast and be shipped in from the Atlantic.

Two difficulties stand in the way of South American trade,—bad packing and lack of steamers. Said a Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce man who had gone down to investigate conditions: "Unless American goods are packed to stand the shock of two train collisions, do not send them to South America. The stuff falls to pieces. It is not unloaded as we unload. It is just pitched overboard to the docks below."

As to steamers, while six lines run from New York to the Argentine, three English, three American, not a ship has the United States south of Panama on the West coast. Some British companies have as many as

fifteen first-class liners on the West coast of South America. The United States has not one. The difficulty is not in getting a cargo to go to South America. It is in getting a cargo back to United States ports: 479 ships of different flags go annually to the Argentine from the United States; but only 91 come from the Argentine to the United States.

On one other prize the Pacific Coast ports are planning; and the Eastern steamship men, to be perfectly frank, think they will be disappointed. The Pacific ports hope, too, that Panama will bring hundreds of thousands of people as tourists who now go to Europe. They think the sea voyage of thirty days from Atlantic to Pacific will divert traffic from Europe.

"I don't," emphatically declared a big steamship man on the East Coast who is ready to put thirty freighters through Panama when the canal opens. "I don't, and I'll tell you why we shall not put a single passenger liner through Panama. We cannot carry a passenger from New York to San Francisco for less than \$125, the very lowest figure for thirty days or six weeks. Well, the railroads can do the job for \$75 in five days. That settles it as far as practical steamboating is concerned."

THE NEED OF A TARIFF BOARD, OR COMMISSION

BY ALBERT G. ROBINSON

THE result of the method employed in tariff making in this country has invariably been a jumble of economic absurdities arising out of limited information and political compromises.

A concurrent resolution passed by both houses of Congress on August 5, 1909, authorized and directed the preparation, compilation, and indexing of "all the acts heretofore passed by Congress imposing duties on imports." The result is a tome of 1040 pages, 11 inches by 7, containing all the tariff acts from 1789 to 1909, "including all acts, resolutions and proclamations modifying or changing those acts." Act No. 1 is dated July 4, 1789, and Act No. 261 is dated August 5, 1909. If all the committee hearings, investigations and considerations, and all the de-

bates and speeches in Congress, relating to those 261 enactments, were to be collected, compiled, and indexed, they would form a library of imposing proportions and of the dreariest possible contents. Yet, notwithstanding all that has been said and done about the matter, we are perhaps no nearer a satisfactory determination of this persistent and perplexing issue than we were a hundred years ago.

In some of its various features, the question is now even more obscure than it was in earlier days. The processes of production and distribution, and the facilities for communication, in this country and throughout the world, have changed and expanded in ways and to a degree far beyond even the dreams of the economists and legislators of the first

half of the nineteenth century. Some of the false impressions and mistaken notions of earlier times have become, in many minds, fixed convictions equally erroneous and of seemingly hopeless fixity.

There are those of an unshakable belief that without a tariff protection that falls little short of prohibition of imports, this country would sink to a level of social and industrial degradation without parallel in the modern world, and there are those who regard protection in any form or degree as a devilish device for enabling the few to rob the many. These and all the intermediate shades of notion, opinion, and belief are prevalent, but what, after all, do most of us, or perhaps any of us, know of the facts of the matter?

The farmer is confident that without a prohibitive duty on corn, on lard and bacon, on cattle, vegetables, and dairy products, our millions of fertile acres would revert to their original condition of prairie and woodland, and that millions of agriculturists would wander in doleful poverty seeking employment. The flock-masters believe that free wool would shortly make sheep in this country as much of a rarity as are bison. On the other hand, millions believe that a "substantial downward revision" of the tariff would greatly reduce the cost of living, the prices of food and clothing, rents and amusements, and enable them to live well, pay their bills, and put money in the bank. What, after all, do most of us or even any of us really know about the possible or probable or certain influences of the tariff on industrial conditions and the prices of commodities? Our present sources of information and misinformation are limited almost wholly to the outpourings of political partisans and to the conflicting assertions of selfish interests.

THE TARIFF COMMISSION OF 1882

In 1882, a commission was appointed, pursuant to an act of Congress. It was composed of nine members, all chosen from civil life and presumably qualified and equipped for the work given them. As prescribed by the act under which they were appointed, the duties of the commissioners were "to take into consideration and to thoroughly investigate all the various questions relating to the agricultural, commercial, mercantile, manufacturing, mining, and industrial interests of the United States, so far as the same may be necessary to the establishment of a judicious tariff, or a revision of the existing tariff, upon a scale of justice to all interests." The com-

mission was authorized to hold sessions in any part of the country, and was directed to submit its final report at the opening of the Congress in the December following, thus giving the body an actual working term of less than seven months for its organization, investigations, and the preparation of its report. In preparing its tariff law adopted in 1902, Germany consumed five years and gave careful consideration to the views and information of more than 2000 experts.

The time and the expense of the commission of 1882 were practically wasted. Its findings were of little or no service in the preparation of the tariff law of 1883, and of no use whatever as a factor in the solution of the tariff problem in its larger aspects. Since that time we have had the McKinley bill of 1890, the Wilson-Gorman bill of 1894, the Dingley bill of 1897, and the Payne bill of 1909, and we are now as far from an intelligent and scientific tariff as at any time in the history of the country.

THE PRESENT TARIFF BOARD

By an act passed in June, 1910, the present so-called Tariff Board, originally created for a different purpose, was authorized to enlarge its field of activities and to investigate the cost of production of commodities, but the boundaries of the field were vaguely defined. The sum of \$250,000 was appropriated to carry on the work until the close of the fiscal year 1911. In his message of December 6, 1910, the President urged that the then existing board with indefinite duties and limited powers be made a permanent Tariff Commission, "with such duties, powers, and emoluments as it may seem wise for Congress to give." A bill providing for such an institution passed the House in January, 1911; passed the Senate, with a few unimportant amendments, on March 3; and was sent back to the House, on March 4, for concurrence in the amendments. A small minority in that body killed the bill by a filibuster in the closing hours of the session.

An appropriation made while the bill was under consideration provided money for the continuance of the work until July, 1912, and the President, as far as it was possible to do so, put into effect the provisions of the defeated bill. By the addition of two Democrats, the membership of the organization was increased from three to five. Under date of February 28, 1911, the board submitted, in response to a call from the Senate, a report "relative to various commodities named in

the proposed Canadian Reciprocity measure." Under date of December 20, 1911, it submitted to the President a report on wool and woolsens. Under date of March 26, 1912, it submitted a synopsis of its report on cotton, followed later by its full report.

The fact must be faced that the achievements of the board have not met the expectations and the hopes of its friends and supporters. But it should be clearly understood that its shortcomings are not chargeable to the board itself. It was given a foolish and impossible task. Its work was set forth in a plank in the party platform of 1908, in a declaration that "in all tariff legislation the true principle of protection is best maintained by the imposition of such duties as will equal the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, together with a reasonable profit to American industries." To the Tariff Board was assigned the work of ascertaining costs of production in this and in other lands. It was thus started on a false trail and, as some of us foresaw and predicted, landed in a jungle of figures of little value for the purpose for which they were gathered.

The reports of the board have been accorded a somewhat perfunctory approval by its friends and have been repudiated and ridiculed by the majority party in the House. The theory of that platform plank is superficially pleasing, but it is fundamentally unsound and economically impossible. Although this assertion is not supported by direct statement in the reports of the board, the evidence and even the proof of its accuracy run through all their pages. Neither in this nor in any other country is there fixity or uniformity in what is commonly known as "cost of production." In no branch of industry is this as sharply emphasized as it is in the lines on which society must depend for its food and clothing.

DIFFERENCES IN COST OF PRODUCTION

Careful investigation by the Department of Agriculture has resulted in reports showing the cost of producing potatoes in the North Atlantic States as 28.1 cents a bushel, and in the North Central States, east of the Mississippi River, as 21.4 cents. These were the figures for 1909. Had a similar investigation been made last year, the cost would have been found to be much greater. The same authority reports the cost of producing corn, in 1909, in the South Atlantic States as 56.1 cents a bushel, and in the North Central

States west of the Mississippi as 31 cents. The department also reports the cost of producing wheat, in the same year, as 84 cents in Pennsylvania, 79 cents in Ohio, 64 cents in Illinois, 55 cents in Nebraska, and 54 cents in California.

The fact is that only an inconsiderable number of our agriculturists and stock-raisers have even a remote idea of the cost of their products. The market prices of those products are regulated by conditions over which they have no control. The price obtained by the Minnesota wheat grower may be determined by the output of Argentina, and the price obtained by the Louisiana sugar grower is practically regulated by the beet-sugar crop in Europe. In its report, the Tariff Board shows the production cost of wool in Idaho as 17.3 cents, in Montana as 13.8 cents, and in Colorado as 8.7 cents.

A report of the Bureau of Corporations shows that the average cost of steel rails in 1905 was \$21.30 a ton, and that the average cost in 1903 was \$23.78. These figures include more than 93 per cent. of the entire rail output of the country. The same bureau states that the lowest average cost of production shown by any one concern for total output in the five years 1902-1906 was \$20.74, and the highest average for any one concern in that time was \$26.61.

In this way it would be easily possible to go through a great majority, practically all, of the producing concerns in the country and show more or less marked differences in production costs of corresponding commodities in different mills, in different localities, at different times. The same conditions exist in all countries. The cost of steel rails differs in the mills of England. The cost of corresponding silk fabrics differs in the mills of France. The cost of chemical products differs in Germany as does the cost of olive oil and macaroni in Italy. A more uncertain and unstable basis for tariff adjustment could hardly be conceived. As clearly shown by Professor Taussig, if difference in cost of production is used as the measure of protection, the interest of American producers is to throw their costs to the highest possible figures.

WHAT DOES THE TARIFF REALLY DO?

The imperative need is not an elaborate and costly investigation of widely differing and frequently changing costs of production, but an intelligent, impartial, and fearless analysis of the tariff itself, its actual influence

on industries and its actual effect on commodity prices. The producers of those commodities believe that they are financially benefited by the tariff on corn, eggs, butter, lard and bacon, and the consumers believe that because of the tariff they must pay advanced prices. Much would be done if, through some responsible official channel, the people of the country could be told the truth about these and scores of other commodities now included in the various schedules, and could be fully assured that it is the truth. From nowhere in the wide world could there possibly come enough of any of the above-mentioned articles to supply this country for a single meal, or enough to affect prices by the smallest fraction of a cent.

By one group, the producers of these commodities have been politically humbugged into a conviction of price benefit, and, by another group, consumers have been politically flimflammed into a conviction of higher prices due to tariff rates. The notion is widespread and deeply rooted in many minds that somewhere outside our boundaries there exist unlimited quantities of every known substance needed or desired by the American people, and that the tariff schedules are the only barrier against an influx of those commodities at prices materially below the cost of producing similar goods and articles here.

For a half-century we have taken the tariff question so seriously that we have been deaf and blind to its multitude of absurdities and to the rank humbuggery that permeates it. The absurdities and the humbuggery have no serious economic results. Nothing goes into the farmer's pocket, and nothing goes out of the consumer's pocket, by reason of the tariff on corn. Nothing whatever would be changed if the present tariff rate of 15 cents a bushel were increased to \$15 or dropped to one-fifteenth of a cent. The need of a board or a commission to study, intelligently and free from any political bias, the tariff itself in its relation to productive industry and commodity prices lies in the many known and more suspected absurdities of this kind.

The consideration most needed is an impossibility for the Congress. The adjustment of rates by a commission is impossible. The nation needs the revenue now derived through the customs. There are industries that need and may reasonably be afforded protection. There are industries that require only a part of the protection now given them, and there are others that need no protection. The political interests of legislators and parties

clearly make impossible any adjustment of tariff rates along exclusively financial and economic lines. Members of Congress have not the time for a work that demands months or years of close and special application. Schedules may be revised and rates may be increased or decreased and the result be only a different and not a better tariff, a mere rearrangement of the groups of the satisfied and the dissatisfied.

HOW ARE PRICES AFFECTED?

Behind any right adjustment of rates there must stand an intelligent public opinion. That can no more be created by the publication of interminable pages of statistics that are difficult of comprehension even by specialists than it can be by a limited circulation of reports of committee hearings and political speeches on the floor of the House and Senate. The demand for revision of the tariff, a demand widespread and persistent, springs almost entirely from the belief that because of excessive rates imposed, the public is compelled to pay excessive prices for many of the wants and requirements of daily life. This is probably the fact in no more than a comparatively limited number of articles, but the belief will exist as long as our methods of tariff making give cause for its existence. It will exist until the public has been shown clearly, fairly and authoritatively the precise effect of tariff rates on the prices of food and clothing, light, heat, and all else necessary for life and for reasonable physical comfort. It will exist as long as the public, or any important part of it, can be led to believe that protected interests, by the protection afforded them, gorge themselves with profits at the expense of their victims, the consumers. This is a widespread notion, but it rests on political assertions and not on authoritatively ascertained facts.

In brief, the tariff will be a bone of political contention, a cause of disturbance and depression in trade and production, until, through the agency of some responsible and politically independent board or commission, the facts of the various industries affected and supposed to be affected have been studied and intelligently reported to the American people. Until there is a wider and clearer public knowledge of the influences and the effects of schedules and of individual rates, the tariff will continue to be the jumble of economic absurdities and political compromises that it has been hitherto and is to-day.

HOW THE BRITISH POST OFFICE GREW

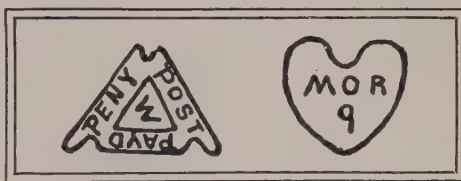
THE story of the British post office since its establishment in the sixteenth century is full of useful and interesting lessons for all Americans who would like to see our own Post Office Department more efficient in the work it already performs and extended into wider fields in the service of the public.

The deliberate, comprehensive and unusually, lucidly told account given in Dr. J. C. Hemmeon's "History of the British Post Office,"¹ published in the "Harvard Economic Studies" series, traces the development of the postal communications in the British Isles from the days when the announcements of state, carried by royal messengers, were the sole means of communication, to the end of the fiscal year 1911. Postal messengers we first find mentioned as early as the reign of King John. They were known as *nuncii*, and were paid out of the household and wardrobe account of the king. They delivered their letters personally.

Sir Brian Tuke is the first English Postmaster-General of whom we have any record. He was known as Master of Posts, and he received a salary of somewhat less than \$350 a year, as is recorded in the King's "Book of Payments" for the year 1512. He named the "post-men" and was held responsible for the performance of their duties. In addition he had to render an account of the horses used in the conveyance of the mail. During the century that followed slow progress was made in the extensions of the service and facilities of the post office. Then in 1628 Thomas Witherings was made "Postmaster-General for Foreign Parts," and a new era began. Witherings' idea was to make the posts self-supporting, and to extend them from the royal service to the service of the ordinary folk. Dr. Hemmeon asserts that Witherings' name is "without doubt the most distinguished in the annals of the British post office." He laid the foundation for the system of a postal rates and regulations which continued to the time of the penny postage. He brought about increased speed of transmission, and above all, he made the post office a financial success. To do this he sought and succeeded in securing legislation which made the income from

private letters go to the state, and not to the postmaster as heretofore.

Meanwhile, domestic, or as the English call it, inland postal service, had not progressed as far as the foreign. Before 1680 there was no post between one part of London and another. In that year William Dockwra, a private individual, organized his London Penny Post, which "in some respects was superior to that of to-day." There were then 179 places in London where letters might be posted. The rate was uniform, payable in advance, and it was permissible to send letters and parcels up to one pound in weight, articles or money to the value of £10 might be sent, and the penny payment insured their safe delivery. The carriers traveled chiefly on foot, but in some of the neighboring towns



THE FIRST POSTMARK ON A BRITISH LETTER

(One of the Dockwra postmarks on a letter written by the Bishop of London to the Lord Mayor, dated December 9, 1681. The first figure shows that, at that time, they were Penny Post letters and that they were prepaid. The "W" in the center of the first figure is the initial letter of the receiving office, Westminster. The second figure shows the hour of arrival at the Westminster office, 9 A.M.)

they rode on horseback. Dockwra was the first to make use of postmarks. The earliest instance of the use of such marks is on a letter dated December 9, 1681, written by the Bishop of London to the Lord Mayor.

According to Dr. Hemmeon, the first proposition for a post office in the American colonies came from New England, in 1638, because "a post office was really so useful and absolutely necessary." Nothing was done by the London government, however, for more than fifty years. In 1691 one Thomas Neale was granted a patent to establish post offices in North America. At about the same time an act was passed by the Colony of Massachusetts, appointing Andrew Hamilton Postmaster-General. Hamilton was afterward retained by Neale as his deputy in North America. When, in 1699, a report was

¹The History of the British Post Office. Harvard Economic Studies, Vol. VII. By Dr. J. C. Hemmeon. Cambridge: Harvard University. 271 pp. \$2.

made to the House of Lords, it was found that Neale and Hamilton had established a regular weekly post between Boston and New York and New York and Newcastle, Pa. There were postmasters in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. The first part of the eighteenth century saw the extension of the postal system in the British colonies and an important growth in the packet service, based on England's increased foreign trade. At this time also the system of mail coaches was established, and there was a consolidation of offices and much greater coöperation.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the British post office was used as an instrument of taxation. Rates were forced so high that ordinary citizens often resorted to legal and illegal means to evade paying them. A number of reformers argued, in the public prints, that "a tax upon correspondence was not only a poor method of raising money, but its ulterior effect in restricting letter writing was productive of undesirable results upon the people of England industrially and socially." Eventually, the popular cause, championed chiefly by Sir Rowland Hill, forced itself upon the attention of the government, and low and uniform rates of postage for the United Kingdom were agreed upon. Thus, in 1840, the famous Inland Penny Postage was ushered in. Among the numerous changes which have characterized the development of the British post office since 1840 are: (1) Successive reductions in rates; (2) abandonment of the packet-boat service by the admiralty to private enterprise; (3) the extension and use of railways; (4) the establishment of a parcels post; (5) the embarking of the government in banking and insurance facilities (postal savings banks) "for the thrifty person of small means." The most radical departure in British postal methods during the past decade has been the acquisition of the telegraph and telephone systems.

The earliest proposal for government ownership of the telegraphs of Great Britain seems to have originated with Thomas Allan, who was later instrumental in establishing the United Kingdom Telegraph Company. In 1854 he proposed to the government, through Sir Rowland Hill, the acquisition of the telegraph systems, but without securing favorable action. A number of other proposals were submitted in 1864 and 1866. In 1868 the Postmaster-General was given authority, by act of Parliament, to begin the taking over of the telegraph systems of the United Kingdom. A uniform rate was at once introduced and other facilities afforded.



RT. HON. HERBERT LOUIS SAMUEL, THE BRITISH
POSTMASTER-GENERAL

In 1875 England joined the other important European powers in a general telegraphic agreement, and in 1908 a working agreement was brought about between the Post Office and the Marconi Wireless Company.

The first telephone was brought to England by Lord Kelvin in 1876. The first company, which had developed its operations successfully by 1878, tried to come to an agreement with the post office, but the negotiations came to nothing. A series of agreements and understandings between the post office and the larger telephone systems covered the period between 1878 and 1905. By the terms of an agreement made in the latter year, the Postmaster-General, on the last day of December, 1911, was directed to buy, and the National Telephone Company to sell, all the "physical resources, equipment and business of the telephone company." Improvement in rates and extension of facilities followed this agreement as in the arrangement between the post office and telegraph systems. Dr. Hemmeon states that from a financial point of view, government ownership of telegraph and telephone systems of the United Kingdom has not been a success, but he testifies to the betterment of the service and cheapening of the rates.



THE SCRIPTURAL PLAY OF "NOAH'S ARK," AS PRESENTED BY THE SHIPWRIGHTS' GUILD, IN ENGLAND, FOUR CENTURIES AGO

(Model in the Dramatic Museum at Columbia University. The ark is seen drawn up in the village square, with Noah looking out of the window. Once a year, at a religious festival, the guilds produced elaborately scenes from the Bible, to which people from the surrounding country would flock. The settings for the different plays, mounted on wheels, would be driven in succession into the square. As soon as the first play was acted through, the wagon was driven to the next station, where the performance was repeated. The spectators at any one point, without moving, might thus witness a long succession of scenes)

THE DRAMATIC MUSEUM AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

BY DUDLEY H. MILES

THE first dramatic museum to be established in this country and the only one in the world except that in the library of the Paris Opéra—such, conservatively stated, is a recent development in the Department of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University in New York City.

This museum has an even better claim to consideration. It inaugurates the scientific method of studying dramatic history. Plays, printed and bound up in volumes, have too long been treated in college courses as mere literature. To study them in the library is to miss their true character. In reality, all the greatest plays were written to entertain or engross an audience seated in some kind of theater, whether it be one under the open sky, hewed from the solid rock of the hillside, as in ancient Athens, or a luxuriously furnished room in modern New York seating only 299 persons. Obviously, the author

who had in mind the Greek amphitheater would write a much different play from the man who knew that every change of the actor's facial expression could be seen from the back row. A scientific study of the drama takes account of this influence of theatrical conditions on the plays of any age or country.

It is exactly such a scientific method which has at length been made easy for students by the famous institution on Morningside Heights. On the third floor of its new Hall of Philosophy, now occupied by the graduate schools of literature, two spacious rooms are set aside for this unique and significant development, which has been named, by a resolution of the Board of Trustees at the March meeting of this year, the Brander Matthews Dramatic Museum, in honor of the well-known Columbia professor of dramatic literature who has secured its establishment.



THE ENGLISH THEATER OF THREE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

(This remarkable model of the Fortune Theater in the Dramatic Museum shows the kind of stage for which Shakespeare's plays were written. The only indication of the setting for the different scenes was a throne or other stage properties situated at the rear. Most of the acting took place forward, where the actor was surrounded on three sides by the audience. That accounts in part for the many long speeches in Shakespeare. A play was then more of an oratorical contest than it is to-day. The galleries, it will be noticed, are the only parts roofed in. The performances were all matinées in broad daylight)

The larger of the two rooms has been reserved for the library of the museum. Among books of all sorts bearing on the history of the dramatic arts, two special collections call for notice. One, containing some 500 plays of American authorship, is equalled only by the C. Fiske Harris library at Brown University. The other, of about 200 volumes, is considered the largest gathering, outside the British Museum, of books relating to the celebrated English dramatist of the eighteenth century, Richard Brinsley Sheridan. Eventually the museum will receive the remainder of the dramatic library which Professor Matthews has been accumulating for forty years, including all his material about the great French comic genius Molière—a collection which, if equalled at all, is equalled only by the one in the Harvard College Library or by the library of Mr. Chatfield-Taylor in Chicago.

The unique feature of the museum, in which is to be found its chief educational

and scientific value, is the model-room opening into the library. Upon the walls are a score of engravings, some representing special performances, such as Molière at his last appearance and an old French mystery play being acted in the shadow of the village cathedral; others showing actors in character in the costumes of the period; and a few depicting theaters either from within or without. A great deal of additional graphic material to illustrate the history of the stage is kept in draws—such as plans of theaters, photographs of performances, and portraits of distinguished dramatists. The principal objects in the room, however, are a group of models which illustrate certain steps in the development of the drama.

The nucleus of the group is a reproduction of the stage on which a medieval mystery play was acted. Three manuscripts of a passion play presented at Valenciennes in 1547 contain illuminated or colored drawings of the platform on which the drama was pro-



THE THEATER IN SHAKESPEARE'S BOYHOOD

(This interesting model in the Dramatic Museum shows how the forerunners of the present road companies presented their plays in the court-yard of a village inn. There was of course no scenery nor any considerable use of "make-up" or costume. Yet the visit of the strolling troupe gathered a goodly audience on the galleries about the court. That may have been occasioned partly because the play was supposed to be educational. "The Nice Wanton," which the model represents, had such characters as Iniquity, Vice, Worldly Shame, and presented the life of man from the cradle to the grave to impress the truth that the wages of sin is death)

duced. When the French Government was preparing its exhibit for the Paris Exposition of 1878, it included a special collection of sets of scenery. Among them was a model of this Valenciennes play, constructed from a drawing in the manuscripts under the direction of a noted authority on medieval drama, M. Marius Sepet.

From this reproduction it was clear even to the uninitiated that in that far-away age there was no attempt to produce illusion. The art of the theater was seen to be vastly different from what it is to-day. There was no effort to make the stage look like a room in an actual house, or to use back curtains so painted as to deceive the eye into thinking it was gazing at mountains miles in the distance. On the contrary, a dozen or a score of different places might be shown or rather indicated at once, and indicated in a very summary way. A chair between two columns became the great hall of a royal palace. Four trees represented a forest. A pool of

twenty square feet was called at one time the Sea of Tiberius, at another the Mediterranean. Thus, on a single multiple stage, as it may be termed, were indicated enough places to furnish forth a course of action lasting all day, for frequently the plays were of such duration.

Several years ago Professor Matthews obtained permission to have an exact duplicate of the Paris model of this instructive medieval setting made by MM. Duvignaud and Gabin, the makers of the original. This was the beginning of the present museum. A few years later Mr. E. Hamilton Bell gave the university the second model, a representation of the famous Palais-Royal theater, built by Richelieu in 1639 and occupied after 1661 by the Shakespeare of France, Molière, and his company. Thus stage conditions in two flourishing periods of French dramatic history are illustrated so clearly that any one who has been inside a playhouse can understand how dramas were produced in those distant times.

The other three models at present in the museum illustrate periods in the development of English drama. The first shows an open place in an English village in the middle ages, with the pageant wagon representing Noah's ark. From a glance or two you see that the English in those days placed the setting for each scene of a play on a separate wagon, instead of putting all of them together on one platform, as the French across the Channel were doing at the same period. When the scene had been acted, the wagon drove away to give place to the next scene, and so on, until in some cases the whole extent of biblical history was acted before the throng of onlookers.

The second model represents the courtyard of an English inn some time during the sixteenth century, with its surrounding galleries, from which spectators are looking down on a performance of the strolling actors who are playing "The Nice Wanton," a morality play popular "on the road" four centuries ago. These two sets are reproductions of the stage settings shown at the New Theater, New York, in the spring of 1911. They were made by Mr. Joseph Wickes under the direction of Mr. E. Hamilton Bell, and were presented to the museum by Mr. Winthrop Ames. The third model reproduces the Fortune Theater built in London in 1600.

This last model is the most important of all because it shows the kind of stage on which Shakespeare's plays were performed. The contract and specifications for the building of the Fortune Theater in Golden Lane, London, between Edward Alleyn and his father-in-law, Philip Henslowe, of the first part, and Peter Street, carpenter and builder, of the second part, are still extant among the Alleyn papers preserved in Dulwich College. At several places in the document appear phrases like this: "The said stage to be in all other proportions contrived and fashioned like unto the stage of the saide Plaie-house called the Globe." Now the Globe was built in 1599, and was used by Shakespeare and his company for ten years. Here, then, is a chance to determine for what kind of stage our greatest poet and dramatist devised his immortal plays.

Mr. William Archer, a distinguished critic of the acted drama, saw this, arguing that if Peter Street in 1600 could erect the edifice from the specifications, any competent builder and contractor could reconstruct

it just as well in 1907. He accordingly consulted Mr. Walter H. Godfrey, a London architect who was familiar with the customs of woodworkers in the days of Queen Elizabeth. The architect and the critic found that it was indeed easy to prepare a set of plans and cross-sections—plans which aroused among scholars a great deal of discussion. From them, at the special request of Professor Matthews, Mr. James P. Maginnis constructed an elaborate model, perfect in all its details and open in the center, so that its interior is wholly displayed. When it was exhibited in London last summer, regret was expressed that it could not remain in England.

As is evident from the photograph here reproduced, it shows at a glance how much theaters have changed since 1600. The size, to be sure, was about the same as to-day. The galleries seated nearly 1200. The orchestra, or pit, all devoted to standing-room, accommodated only 400. This was because the stage, although of about the dimensions of one in the present theater of moderate size, projected halfway into the pit. The acting was always in daylight. The setting was even more summarily indicated than in the French mystery play. There was no scenery. The same stage, by a little shifting of properties, such as chairs or trees, might indicate anything from a throne-room to a primeval forest.

From this brief account and from the photographs, the value of the Dramatic Museum even in its present incomplete state must be obvious. When the group of historically accurate models of typical theaters from the golden age of Greek tragedy to a modern spectacular production like "The Garden of Allah" is complete, students will be able to understand in a few minutes what poring over many volumes might not make clear in a month. Then drama, which has always been profoundly influenced by the kind of stage on which it was to be produced, can be studied at Columbia University in a scientific manner. That is, the different types of drama that have developed in the last twenty-five centuries can before long be studied in connection with the theater in which each type was performed. Even now a half hour spent in examining the model of the Fortune Theater will explain many of the differences between the plays of Shakespeare and those of Sir Arthur Pinero or Mr. Augustus Thomas.

THE NEW WOMAN OF THE NEW EAST

[One of the most significant and deep-reaching developments of the modern spread of liberalism and social progress is the awakening restlessness of the women of the Orient. The Oriental woman has farther to go than the woman of the West, but she has already taken the first steps in the direction of a larger participation in the life of her people. In Japan and China women are attending the universities, entering into business and professions, and already taking an active part in public life. The reformer, Kang-Yu-wei, in his book "A Criticism of the Chinese Classics," called attention, many years ago, to the fact that the raising of the status of woman has always been an essential part of the spread of democracy. It is more than half a century since women began to be educated in China. This was when the missionary movement had attained important proportions. Two decades ago a crusade began against the binding of the feet, which was a great step forward. In 1907 the government formally recognized the right of women to education and began to plan schools for girls. A newspaper edited by women was one of the first developments of the woman movement in China. In March of this year the hall of the National Assembly of the new Republic at Nanking was made the scene of a violent demonstration by militant Chinese suffragettes, discontented with the measure of "emancipation" granted them by the new régime. We print here a striking article on this subject by a Japanese journalist and writer of authority, many of whose articles on Far Eastern topics have already appeared in these pages.]

Social regeneration in India is going on swiftly and steadily. The whole mass is being affected by the leaven of social reform. In this social revolution,—for nothing short of that term can express the exact situation,—the Hindu woman is playing a most heroic part. We have, from time to time, in these pages, printed articles (notably those written by Mr. Saint Nihal Singh and Professor W. M. Zumbro) showing the economic, political, and educational progress being made in India. Our second article, by a Hindu student at one of our Western American universities, shows how "with the purification of her marriage institution, the elevation of the status of woman and the depressed classes, the breaking down of the walls of caste, the spread of liberal and scientific education, and the diffusion of the rays of Western culture, India is being born anew, quite transfigured and prepared to take her legitimate place among the great nations of the world." All the rest of the vast continent of Asia is experiencing the stirrings of the woman movement. The languorous ladies of Persia are stirring, and in Turkey and Egypt they are already awake. Altogether it is a vast and portentous movement.—THE EDITOR.]

THE NEW WOMAN IN CHINA AND JAPAN

BY ADACHI KINNOSUKE

THE Chinese revolution has already done many remarkable things. Setting up a republic in the ancient home of autocracy is not the most amazing of its performances. What is more significant, especially in the eyes of the future East, and more surprising and, withal, thoroughly natural, is this: It has staged the New Woman of the New East,—staged her dramatically.

In the bitter month of March, 1911, at Peking, just outside of the great Chengyang Gate, a girl was beheaded. She was a revolutionist. She was one of the victims on the altar of the New China that was being born. Her execution attracted a great deal of attention, which was rather surprising because in those days the executions of revolutionaries were almost too common to merit even a passing nod from newspapers.

This girl was an actress. The name of Chin Chilan on the bill-boards had attracted a large house at the tea-halls everywhere from Tientsin to Canton. Chin Chilan was not her real name. She had been sold to a slave

dealer when she was a mere tot. It was said that she was a daughter of a farmer of Su-chau. Nobody believed it. Her beauty, which gave flesh and color to the century-long dreams of many a classic Chinese poet, and in such a striking, generous way, gave the lie to this talk of her humble birth. Her admirers were as many as bees and as devoted and she made a great deal of money. People wondered what she did with it. Because early in her professional career, she was sometimes found in the company of a revolutionist called Hung, the Peking government kept an eye on her for a long time. Government detectives failed to trap her. Then, very suddenly, all North China was filled with "dark talks" over the murder of a wealthy merchant from Paoting-fu whom Chin Chilan had met at Tientsin, where she had played in 1910 with a large company of her own. Gossip entangled her name with the murder of the Paoting-fu merchant. It was widely known that the merchant had spent 3000 taels for one night's entertain-

ment given in honor of the actress; and that he had been desperately in love with her—as indeed were most of her admirers. The authorities unearthed the fact that the actress had sent large sums of money from time to time through secret channels to her comrades in the United States for the purchase of arms and ammunition—and for the revolutionary cause! Her fate was sealed.

She was not alone. She was merely one of many among the women of China who have devoted themselves and who are working for the cause of the New China. The striking thing about the women revolutionists of China is that they seem to be among the most reckless and daring of the "agnostics-of-the-value-of-life" company. In the premature uprising of April, 1911, in Canton, three well-dressed girls were found knocking at the door of a house which was watched by the detectives. On the barest suspicion they were arrested. At the police headquarters the officers were dumfounded at the sight of cartridges in belts wound all over the bodies of the girls. They were veritable walking arsenals!

Of the stories of the women victims of the revolution none has touched the hearts of the people on both sides of the Yellow Sea more than that of Chuchin. She was from Nanking, the only daughter of a wealthy merchant who had left his entire fortune to the child at his death. She studied English under a Chinese scholar named Enming. She went over to Tokyo and studied at the Jissen Girls' School. It was under Enming and in her Tokyo days that she came under the influences of the prophets of the Young China movement. She took the entire fortune left her by her father and put it into the treasury of the revolutionists and devoted her life to the cause. Then, as if she were not satisfied with anything short of the most perilous deed, she undertook the work of smuggling arms, ammunition and dynamite bombs into China.

Sparing of words and gentle as the zephyr in her manners, she looked like a rose-leaf on a whirlpool. And the gentle appearance was the secret of her sensational success at the dangerous trade. Her former teacher, Enming, became later the head of Police of Nanking. In 1908, he sprang the scandal and surprise of the year, known as the Anhwei case. He shot and killed the Manchu Governor. It was in connection with this case that Chuchin was arrested and tried. She knew that her days were numbered. When the judge asked her if she had anything to say in her defense, she produced a statement

of ten closely written pages. They were written in English! Of course, the judge could not read a word of it. To him she did not care to make the slightest explanation. Her statement was for the world at large; and it could understand her better in English than in Chinese.

Madame Su is well known in Tokyo. She is a Cantonese and sixty-five years of age. She is a familiar figure at almost all the public gatherings of the Chinese students in Tokyo—not as an audience, however.

As a public speaker, she could hardly ask for a much more flattering laurel than the one she received at the second great People's Gathering, as the Chinese revolutionists called the mass meeting which they held in Tokyo. One thousand two hundred Chinese students listened to her address, and when she told them of the wrongs their country had suffered at the hands of the Manchu tyrants and appealed to their "love-country" heart, there was not a dry eye in the hall.

If the sight of the sixty-five-year-old Chinese lady swaying the 1200 Chinese students from a public platform is a shock to the Occidental conception of the Chinese woman wobbling on her "golden lotus" feet, then there is something out of tune somewhere—but not with the fact.

Madame Su was not the only orator of the revolution. There were the Wu sisters. The elder, who was one and twenty then, was called Wu Jenan. She attended the Aoyama Ladies' Seminary, and her sister, Wu Yanan, aged 19, went to school to the Japanese-French-English Girls' School at Surugadai. The sisters were well known to Tokyo audiences. It were a cold house indeed which could sit unmoved when from the flower lips of the young women fell the bitter words of denunciation against the wickedness and crimes of the Manchu usurpers at Peking. If you were to take the words of the Chinese students these sisters were and are by far the most eloquent advocates of the revolutionary cause. Perhaps their beauty, which is as striking as their words, has something to do with the judgment. These sisters are not in Tokyo to-day. Some time before the Hankau uprising, they sailed for London. And there in England, as in Tokyo, they were reported to be working with the same white-hot zeal setting the hearts of their Chinese sisters on fire for the New China that is being born.

While these flower lips are giving words to the thoughts of the Young China, others, like Miss Ying, are doing more than mere speak-



SUE YI YAT

(A Chinese girl, born in America, who has entered a military school in China)

DR. MARY STONE (SHI MA-LI-A)

(A successful physician who in a single year has treated nearly 16,000 patients)

DR. KIN

(Who for twenty years has been engaged in reorganizing the hospital system of China)

REPRESENTATIVE "NEW WOMEN" OF CHINA

ing. A body of Red Cross nurses sailed from the Japanese metropolis for the front on November 19, 1911. Among them were nine Chinese girls. They had been attending medical schools in Tokyo. They are the young Chinese women who had decided to take up professional life.

As a matter of historical fact, the new woman of China is not quite new. The position of women among the Chinese has always been high. The late Empress Dowager, who, in her time, received a deal of free advertisement, not of the kindest brand (and Heaven and Earth know, or should know, that Mrs. Conger's estimate of the Dowager Empress is much nearer the truth than those horrid nightmares fashioned out of whole cloth by some copy-manufacturing newspaper imagination)—the Imperial Lady was no more a freak and exception among the dowager empresses of China than she was a monster. In Japan, the abdication of a sovereign in favor of his successor has been common. In China it was rarely practiced. Naturally, during the minority of the reigning sovereign a

Dowager Empress has always been the sovereign de facto. And that was precisely what happened to the late Dowager Empress.

Mr. Okuda, while he was serving as the Third Secretary to the Japanese Embassy at Peking, made a careful study of the social and commercial life of China and wrote a book. He says that petticoat government is a general thing in China; that the position of her women is even higher than that of her Occidental sisters. "China is the country which respects and values her women exceedingly," he declares. "A country where woman's power is strong. Even among the lower classes the husband cannot lay a violent hand on the wife, and the matrimonial quarrel has only one end invariably,—the victory for the wife."

THE NEW WOMAN OF JAPAN

The same cannot be said of the women of Japan—especially in recent times. There men have played the part of tyrants; they have behaved shamefully, scandalously,

abominably and in any number of other wicked ways toward the women. The strange thing about it all is that the silly, base, unforgivable abuses of men have resulted in a wonderful thing—the most winning feminine graces in the known world. A Japanese man has no business saying this. It is not appreciated in this “blow-your-own-horn-age” of advertisements. He needn’t say it. All the foreign students of Japan and her life are of one opinion on this point. One enthusiast has put himself down in black and white after the following manner: “How sweet the Japanese woman is! All the possibilities of the race for goodness seem to be concentrated in her. It shakes one’s faith in some Occidental doctrines. If this be the result of suppression and oppression, then these are not altogether bad.”

This also is true. The brain of Japan has largely been with her women, quite as much as with her men. Murasakishibu is the name of our Chaucer; Murasakishibu is not a name of a man, but of a lady of court. Sei Shonagon, another court lady, is the author of perhaps the most perfect model of the classic literature of Yamato, known as Makura Zoshi. Ise, Izumi Shikibu, Koshikibu, Akazoe-emon can easily be our Keats, Shelley or Sappho. The oldest chronicle of the Japanese empire extant is called *Kojiki*—the Record of Ancient Things. It was dictated by a lady called Hieda Are,—whose scholarly memory was the wonder of the age.

In the Augustan age of Japanese statesmanship, Hojo Masako reigned on the dais of the Shogun. She was called the Nun Shogun, because she had shaved her head at the death of the founder of the Hojo Shogunate, her husband. She did not wish to mingle with mankind, now that her husband had passed into the Shadow World. She was forced to take the dais. Why? For the simplest of reasons. Among the shining company of famous statesmen of the time, there was no star brighter in administrative ability than her own. The Great Ieyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate, which ruled the empire for two and a half centuries until 1868, when the present Emperor was restored to the throne, leaned upon Kasugano Tsubone and her judgments far more than on any of his Elders. This statement is not from the secret memoirs of the Shogun’s court; it is written in all authentic histories worthy the name. The influences and power of court ladies on the Tokugawa politics were greater than many authentic histories are willing to admit. Often great Elders of the Shogun

and ministers of state as well as powerful daimyo were nothing but puppets of which their white fingers held the strings.

As if statecraft, literature, scholarship were not quite varied and wide enough a realm to express herself, the Japanese woman went into a very much masculine occupation of war. There is not a school boy in all Japan who does not know that the first captain who led the Nippon forces beyond the seas and with success was the Empress Jingo. Tomoe Gojen is a romantic figure in the military annals of our feudal times. And Princess Oyama—who was educated at Vassar, by the bye, and is the wife of Prince Oyama, commander-in-chief of the Japanese army in the Russian war—can tell many a thrilling tale of the part the samurai women took in the defense of Wakamatsu Castle, in which she was a mere child, but no mere spectator.

With such heritage as this, it is not so surprising that the women of Japan did worthy things when Opportunity, coming on the heels of Commodore Perry from the United States, opened the *shoji* and smiled at them.

WOMAN PHYSICIANS

It was in 1884 that Hagino Yoshi-ko opened her campaign against the male monopoly of the medical profession in Japan. Her aggressive activity brought forth fruits meet unto her ambition and in a remarkably short time. It resulted in the revision of the regulations governing the official examination of candidates for the practice of medicine. And Dr. Washiyama Yayoi was one of the first exponents of the movement.

The number of woman physicians to-day is not large; there are not more than 250 women in actual practice in the entire Empire. What is big about this is the future. In the Women’s Medical School of Tokyo, alone, there are 250 students. If the number of the women physicians of Japan be comparatively small, their high standing tells a different tale. Dr. Yoskioka Yayoi stands in the very first rank of the profession. She came to Tokyo from the Shizuoka Prefecture, and was one of the first girl students of medicine in Japan. She is now at the head of a medical school and of a hospital all her very own. And they are not small either. Her school on Kawada Street in Ushigome Ward of the City of Tokyo was established eight years ago and has an enrollment of over 300 students; about one-half of the number board in the dormitory attached to the school. Her professional life is a shock and a revela-

tion to any one who conjures up the charming picture of a pair of long butterfly sleeves flirting with tea cups under the scented canopy of cherries in bloom, in connection with the woman of Japan. Every morning, on the average, no less than eighty patients come to see her at her office. Dr. Yoshioka is married to a physician, who is widely known as—the husband of Dr. Yoshioka. That, too, in Japan, mind you! He is one of the instructors of her own medical school and perfectly happy.

Dr. Mayeda Sono is another of the prominent woman physicians of Tokyo. She has had wide and practical experiences both in Japan and in the government hospital in Korea. She is a widow and shoulders the support of her family and her father with comfort and distinction.

WOMEN AS SCHOOL TEACHERS

There are in Tokyo to-day about 2900 school teachers. Of this number, 1100 are women; not quite have women dethroned men in this kindly field of human endeavor, nor yet have they halved the empire—but very nearly so. It is very certain that no name of the more conceited gender could be written much higher than that of Shimoda Uta-ko. Her record at the Peeresses' School in Tokyo is already a classic tradition. She has maintained a rather un-Japanese life-condition of single blessedness,—minus boasting and with the ever-ready admission of regrets. Having no children of her own, she has tried—and succeeded in a marvelous measure—to mother the girl students who came to her. In the classroom, hers was the "mother-and-child" attitude throughout. Even while she was not feeling in good health she never thought of missing her classes, unless she was actually down in bed. For the reason that her girls would have been so disappointed to miss her. With her, teaching is a passion. She loves schoolroom lecturing as she dislikes public platforms.

JAPANESE WOMEN AS ORATORS

And yet Miss Shimoda ranks very high as a public speaker. She has been spoken of as another Ito—meaning the late Prince Ito, who was very fond of hearing the music of his own voice in his day and, what is more to the point, had a large number of friends who felt the same way. In fact, there is only another lady who can even pretend to stand on the same plane with Shimoda Uta-ko. Her

name is Mrs. Hatoyama. Mrs. Hatoyama is familiar, happy, witty, even chatty on a public platform. She speaks very rapidly, and is famous as one of the Dreaded Trio of stenographic reporters, with Mr. Shimada and Professor Tsuboi. She thinks clearly, her sentences are limpid as a mountain rill, and rush down the theme with a silver melody of her own. She is not at all emotional; she does not let her personality dominate her speeches, as does Shimoda Uta-ko. She goes to the heart of the subject with the incisiveness and clarity of "one splitting a bamboo." She has small patience with oratorical tricks of any type—she just talks; talks from her heart to her hearers' hearts, through the heart of the things she is talking on. Because of her ease and sparkling wit on a platform, she is spoken of as another Count Okuma among the women orators of the country.

WOMAN WRITERS OF THE NEW NIPPON

There is something wrong with the woman writers of the New Nippon to-day. Throughout the Empire, there is no lack of clever authors, and a number of young women are actually invading the editorial offices of newspapers and magazines. But when one looks for a shining name of sufficient magnitude to outshine such male stars as Bimyo, Rohan, Koyo, Futabatei, or any one of a dozen others in the same exalted company, he stares into a void,—save for one brief and bright meteor. Her name was Higuchi Natsu-ko. She wrote under the brush name of Ichiyo. Born in Tokyo, in 1872, she died at the age of twenty-five. The gods must have loved her exceedingly. She began her writing career in 1892 and death closed it in 1896 and in that brief period she achieved "Muddy Stream," "Passing Clouds," "Parting Ways" and about twenty other stories. "There is nothing of that philosophic pose of Rohan about her," wrote perhaps the most gifted literary critic of those days, Takayama Chogyu, "neither are there the world-wise airs of Koyo. Yet—yet, there is magic in her observation; in her letters, divinity dwells. Her heaven-talent towers aloft!"

BUSINESS WOMEN OF JAPAN

But a man who looks for the most picturesque romances in the actual life of Nippon of to-day should certainly go among the business women of the country; among those women whose brilliant business talents are an eternal wonder to bearded males—they

whom the newspapers are ever delighted to advertise under the militant title of "Lady Generals."

Take the career of the mistress of the Seiuntei, the Blue Clouds Restaurant.

Fujimori Ume-ko,—for that is her name,—was the youngest of eight children and lost her father when she was five. At the age of twelve, she was sent out into the world to work for food and raiment and, more, to help as best she could toward the support of her mother. She was different from the very start, they say. She worked in such a wholehearted, altogether cheerful way that her mistress fell in love with her. At twenty-one, she joined one of her elder sisters in the profession of the geisha. Her remarkable personal charms counted for much there; and her ever-cheerful temperament was more than gold or precious stones in paving her way to success.

Unlike so many of her sister artists, she worked, smiled, and saved money. One fine morning, she took a good steady look in the face of the future, smiled at it with her usual optimism and quit the profession of professional entertainer. She did something besides; she married a young fellow with whom she started a little restaurant in the City of Nagano, in the heart of deep mountains of Shinano. She christened the restaurant, Seiun-tei, the House of Blue Clouds. Blue clouds have always stood for winged ambition among the classic poets of China and Japan. Political fever was high in Shinano, then; and the City of Nagano was the political capital of the prefecture. It was there the people gathered to elect the representatives to the Imperial Diet at Tokyo.

The mistress of the Blue Clouds with admirable enterprise rose to the height where Opportunity beckoned her. Her pleasant personality told even more than the good cooking of the Blue Clouds. In no time she amassed a modest fortune. In those days, Nagano City had not a restaurant big enough to accommodate three, four hundred guests at a public banquet. That was another challenge from the gods. She answered it to the "eternal open mouths" of the city by purchasing a large tract of land and building an imposing structure upon it. The Blue Clouds sign-board took a high jump. It was beyond the imagination of the good people of Nagano City that a mere restaurant should have the temerity to house itself in such an imposing structure. Fujimori Ume-ko was rewarded for her daring and foresight. In a few years she amassed 200,000

yen—which is half as many American dollars. That in itself was a big fortune in Nagano, especially for a little woman who started with practically no capital and in the modest trade of a restaurant-keeper. It was then that her young husband—who, by the bye, had very little to do with the building up of business and fortune—lost his head. He made a plunge. He made a number of deep-water plunges into all sorts of enterprises of which he had not the slightest knowledge; he "put out his hand" at this and that and the other things and became an expert in forgetting to tell his wife about his ventures. Her protests had too many points in them to be comfortable for him. When he awoke off and on, and found himself deeper in the mire than ever, as he was bound to find himself in the natural and most logical course of things, he went deeper still in his frantic efforts to make good his losses. After expending the major portion of the fortune made by his wife, he died with the indebtedness—the indebtedness of which he found it so convenient to forget telling his wife—of over one hundred thousand yen!

What did the mistress of the Blue Clouds do under the circumstances? She did not waste a single tear. She took a good long fresh look into the future; saw it smiling at her as usual; she smiled back at it and—went ahead. She paid back her husband's debts; and she had to take many a day off her business in hunting up the creditors, for the creditors (although this sounds utterly incredible) out of admiration for the courage and ability of the woman, and, moreover, being in no wise worried about the debt being paid by her, sometime, did not wish to harass her in the hour of her trials. And to-day? The mistress of the Blue Clouds, they say, is richer than ever before. Had Fujimori Ume-ko staged her activities in Tokyo instead of in the mountain-screened city of Nagano, her "blue cloud dreams" would have winged higher. Such at least is the consensus of competent criticisms—so high indeed that the famous "lady generals" in the capital city, such as the mistresses of the Fuki-ro and of the Hisago-ya, can hardly "reach up to her finger tips."

The story of Mrs. Yamazaki Kesa-ko is not a whit less romantic than that of the mistress of the Blue Clouds. Mrs. Yamazaki at the age of twelve used to peddle charcoal through the village streets of Ueda in Shinano. To-day, she handles hundreds of thousands of yen as the business head of perhaps the biggest drug store in Tokyo (called Tei-

koku-do) and its many branch shops. She looks after more than fifty clerks and servants and keeps them busy; she attends to the funds, books, and management of the shop; attends to domestic as well as export orders and their shipments and to office correspondence besides. Her husband is the president of the Nippon Drug Stock Company and the head of the Tokyo Drug Export Merchants' Association, and is identified with a number of other organizations. To-day he leaves the practical administration of the drug store almost entirely in the care of his wife. The diplomatic end of the business is about the only thing he attends personally. And what he is to-day is largely due to the efforts of Madame Yamazaki. When the young couple started in life, they had not a cent; they worked together. They borrowed fifty yen (\$25) to start a little drug shop in a back street, in Kanda Ward, Tokyo. Mr. Yamazaki is more of a chemist than a business man; and the little shop lingered in the shadow of failure for many a dark moon. It was then that the young wife took to the peddling of toilet articles and perfumery

by day with a three-year-old child clinging to her sleeve or in her arms; and by night sat far beyond midnight with the sewing which she took in to help out. Immediately after the first flush of success her husband was taken down with a serious illness and lay abed for nearly two years. The wife rose level with the need. She took the road herself, fought against the shrewd campaign of her competitors and laid the foundation of the supremacy that the Teikoku-do enjoys to-day throughout the Empire and through Korea and Manchuria.

These are individual and altogether striking cases. These women are exceptional in their ability and successes. But no peak hangs in mid-air. Even as there is a mass of American women back of Miss Jane Addams, with similar ideals, endeavors, achievements differing only in magnitude, so there is a great number of women in every nook and corner of the Empire of Japan who are traveling, with more or less success, along similar paths and toward the same heights beacons by these remarkable women whose stories I have tried to tell.

WOMAN'S PART IN INDIA'S SOCIAL ADVANCE

BY BASANTA KOOMAR ROY

EARLY marriage is one of the greatest evils of Hindu society. The girls are generally married and become mothers, in many cases, at an age when they should be in school. The girl mothers often die in childbirth or their health is shattered for the rest of their lives. The boy husbands are hampered in many instances in their future careers by the responsibility of supporting a family, and quite often are obliged to subject themselves to drudgery which, but for their marriage, they could have escaped. Early marriage stands in the way of education, especially of the girls.

The custom of early marriage is changing fast. Now the Hindu boys refuse to marry until they have finished their education and made a start in life, although such a refusal is thought very improper. Consequently, the girls have to wait until the boys are ready to marry. So marriages are getting late nowadays. Among some of the reform societies, such as the Brahmo-Somaj and the Arya-Somaj, you will find maids of twenty, twenty-five, thirty, or even thirty-five. They are

very few and far between, however. But, on the whole, the age of marriage has been considerably raised. The girls of these societies are going in for education with a vengeance. There are scores of graduates of universities among them. On account of deferred marriage, the women of India are beginning to have a wider view of life and civic duties.

Caste rules prohibit marriage between members of different castes and subcastes. This leads to marriage relationships within very narrow circles, which result in physical degeneracy. The social reformer knows that this is a source of social and national weakness. So he has been agitating marriage between different castes, at least between the subcastes of the same principal castes. The reform societies of the Brahmo-Somaj and the Arya-Somaj are doing yeoman's service in this as in other social reform measures. Inter-marriages are going on, under their auspices, between different original castes, subcastes, and even between different provinces. Though the orthodox do not relish the idea at all, still the work is going on just the same as



A HINDU WOMAN WHO EDITS A MAGAZINE FOR WOMEN

(Sarala Devi Chowdhury, B.A., late principal of the Maharani's College for Women at Mysore)

the result of organized propaganda for the expansion of the idea and practice of inter-marriage. The opposition is only strengthening the movement.

But the greatest difficulty in the way of inter-provincial marriages lies in the language problem. The people of different provinces of India speak different languages and do not understand one another; and it is easy to believe that love-making, or house-keeping, is well-nigh impossible without a common language. So the work must start from narrower circles of subcastes and gradually expand to wider and wider circles. There is no denying the fact that the work has begun in right earnest and is making steady progress. Men like Sir Chandra Madhub Ghose and Justice Saradacharan Mitra are rendering great service along this line. A few years ago Miss Sarala Devi Ghosal, B.A., of Bengal, a woman of great intellectual attainments and a leader of the

present national movement, married Mr. R. Dutt Chowdhury of the Punjab. This gave a great impetus to such marriages. Whenever there is a dispute about inter-provincial marriages, the young men quote their Sarala Devi.

In the higher castes of the Hindus a widow is not allowed to marry. Once a widow always a widow. But a widower can marry as many times as he wishes to, and there is no law to prevent him from marrying. This social custom is not only an injustice done to women, but a poor social economy as well. The great majority of Indian widows are Hindu widows. There were, in 1901, 19,487 widows below the age of five; 95,798 between five and ten; 275,862 between ten and fifteen; 522,867 between fifteen and twenty; 938,725 between twenty and twenty-five; 1,432,608 between twenty-five and thirty; 2,267,361 between thirty and thirty-five; 2,068,491 between thirty-five and forty; 3,770,495 between forty and forty-five; 2,264,038 between forty-five and fifty; 4,112,876 between fifty and fifty-five; 1,521,210 between fifty-five and sixty and 6,596,939 of sixty and over.

REMARRIAGE OF WIDOWS

These figures speak for themselves. The social lecturers in India make a good deal of the figures and urge remarriage of Hindu widows. The higher castes are moving in the matter. A few examples have been set even in the otherwise orthodox families of high social standing. The most striking example of this is to be found in the remarriage of the daughter, a girl widow of ten or twelve, of Justice Ashantosh Mukrju of the Calcutta High Court. Though he belonged to orthodox Hinduism, still when it came to the remarriage of his little widowed daughter, he did not scruple to marry her again, though he was vehemently opposed by some of his own caste people and relatives. Following the lead of men in high positions, others are doing

the same. Widow marriage seems to be quite a fashionable thing nowadays.

A few years ago Rani Mrinalini of Calcutta, a young widow, married a young man in private life and left her queenly title and kingdom. Parents advertise in the papers: "A young widow of a different caste is wanted for a boy of such and such caste." They want to kill two birds with one stone,—intermarriage and the remarriage of widows combined in the same marriage. "Widow remarriage bureaus" have been started to facilitate widow marriage. Newspapers have opened a new column under the heading of "Widow Marriage," and they fill quite a little space with news bearing on the subject.

Even the illiterate masses are permeated with this idea of social reform. The other day in the little farming village of Orakandi, Bengal, with but a few hundred inhabitants, the women called a meeting, at which many men were present, and passed resolutions condemning early marriage and advocating remarriage of Hindu widows. Though 99 per cent. of the people were illiterate, still they could not help feeling the pulsations of the national heart that had been beating with tremendous rapidity.

POPULAR DEMAND FOR EDUCATION

On the average, out of 141 women in India, one only can read and write. This state of illiteracy left the women to a very narrow sphere of activity. The nation builders of India realize that woman is the greatest asset of any nation. She is the mother; she molds the character of the rising generation; she's the wife; the family is under her control. So the education and general enlightenment of women are more necessary than the education of men. So different avenues are being opened for female education, and patriotic men and women of India are doing everything in their power to spread education among women, and thus to raise their status and with it the status of men.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, one of the women leaders of Indian thought, thus spoke before the last Social Conference in Calcutta:

Does one man dare to deprive another of his birth-right to God's pure air which nourishes his body? How then shall a man dare to deprive a human soul of its immemorial inheritance of liberty and life? And yet, my friends, man has so dared in the case of Indian women. That is why you men of India are to-day what you are, because your fathers, in depriving your mothers of that immemorial birth-right, have robbed you, their sons, of your just inheritance. Therefore, I charge you, restore to your women their ancient rights, for it is we, and



PRATIVA MUKERJEE

(An Indian poetess who began writing at the age of twelve)

not you, who are the real nation-builders, and without our active coöperation at all points of progress, all your congresses and conferences are in vain. Educate your women and the nation will take care of itself, for it is true to-day as it was yesterday, and will be to the end of human life, that the hand that rocks the cradle is the power that rules the world.

Her Highness the Maharani of Baroda inspired her Indian sisters of the last Ladies' Conference in Calcutta by saying:

We shape the minds of our children in their infancy and boyhood, we can inspire them with a love and a legitimate pride in our past history, and we can create in them a taste for our modern literature. . . . The manhood and the womanhood of India is our handiwork; let us, mothers, train the future manhood and womanhood of India to the service of our country.

Even the beggar of India has changed the burden of his songs. In exchange for alms he received, he used to entertain the people with religious songs, entreating them to be good and kind, and also to project their thoughts to the hereafter. But since he has been won over by the nationalist, he has laid aside his religious songs and sings the national songs instead. He sings to urge men to patriotism, he sings recalling the better days of India gone by, and above all he sings to awaken the Indian woman. Here is a sample:

Awake, arise, O daughters of India; unless you rise Mother India cannot rise. Be ye wives of

heroes, and give birth to heroes. But for your devotion to India's cause, she can never rise. So awake, arise, ye daughters of India.

Side by side with the Indian National Congress, that meets every year during the Christmas holidays and aims at political reforms and powers, sits the Social Conference, where thousands of educated men and women meet and plan work for social reform. This agitation is kept up throughout the year by newspaper and magazine articles and by public lectures and discourses. There also meets at the same time the "Women's Conference" to plan work to better the condition of women. The women leaders make speeches and pass resolutions and, like men, plan work for the next year. Women travel from different corners of that vast country to attend the meetings of the conference. Everyone is animated with a lofty ideal and a noble ambition. They carry on the business of these meetings along strictly business lines. They divide India into different circles and carry on their activities in the circles in which they happen to live. As a result of this agitation, women's organizations are springing up in all parts of India. Women representing these organizations demand women's rights in no less unmistakable terms than in which the women of America and Europe demand their "rights." The feminist movement is gaining ground everywhere, and the progress in India is almost incredible.

HINDU WOMEN'S CLUBS

The Mahila Samiti (Woman's Association) of Calcutta proposes, besides other things, to unite Indian women of all castes, creeds and races, high or low, rich or poor, for the service of the Motherland. The Bharat Stri Mahamandal (All India Woman's Union) aims at diffusing education among women of all classes. It hires woman teachers and sends them out into families where, on account of purdah, married women cannot come out for education. It is mainly through the exertion of the Indian women that hundreds of girls' schools are dotting the entire country. Opening of women's clubs in metropolitan cities, and even in country places, is the order of the day. Women club together and subscribe for papers and magazines, and in their after-dinner meetings the one that can read reads the latest news, and all comment on the recent development of national and even international affairs. In Madras there is not an important place where there is no woman's association. In Bombay they are

abundant. In Bengal they are springing up like mushrooms.

The Indian women are invading the sacred precincts of journalism, too. There are many first-class magazines that are being conducted by them, both in English and in different vernaculars. The *Indian Ladies' Journal*, printed in English, is by far the best woman's paper in India. The *Bharati* is edited by Mrs. Swadna Kumari Ghosal, the *Shu Provat* by Miss Kumadini Mittra. There are other papers like the *Bamabadhini Patrika*, the *Paricharika*, the *Antappor*, the *Bharat Mahila*, etc., all edited by Indian women, and any and every one of these journals would do credit to the periodical literature of any country in the world.

WIDOWS' HOMES

As the helpless Indian widows are a burden on society, widows' homes are being started for training these widows as teachers in different branches of learning—e.g., education, nursing, sewing, embroidery, and other fine arts. Thus they are being helped to be able to help themselves. The widows' home of Baranagore, in Bengal, started by Mr. Sasi-pado Bannerjee, and the Kharve widows' home at Poona, in the Bombay Presidency, are the most important. The "Seca Sadan" (Home of Service) of Bombay, started by Mr. Malavari to train women in social service work, is helping the widows a good deal. Mr. Malavari has many rich people and princes interested in the scheme, and the institution is thriving on a grand scale. In other provinces and cities there are similar institutions. In Calcutta the women have started a ladies' industrial institution (Mahila Shilpa Samiti), where they teach, mostly the widows, all kinds of handiwork, such as tailoring, weaving, lacework, embroidery, and painting.

We cannot enter here into the part women are playing in the political and industrial regeneration of India. Suffice it to say that but for women's help, guidance, and willingness to suffer, the whole movement would fall to pieces. The Indian woman is the soul of the nationalist movement. When the history of Indian nationalism is written the women of India will be given a conspicuous place.

In the strengthening of women we see half of the population strengthened. The half that was feeble and almost paralyzed is stirring with a new life, and promises to be a source of strength and inspiration in the future.

JAPAN'S TASK IN KOREA

BY DAVID STARR JORDAN

(President of the Stanford University)

IN the following notes it is not necessary to discuss the ethics of the Japanese occupation of Korea, the history of the various movements which led up to it, nor the incidents of military occupation and of the irruption of laborers and roustabouts who hoped, vainly, to "get rich quick" through occupation of the new territory, and who found themselves obliged to return home unsuccessful. I speak only of those matters of Japanese occupation which came to my attention in a short visit to the country in September, 1911.

Korea (*Chosen*, in Japanese) is nearly as large as New York and Pennsylvania and lies in the same latitude. Agriculturally it has about the same value as these States. It is also a little smaller than Great Britain. Its population is now estimated at 12,000,000. The people are very poor, living in little houses with thatched roofs, in small villages, suggesting colonies of scale insects, on the slopes of the hills. Their poverty is associated with the former bad government, an absolute monarchy, which divided its privileges among the nobility. All taxes were collected by the "squeeze," and there was no remedy for injustice save the chance luck of beheading. Almost every man of initiative in whatever kind within the last three hundred years, has been beheaded by order of the court,—a kind of reversed selection in itself adequate to account for the lack of self-assertion characteristic of the Koreans. Any man suspected of having money was subject to violence or imprisonment. Clean clothing might get a farmer into trouble. To have trees (other than chestnut or persimmon) about one's house, subjected a man to such suspicion. If he were not rich he would have cut them down for fuel. The attitude of the Korean toward his own forlorn government is well expressed by a Korean gentleman, named Kim, as quoted by James S. Gale:

We have no king. The one we had was a poor makeshift, but anything is better than no king. He would never take a reprimand. The number of heads of chief officers that dropped during his reign was astonishing. He was mighty in having his own way and in keeping the people under. He used to say: "Don't make a noise, don't talk about the government. . . Just eat your rice, do your work

and be good." When the people attempted to carry on the Independence Club, His Majesty put up a notice on the Bell Kiosh: "Let there be no meeting or shout talk of any kind in the street. You are commanded every man to stay at home and mind your own business." He handcuffed us, he robbed us, he paddled us, he hanged and quartered us, he lived for himself alone and for his worn-out superstitions, but it was better than no king. So deeply is the patriarchal thought written on the heart that bees could as easily swarm without a queen bee as Korea lift up its head without some choice in the way of a ruler. . . . My face is lost and shame is my eternal portion forever.

For the "squeeze" the Japanese have substituted regular taxes and regular process of law. They have exterminated the brigands, who were mainly farmers driven beyond endurance by the squeeze. The sums raised by taxation are all spent for the public welfare, and spent in Korea. The expense of occupation, the cost of army and navy, is paid by Japan. This is an important matter, as in most parts of the world the bulk of taxation goes to military expenditure.

The Koreans had practically lost all Exports. The Japanese have introduced industrial schools, and are teaching the people trades by which they may have in the cities materials for export. Everywhere fair schools are taking the place of the little native schools. In the Korean village of Gondoro I visited one of these. It was in a room eight feet square; six children were reading in concert, a teacher squatting on the floor, on which the head of the house lay asleep. Later the teacher covered a little hand blackboard with Korean letters.

The most visible misfortune of Korea is the loss of her forests. Except along the Yalu River in the north, where still remain the pine forests which the Russian promoters had taken, Korea is practically a treeless land.

Originally the forests were destroyed to get rid of tigers and leopards. Now every young tree or bush that springs up is taken for firewood. The people burn weeds and hay, and suffer greatly in the winter time. Good cattle are raised in Korea, being used mainly as beasts of burden, never for milk, but the people cannot afford to keep them as they need all their hay to burn. It is said

that there is about one cow or bull to every nine families. Korea is an excellent grazing country and sends some beef to Japan, but in the lack of timber cattle cannot be profitably reared, unless some other fuel takes the place of hay.

The loss of timber causes great waste of land by wash of the hills. One hundred and seventy thousand acres of land are taken to the sea every year. This wash of the land destroys the breeding grounds of herring.

The Japanese have taken the task of reforestation very seriously. Mr. O. Saito, the head forester, has in experimental cultivation nearly all the trees of value in temperate regions. This year three million pine trees were planted. Certain privileges are granted to farmers who rear the trees which are given them, while the destruction of the little chance-sown pines is forbidden. A complete and careful forestry map of Korea has been completed and every method known to forestry for bringing back the trees is in use.

Along with the forestry work goes the work of the experiment stations in which all plants which may be made available for Korean use are tested and, if successful, are distributed among the people.

One result already has been the establishment of cotton as a crop in Southern Korea. By bringing in better seed, the crop of rice has been increased 30 per cent. on 30,000 of the 300,000 acres sown to rice in Korea. The culture of the species of oak on which the wild silkworm feeds has also been greatly extended. There are now 130 public nurseries of trees in Japan and six pine trees are given yearly to each citizen.

In connection with the large experiment station directed by Dr. Honda at Suwon is an Agricultural College for Korean boys. This is conducted along approved lines. It may be noted that in the dormitory the rooms are all built in Korean fashion, although much better than in most Korean homes. This shows that the real purpose of the work is to build up a new Korea, not the aggrandizement of Japan. The bureau of fisheries under Mr. Ihara shows the same attention to Korean needs. Since the Japanese took charge of the protectorate, the catch of fish has been very greatly increased, there being a better market.

The sanitation of Seoul, Pyeng-Yang, and Fusan has also received the careful attention of the Japanese authorities. The government of Japan has built a railway from end

to end of Korea, from Fusan to the Yalu River. This is of standard gauge, running American cars, two trains daily each way bearing Pullman sleepers and dining cars. This line is now extended from Antung on the Yalu River to Mukden in Manchuria, and thence to connections with the Trans-Siberian line. Solid trains may now be run from Moscow to Fusan. At present the Korean railway hardly pays its way, but will be an important factor in the new Korea the Japanese hope to build up.

With proper laws, just government, and encouragement to industry and agriculture, the Japanese hope to see twenty-five millions of people in Korea in a score of years. If the people have something to sell they will have something to buy. They are by no means a barbarous or incompetent people. They taught the Japanese to make Satsuma ware, though they lost the art themselves when their forests were gone. Korean artists built for the Japanese the temples at Kyoto and Nagoya in exact imitation of their own temples at Seoul. When I spoke not long ago in Seoul to 1500 young men, all dressed in spotless white muslin, there were two on the stage who wore Phi Beta Kappa pins, one from Princeton and one from Yale. Their Japanese teachers say that they are very quick to learn languages, fair at mathematics, slow in the inductive sciences. They have lost their nation and, worst of all, it went down without saving its face. The hope of the people is reviving. The Japanese grant perfect religious toleration, and in the consolations of the Christian religion the people are beginning to find a channel in which they can turn their futile love of country.

Whether the blotting out of Korea be right or wrong, an inevitable step of manifest destiny or a needless suppression of a unique national life, it is not necessary for us now to decide. The occupation of Chosen is an accomplished fact. It is a part of the future of Japan, but it is worth while to know that the Japanese are taking their new responsibilities seriously. Japan has undertaken to carry western civilization into this stronghold of the "Unmitigated East." It is in work of this kind that Japanese administration shows itself at its best—capable, patient, forgetting nothing, not the least of the lessons of science, always hopeful, always industrious, and considering the good of the nation rather than the wishes of the individual.

MAKING A NEW CONSTITUTION FOR OHIO¹

BY HENRY W. ELSON

A STATE constitutional convention holds a unique place in our American political life. It has to deal with questions of basic, organic law, forbidden to our Presidents, governors, and courts; and even Congresses and legislatures may only incidentally propose changes in the organic law. Ordinarily these conventions are composed of men of the highest type and beyond the reach of corrupting influences. From the late E. L. Godkin's essay on "Decline of Legislatures," we quote the following:

Side by side with the annual or biennial legislature, we have another kind of legislature, the "Constitutional Convention," which retains everybody's respect, and whose work, generally marked by care and forethought, compares creditably with the legislation of any similar body in the world. Through the hundred years of national existence it has received little but favorable criticism from any quarter. It is still an honor to have a seat in it. The best men in the community are still eager or willing to serve in it, no matter at what cost to health or private affairs. I cannot recall one convention which has incurred either odium or contempt.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

The Ohio Convention of 1912, which recently finished its work at Columbus, will doubtless measure up with others of its kind. For two reasons it was more conspicuous, perhaps, than any other in many years: First, it was in answer to its invitation that Mr. Roosevelt made his now famous speech in which he first promulgated his "recall of decisions" doctrine; secondly, this convention was the first east of the Mississippi to consider seriously certain innovations in government which have hitherto met with greater favor in States farther west.

Chief among these are the initiative and referendum, which occasioned three full weeks of debate and which were adopted in a form by no means pleasing to the extremists of either contending faction. The conservatives, however, are better satisfied with the result than are the radicals. The latter fought desperately for the "direct initiative"—the enactment of laws by the people with-

out reference to the legislature—but it lost out finally, on third reading, by a decisive majority.

A measure initiated by petition of the people must go to the legislature. If that body adopts it unchanged or in an amended form, it becomes a law, subject to a referendum to the people on petition of a certain percentage. If the legislature defeats the proposed measure or fails to act on it, a petition of but 3 per cent., added to the former initiative petition, is sufficient to place it before the people for a final judgment.

Aided by the "middle-of-the-road" class, the conservatives won two other victories: first, a provision that an initiative petition must come not wholly from congested centers of population, but from at least half of the counties of the State, and, second, an inhibition of the single tax by means of the initiative and referendum, though a future amendment of the constitution by this means, making possible the single tax, is not inhibited. It may be said that the only advantage won by the radicals lies in the fact that the percentages required to initiate a law (3 per cent.) and a constitutional amendment (10 per cent.) are very low. However, it is generally believed that the initiative and referendum as adopted by the convention, if ratified by the people, will be used but seldom. It has been clearly demonstrated in Ohio as well as in nearly all States that the people can get what they want in the way of legislation without initiative, while the existence of a referendum law, as a "shotgun behind the door," will ordinarily obviate the necessity of using it.

THE LIQUOR QUESTION

Next to the referendum and initiative, the subject of licensing the liquor traffic required more of the convention's time than any other—nearly three weeks. As stated in the article on the convention in the *MARCH REVIEW*,

¹ Professor Elson, who was himself a member of the Ohio Constitutional Convention, contributed to the *MARCH REVIEW* an article sketching the personnel of the convention and outlining its preliminary work.

no license is authorized in the present constitution of Ohio. The liquor traffic is, therefore, outlawed. This fact has been a source of some satisfaction to the temperance people of the State; but in practice it is worse than meaningless, for any one, whatever his record or character, may establish a saloon anywhere within "wet" territory on securing a location and paying the tax. The new proposal provides for license, and the securing of this provision is practically the only victory won by the "wets," though they profess to be pleased with the proposed amendment and will probably work for its adoption.

The "drys" are also pleased, and with more reason. Three or four items in the proposal adopted are decidedly in their favor. Among these are the following: Brewery-owned saloons, of which there are thousands in the State, are prohibited; no man can secure a license except by proving his moral character, nor can he retain it if convicted more than once of violating the liquor laws; present and future temperance laws are safeguarded, and not more than one license will be granted for each 500 of the population. This last provision, which, if adopted by the people, will cut out nearly one-third of the saloons of the State, was fought long and fruitlessly by the liquor interests. The temperance people of the State, except the uncompromising prohibitionists, are lining up for the new proposal in spite of their prejudice against the word license, and if the moderates and the liquor interests do the same, its adoption will be assured.

JUDICIAL REFORM

In the article for the March REVIEW we noticed the first of the proposals adopted by the convention—that reforming the jury system, breaking the thousand-year-old custom of requiring unanimity in the verdict of a jury. Since then another judicial reform has been adopted which will be far-reaching in its operation if accepted by the people. The great defect in the present judicial system of Ohio lies chiefly in the State Circuit Court. This court is scarcely more than a sieve through which a case is carried up from the Court of Common Pleas to the Supreme Court. As a tribunal of final resort it scarcely enjoys the respect of the people. The Supreme Court is consequently congested with business and is usually from one to three years behind in its work, the result being long

delays in meting out justice. Moreover, it is practically inaccessible to a poor litigant.

By the new method, as adopted by the convention, the Circuit Court is changed to a Court of Appeals, which shall have final judgment in all cases coming from the lower courts, except in cases of felony or cases involving great public interest or a constitutional principle. The new plan provides for one trial and one review in all ordinary cases, except cases in chancery, which may have a second trial, before a Court of Appeals. The plan will greatly lessen the law's delay and the cost of litigation. Instead of three or four years, as now required, to carry a case to a final decision, probably as many months will suffice. Hundreds of cases, especially cases of personal injury against the big corporations, which are now carried to the highest tribunal in the State, will hereafter be settled in a Court of Appeals. The State will be divided into eight judicial districts, in each of which there will be a Court of Appeals composed of three judges.

In one other respect this proposal for judicial reform deserves special notice. It makes it necessary for five of the six judges of the Supreme Court to agree in order to pronounce a law unconstitutional, unless a Court of Appeals has already so pronounced it. It will be remembered that in no other country in the world can the courts sit in judgment on the acts of the legislature or pronounce on the validity of a statute; but the right has always been recognized in America, and in every Supreme Court, Federal and State, a bare majority can exercise it. If, therefore, Ohio adopts her new constitution, this alteration of the time-honored custom will be the first of its kind in this country.

A proposal to abolish capital punishment was adopted by a narrow margin; but the chances are that it will be defeated at the polls. If the changes in the judiciary proposed by this convention are adopted by the people it is believed that the pecuniary gain by the people each year will amount to several times the entire cost of the convention.

HOME RULE FOR CITIES

Nothing more important was done by this convention than the changes it provided for in municipal government. Sixty years ago, when the present constitution of the State was adopted, cities were few and small in size, and the great problems then to be solved were those relating to agriculture and rural life.

To-day the problems of municipal government are paramount. The old constitution makes the city wholly dependent on the State legislature, forbidding the exercise of any powers not authorized, and the rural members of that body have ever stood in the way of a free and unhampered development of the social, commercial, and political life of the city. The same conditions are found in many States in the Union. The Ohio convention of the present year recognized the great need of change in this respect. It called for advice from various experts, among whom was one of the ablest students of city problems in America—the mayor of Cleveland.

The result is most gratifying. The convention recognized the vital fact that a city is an organism, an administrative unit, and that it should have a free hand in working out its own salvation. The city is granted practically all the freedom of a business corporation. It may frame and adopt its own charter, may adopt the commission plan or any other plan of government through a referendum vote of its electors and, indeed, it may, subject to general State laws, exercise all the powers of local self-government. If this proposal is adopted there will no longer be uniformity in the government of the cities of Ohio. Each will go its own way and follow its own fancy in the matter of government.

Certain very important powers, however, are reserved to the legislature. It may mark a debt limit for the city, also limit the power of the city to tax its inhabitants. It retains the right to require reports from a municipality as to its financial condition and transactions, to examine its books and accounts, and to call its officials to account.

CONCESSIONS TO ORGANIZED LABOR

It cannot be said that the proposals advanced in the convention in the interest of labor organizations were extravagant or immoderate.

One of these provides for laws "establishing a State fund to be created by compulsory contribution thereto by employers and administered by the State," the purpose of which is to provide compensation to workmen and their dependents for death, injury, or occupational disease occasioned in the course of employment. But this does not take away from an employee the right of action for injury arising from the failure of an employer to comply with the law.

Various other amendments provide for laws fixing and regulating the hours of labor,

establishing a minimum wage, and the like. Eight hours is made a day's work "on any public work carried on or aided by the State, or any political subdivision thereof, whether done by contract or otherwise." A present Ohio law limits the amount recoverable for death caused by the wrongful act of another to \$10,000. This limit is removed.

No other victory of labor perhaps will be so gratifying to the labor world as that provided in the following:

No order of injunction shall issue in any controversy involving the employment of labor, except to preserve physical property from injury or destruction; and all persons charged in contempt proceedings with the violation of an injunction issued in such controversies shall, upon demand, be granted a trial by jury as in criminal cases.

It is well known that injunctions and contempt proceedings, especially in connection with strikes, have long agitated the labor world and have played a part in national campaigns. This proposal, which decidedly limits the power of the courts, concedes to labor about all it has ever asked for in this respect.

TAXATION

Of all the proposed amendments passed by the convention the most disappointing, from the standpoint of the student of economics and government, is that on taxation. The chief call for the creating of this convention came from the business and financial world and the chief object of these interests was to get rid of the antiquated "uniform rule" of the constitution of 1851. In this they were sorely disappointed. Not only did the convention reenact the old uniform rule, taxing all moneys, credits, real estate, and personal property at the same rate, but it added all future issues of State and municipal bonds, making them taxable by the same rule. Nine years ago a constitutional amendment was adopted taking bonds off the tax duplicate; the convention put them back, in spite of the pleadings and protests of nearly half the membership. In the proposal, however, are a few good features, such as the provision for graduated inheritance and income taxes.

The newspapers of the State have generally handled this proposal with the utmost severity. The answer of its friends is that the newspapers are under the dominance of the moneyed interests, whose object is to lay the burden of taxation on the farmer and laborer. They would have none of this, and they were inflexible in their determination to preserve the uniform rule.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND OTHER PROPOSALS

The Woman Suffrage proposal passed its final reading and will be submitted to the voters of the State. All the leading woman suffragists in America are turning their eyes toward Ohio, and many of them will aid in organizing a vigorous campaign. On the other hand, there is a strong organization crystallizing among the women against forcing the ballot on their sex. This party claims a large majority of women. Whether this is a fact or not, the women who favor the ballot for their sex persistently refuse to permit the matter to be decided by the women themselves.

One of the most popular of the convention's proposals is that known as the "Blue Sky" proposal. The term is borrowed from Kansas. It will be remembered that a few years ago Kansas enacted its "Blue Sky" law, for the purpose of protecting the people against the sale of stocks of companies the assets of which were composed chiefly of blue sky. The law has done a wonderful work in that State. The Ohio legislature made a similar attempt some time ago, but the Supreme Court decided that it violated the Bill of Rights. The convention thereupon changed the Bill of Rights in such a way as to enable the legislature to enact laws forbidding the sale of stocks in the State by any company until it secures a license and proves its assets.

Other proposals of more or less importance (some of which were suggested by the fact that certain legislative acts had failed to run the gantlet of the Supreme Court) were the following: Voting machines are permitted in elections; the legislature is enabled to pass laws regulating out-door display advertising; a State-wide primary law is provided for, and appointments and promotions in the civil service are made to depend on competitive examinations. This last provision will greatly lessen the power of a State administration if adopted.

The Short Ballot, as applied to the State, was ingloriously defeated, and thus Ohio lost an opportunity to take the lead in what has become a world movement and which is sure to prevail in the end. Many strong men of the convention favored the Short Ballot, but two classes opposed it—the politicians, fearing for their own political future, and the unsophisticated, who could not comprehend the full meaning of the subject. The convention as a whole, it must be confessed, was wanting in the necessary statesmanship to

take a pioneer part in bringing about a change of such importance and such magnitude.

In its closing days the convention decided to submit its work to the people in a special election to be held on September 3, 1912. It is to be submitted, not in a block as a new constitution, but in separate items, or proposals, of which there are forty-two. The liquor question is to be placed on a separate ballot. All the rest are to be in a single column and voted on separately, each on its own merits.

Strange is the irony of fate, and a rare example is found in the calling together and the work of this convention. There was no special demand on the part of the people of Ohio for the calling of the convention. The pioneer in agitating the subject was the Ohio Board of Trade, and its chief object was to secure the right of classification of property for taxation. It not only failed to get what it wanted, but it lost what it had won in the amendment of 1903 when the convention replaced bonds on the tax duplicate.

Next to the commercial interests came the liquor interests. Seeing that a convention was to be called, they entered the arena with the object of securing a license system in Ohio. They succeeded in making this the most mooted issue in the campaign. Nearly every candidate had to declare himself "wet" or "dry." Behold the result! The liquor people get their coveted license, but with such restrictions as to give them far less liberty than they now have.

Lastly came the initiative and referendum advocates, mere opportunists. Few in number, they had long preached their doctrine with little hope of winning their point, perhaps, within a score of years. When it was decided to call this convention they saw their unexpected opportunity and began a vigorous campaign. Rapidly they won converts and succeeded in making their hobby the issue of the campaign, next to the liquor question. In the end they won more than the commercial or liquor interests, but fell far short of their ideal.

The great work of the convention was along lines not contemplated in the campaign nor discussed among the people, such as the changes in the judiciary and in the government of cities. The general belief is that a large majority of the proposals will be adopted by the people, and if so they will practically amount to a new constitution—a far better one than that under which the State is now governed.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

SOCIAL SCIENCE AND SOCIALISM

THAT in the ultimate judgment of history Karl Marx will have a place in social science analogous to that of Galileo in physical science, is the prophecy made by Dr. Albion W. Small in the *American Journal of Sociology*; for "no man has done more than he to strengthen the democratic suspicion that the presuppositions of our present social system are superficial and provisional."

Marx found a world organized, in its theory and its practice, around capital. He declared that the world will remain impossibly arbitrary until its theory and practice center around labor. This was in substance by no means a novel utterance. Adam Smith had said it, but he was appalled by his own irreverence and promptly retracted it. Marx said it with the force, the detail, and the corroborating evidence of a revelation. . . . Nobody since Martin Luther has done as much as Karl Marx to make the conventional-minded fear that our theories of life may need a thorough overhauling. The longer that overhauling is postponed the greater will be the repute of Marx after the crisis is passed, and the more fatuous will the interests appear that are meanwhile repressing the inevitable.

Dr. Small enumerates five particulars in which Marx challenged prevailing ideas, namely:

1. He [Marx] alleged that the world must set itself right about the economic interpretation of history.

2. He called attention to class conflict, as a primary factor, in human history, and he tried to rouse the classes that have no resource but their labor to open their eyes to their interests in the situation, to become "class conscious," and to pursue their own interests as intelligently as competing classes pursue theirs.

3. He put a new emphasis on the rudimentary economic fact of surplus value.

4. He assumed that the laboring class and the capitalistic class may be sharply distinguished and precisely divided.

5. All his visions of reorganized society centered about a state which should be the owner of all productive wealth, while the citizens should be the consumers each of his own share of the output of production.

Dr. Small considers that in essentials Marx was "nearer to a correct diagnosis of the evils of our present property system than the wisdom of this world has yet been willing to admit," but his plan for correcting the evils is "neither the only conceivable alternative nor the most convincing one."

From the standpoint of social science, any plan for correcting the evils of capitalism is premature until the world has probed down much deeper into the evils themselves. Not until we thoroughly understand that our social order now rests on the basis of property, and that it will not be a thoroughly moral order until it is transferred to the basis of function, shall we be in a position intelligently to reflect on social reconstruction.

The social philosophy taught and practised in Germany since 1870 is "much more profoundly democratic than the theories developed in England and adopted in the United States." Forty years ago a company of German economists, the most influential body of social scientists ever formed in the world, "deliberately repudiated the fundamental capitalistic conception on which English and American policy still implicitly rests."

They declared that economic life can have no license except as a subordinate section of the moral life of men. They said that all economic and social problems are ethical problems, and must be treated as such. Whatever we think about details of German policy in pursuance of this principle, it certainly has not failed to make good according to the very standards of success which England and America apply. German social theory has not sapped Germany's political strength. It has not ruined Germany's industries. On the contrary, as everyone knows, Germany has made more relative gain in political and industrial strength during the past forty years than any other European power.

Dr. Small consequently concludes—and he avers that all candid people are bound to admit so much—that "German social theory, which it is fashionable in America to dismiss with the contemptuous epithet 'Socialism!' has demonstrated its claims to standing in court."

It starts with the principle that men are more important than capital, and that all political and legal and economic practices must be held accountable to that principle. All our social problems may be reduced to differences of opinion about the validity of this principle. . . . Human life is a going concern. It will not stop developing. Its development presents new problems of readjustment with each generation; and no previous generation's judgment can ever permanently stand as a bar to the formation of revised judgments and volitions by the living generation.

It is a symptom of social punk-mindedness that all our best-equipped thinkers are not as seriously

intent as the socialists are upon the unsolved problems of society. Our most influential classes are making a mistake to-day parallel with the mistake of the corresponding classes during the decade previous to the Civil War. They excluded candid discussion of slavery from Congress, and they made it disreputable everywhere else. It is conceivable that the "irrepressible conflict" might have been fought out in the court of reason, and not on the battlefield, if it had soon enough been treated as the uppermost question of statesmanship and of morals. There is an irrepressible conflict in modern society between the presuppositions of capital and the paramount values of humanity.

In the opinion of Dr. Small, our academic social scientists should tackle this radical problem of men in general. By the socialists it has been attacked with more zeal than discretion. Social progress would be promoted by "more cross-breeding between presumed

scientific discretion and actual democratic zeal for humanity."

As to socialism itself, Dr. Small maintains that "whether we are interested in socialism primarily as a movement or as a theory, we do not begin to get our bearings until we have reached the clear perception that both friends and enemies of socialism are laboring under a delusion when they imagine that socialism is a perfectly developed thing. It is not, either as a movement or as a theory. It is a definite thing only in the minds of small groups of people in particular times and places. The socialism professed by other groups of people at the same time and in other places may be different in kinds and degrees ranging from trivial points of order to irreconcilable principles."

SHOULD SMITH GO TO CHURCH?

IN presenting, under the anonymous guise of "Smith," the case of "the indifferent churchman," as the clergy are wont to describe him, Mr. Meredith Nicholson (in the *Atlantic Monthly*) has done a real service to the church, the clergy, and the laity. It needs no elaborate system of statistics to prove that, as the years pass, the number of men who absent themselves from the services of their church is always on the increase. Many of the clergy are insistent in their complaint that the people will not come to church. What is the cause of this condition of affairs? Mr. Nicholson's article is a valuable contribution to the discussion of the subject; and he is to be complimented on the absolute impartiality with which he treats both minister and parishioner. No fair-minded person can deny that the case of Smith, as depicted in the following passages, with which the article opens, is typical of hundreds and hundreds throughout the country. In answer to his own question "Should Smith go to church?" Mr. Nicholson writes:

I think he should. Moreover, I think I should set Smith an example by placing myself on Sunday morning in a pew from which he may observe me at my devotions. Smith and I attended the same Sunday school when we were boys, and remained for church afterwards as a matter of course. Smith now spends his Sunday mornings golfing, or pottering about his garden, or in his club or office, and after the mid-day meal he takes a nap and loads his family into a motor for a flight countryward. It must be understood that I do not offer myself as a pattern for Smith. While I resent being classified with the lost sheep, I am,

nevertheless, a restless member of the flock, prone to leap the wall and wander. Smith is the best of fellows,—an average twentieth-century American, diligent in business, a kind husband and father, and in politics anxious to vote for what he believes to be the best interests of the country.

In the community where we were reared it was not respectable not to go to church. I remember distinctly that in my boyhood people who were not affiliated with some church were looked upon as pariahs and outcasts. An infidel was a marked man. . . . Yet in the same community no reproach attaches to-day to the non-church-going citizen. A majority of the men I know best, in cities large and small, do not go to church. Most of them are in no wise antagonistic to religion; they are merely indifferent. Clearly, there must be some reason for this change.

There are those among the clergy who deny the right of the layman to criticize the church. To these Mr. Nicholson rejoins:

The church is either the repository of the Christian religion on earth, the divinely inspired and blessed tabernacle of the faith of Christ, or it is a stupendous fraud. There is no sound reason why the church should not be required to give an account of its stewardship. If it no longer attracts men and women in our strenuous and impatient America, then it is manifestly unjust to deny to outsiders the right of criticism. . . . There are far too many Smiths who do not care particularly whether the churches prosper or die. And I urge that Smith is worthy of the church's best consideration. Even if the ninety-and-nine were snugly housed in the fold, Smith's soul is still worth the saving. Yet Smith doesn't care a farthing about the state of his soul. Nothing, in fact, interests him less. . . . Smith thinks the church is a good thing for Jones and me, but as for himself, he gets on comfortably without it. And herein lies the great danger both to the church and to Smith.

Among the things that will *not* bring back the Smiths to the churches, in Mr. Nicholson's judgment, are discussions of the higher criticism and of nice points of dogma.

A church that would regain the lost Smiths will do well to satisfy that large company of the estranged and the indifferent that one need not believe all that is contained between the lids of the Bible to be a Christian. Much of the Bible is vulnerable, but Jesus explained himself in terms whose clarity has in no wise been clouded by criticism. Smith has no time, even if he had the scholarship, to pass upon the merits of the Book of Daniel; but give him Christ's own words without elucidation and he is at once on secure ground.

Smith's trouble is not with faith but with works. He gages the church by business standards, and "the church does not impress him as being an efficient machine that yields adequate returns upon the investment." To quote further from the article:

The word we encounter oftenest in the business world nowadays is "efficiency"; the thing of which Smith must first be convinced is that the church may be made efficient. And on that ground he must be met honestly, for Smith is a practical being, who surveys religion as everything else with an eye of calculation. . . . The economic waste represented in church investment and administration does not impress Smith favorably, nor does it awaken admiration in Jones or in me. Smith knows that two groceries on opposite sides of a street are usually one too many. . . . And he has witnessed, too, a deterioration of the church's power through its abandonment of philanthropic work to secular agencies, while churches of the familiar type, locked up tight all the week save for a prayer-meeting and choir-practice, have nothing to do. What strikes Smith is their utter wastefulness and futility.

Mr. Nicholson recognizes that "the difficulties of the clergy are greatly multiplied in these days." A minister's lot is "indubitably the hardest one. He is abused for illiberality, or, seeking to be all things to all men, he is abused for consorting with sinners." He is "expected to preach eloquently, to augment his flock, to keep a hand on the Sunday school, and to bear himself with discretion amid the tortuous mazes of church and secular politics."

Should the church go to Smith, or should Smith seek the church? On this question, Mr. Nicholson thinks there can be no debate. "Smith will *not* seek the church, and it must be on the church's initiative that he is restored to it." Smith is impressed with the work being done outside the church by agencies she should never have allowed to slip from her, such as the Charity Organization Society and the Y. M. C. A.

Smith points to them with a flourish, and says that he prefers to give his money where it is put to practical use. To him the church is an economic parasite, doing business on one day of the week, immune from taxation, and the last of his neighbors to scrape the snow from her sidewalks! The fact that there are within fifteen minutes' walk of his house half a dozen churches, all struggling to maintain themselves, and making no appreciable impression upon the community, is not lost upon Smith,—the practical, unemotional, busy Smith. Smith speaks to me with sincere admiration of his friend the Salvation Army major, to whom he opens his purse ungrudgingly; but the church over the way—that expensive pile of stone closed tightly for all but five or six hours of the week!—Smith shakes his head ruefully when you suggest it. It is to him a bad investment that ought to be turned over to a receiver for liquidation.

Something must be done, and done soon, to bring Smith back to the fold, and Mr. Nicholson believes that the means most likely to be successful will be found to be "church union, upon the broadest lines, directed to the increase of the church's efficiency in spiritual and social service." He would appoint local commissions to devise plans for increasing the efficiency of existing churches, and to consider ways and means of bringing the church into vital touch with the community. Millions of dollars are invested in American churches which are in the main open only once or twice a week. The doors should stand open *seven* days in the week, and men and women should be waiting at the portals "to comfort and help the weak-hearted and to raise up those who fall." The people living about a strong institutional church would find in it a "church home." "Not only should body and soul be cared for, but there is no reason why theatrical entertainments, concerts, and dances should not be provided." The reorganization of the churches on these lines would necessitate a change in the preparation for the ministry. The creeds and the old theology would need less defense, for "coalition in itself would be a supreme demonstration of the enduring power and glory of Christianity."

The seven-day church, being built upon efficiency and aiming at definite results, could afford to suffer men to think as they liked on the virgin birth, the miracles, and the resurrection of the body, so long as they practiced the precepts of Jesus.

This busy, helpful, institutional church, welcoming under one roof men of all degrees, to broaden, sweeten, and enlighten their lives, need ask no more of those who accept the service than that they believe in a God who ever lives and loves, and in Christ, who appeared on earth in His name to preach justice, mercy, charity, and kindness.

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION



MADERO WONDERS HOW DIAZ MANAGED SO WELL
FOR THIRTY YEARS
From the *Journal* (Portland, Ore.)

WHEN, on May 25, 1911, Gen. Porfirio Diaz resigned the presidency of Mexico, thirty-four years had elapsed since the date (November 28, 1876) on which he had declared himself provisional president of the republic. During these thirty-four years

Mexico emerged from a condition of political anarchy, social disruption, and economic stagnation into a well-organized, consolidated, and progressive modern state. In less than a generation General Diaz succeeded not only in establishing order throughout the territory of the republic, but also in bringing about a degree of economic advance which aroused the astonishment and admiration of the civilized world.

Prof. L. S. Rowe, of the University of Pennsylvania, in an article in the *Political Science Quarterly*, on the causes and consequences of the Mexican revolution, from which the foregoing quotation is taken, asks a question which has often been asked by the man in the street, "Why is it that at the close of this period of development, when law and order seemed permanently assured throughout the republic, when the government seemed more firmly established than ever before, there should burst forth a revolutionary movement?" And, by way of answer thereto, he traces the events which led up to the overthrow of the Diaz régime. It is to be noted that as late as March, 1911, General Diaz and his cabinet did not regard the situation as serious. They had entirely mis-

judged the significance of the revolutionary movement. They were wholly unaware of the fact that

the movement was supported by a force even more powerful than the arms of the insurgents, namely, a strong body of public opinion, which for the first time in the history of Mexico had reached national proportions. . . . The triumph of the revolution was . . . the expression of a genuine popular feeling, which, repressed for a generation, burst forth with a force which not only dumfounded the members of the government, but surprised even the leaders of the movement.

The man who for so long had been the idol of the people of Mexico "seemed suddenly to lose his hold on their affection, and the demand for his resignation resounded in almost every section of the country." In his exhaustive analysis of the causes of this revolution of popular feeling, Professor Rowe notices, first, that General Diaz "clearly recognized that the Mexican constitution was far in advance of the political capacity of the people." Also,

he realized that the long and almost unbroken tradition of anarchy and civil strife, which began at the dawn of the era of independence, had bred in the nation a spirit of resistance to all authority and a lack of respect for law and order which could be brought under control only by means of a strong government, sternly and almost ruthlessly suppressing every outbreak of lawlessness. The enforcement of this policy carried with it, as a logical consequence, the discouragement of all popular activity.

Concluding that the interests of the country called for the development of greater industrial efficiency among the masses of the people, he, as a part of his plan, encouraged the utilization of the country's natural resources through the investment of foreign capital. Some one has said that "in the execution of this plan he fell into the grave error of mistaking the wealth of the country for its well-being." Professor Rowe thinks there is much truth in the criticism. The financial reorganization of Mexico came to be regarded as an end rather than as a means. Financial stability once attained, the government should have turned its attention to the betterment of the condition of the laboring classes.

Another contributing factor to the downfall of the Diaz government was the bringing into the political life of the country, through the professional schools of Mexico City, of "a large number of young men anxious to participate in public affairs, but who found

themselves debarred from doing so unless they were willing unreservedly to support the Diaz régime." The discontent thus engendered was fomented by the plan to subordinate the states to the federal authorities. After 1900, instead of selecting candidates for the higher state offices because of fitness, personal loyalty to the president became the sole test.

In return for this loyalty the state governors were given a free hand, and they abused their power to such an extent as to create widespread discontent. This was increased by the tyrannical abuses of the minor administrative officials, especially the so-called *jefes políticos*, whose control of the police force in their districts enabled them to develop a system of intimidation and extortion which weighed heavily on the poorer classes and gave rise to widespread discontent.

General Diaz promised often that the matter should receive his attention, but it was put off from time to time, and "when action was rendered imperative it was too late." These abuses, says Professor Rowe, "were the primary causes of the revolution."

Another and a very important factor in the downfall of the Diaz government was the opposition resulting from the attitude of the government toward labor unions and strikes. The General during his thirty years of office was accustomed to unquestioned submission to his will.

Instead of appreciating the fact that the formation of labor unions was an indication of progress, he looked upon such organizations with great distrust. . . . The policy of stern repression was interpreted by the workingmen as an indication of a settled purpose on the part of the government to keep them in a condition of hopeless subordination. . . . The disaffection spread to the agricultural laborers. . . . The condition of the agricul-

tural laborer is almost if not quite hopeless. Working from dawn to sunset and earning from 12 to 20 cents a day, his position borders so closely on serfdom as hardly to be distinguishable therefrom. . . . To add to the difficulties of the situation the government made the mistake of passing a land act in 1894 under which some of the larger landowners were by "manipulation" able to dispossess some of their weaker neighbors.

Of the secondary causes which led to the downfall of General Diaz, Professor Rowe cites the attempt of the General to designate his successor.

When the vice-presidency was reestablished in 1904, it was generally assumed that this was a first step toward this end. . . . Those who were dissatisfied with the Diaz régime were willing to accept his reelection in 1910, provided freedom of choice were permitted in selecting a candidate for the vice-presidency. . . . The high-handed measures employed at the elections of 1910 to assure the triumph of Corral served to increase his unpopularity with the masses. Consequently this attempt on the part of Diaz to designate his successor should be regarded as one of the secondary causes of the revolution.

With regard to the election of Madero to the presidency and the political outlook, Professor Rowe remarks that extravagant promises made by the revolutionary leaders were manifestly incapable of fulfilment. And the political unrest has brought to the surface and positions of local leadership "elements of Mexican society whose main purpose is the looting of their fellow citizens." The disappointed ambitions of some of Madero's former associates, and the dissatisfaction of others with the policy of the new government, "make the future of the Madero administration exceedingly uncertain, and at any moment may cause its downfall."

CANADA AND WOMEN EMIGRANTS

THE English society known as The Colonial Intelligence League for Educated Women aims at supplying reliable information to girls wishing to settle in Canada, and it is to be complimented on the method it adopts to secure such information at first hand. Miss Ella C. Sykes, one of its members, visited the Dominion as an ostensible "home-help"; took five positions in four provinces; and publishes (in the *Cornhill*) her experiences for the benefit of real emigrants. According to her narrative, the position of "home-help" seems to be a sheet anchor for the woman immigrant in Canada. Miss Sykes herself had

thought that her college education would have assisted her, had she become a school teacher, but she was not strong on mathematics, and these were a *sine qua non*. Not having any dexterity in a manual art, she perforce joined the ranks of the home-helpers. She reached her destination, Calgary, and was taken in at the Women's Hotel, where she received comfortable accommodation. After inserting an "ad" at a newspaper office, Miss Sykes made her way to the Y. W. C. A. to see if she could get work.

The only thing that the secretary had on her books was the post of general servant in a house

where the wife was ill, and there were four children; and the matron at my Hostel offered me a situation 29 miles from the railway and among a Mormon community. . . . On my way home I saw a notice in a confectioner's shop that a girl was wanted as a waitress, so I went in and asked to see the manager. "Would I promise to stay the whole summer?" This I could not engage myself to do, so I was reluctantly obliged to give up the idea.

In Canada, as elsewhere, there are of course a certain number of women immigrants who would far better have stayed at home. Miss Sykes thus describes one whom she met at Calgary:

Some of the inmates of the Hostel had no right to be in Canada at all, and had come out after reading the alluring literature in which things are, to say the least of it, seen through rose-colored glasses. One lady, elderly and far from strong, who had had good posts in England, had actually taken her ticket for the Dominion after a talk with an enthusiastic Canadian lady who had spoken vaguely of the 'crowds of openings for women.' My poor friend did not find many when she arrived in the country, and when I met her she was worn out with much work and little pay at one of the Indian Missions, and was having a rest before trying her luck afresh. She was skilful with her needle, and could dressmake, but, as she could not use a sewing machine, it would have been impossible for her to get work in a land where "more haste" is *not* always considered "worse speed." It was pathetic for one of her upbringing to have to go as housekeeper to three men on a ranch, and I confess that I saw her off at the station with considerable misgiving. Some months later, in passing through Calgary on my way east, I called at the Hostel, and found her back again. Her health had broken down at the ranch, she had also had an accident, and was about to take a post as housemaid in a "rooming" house for a month, at a low wage, after which she hoped to get work again as a home-help.

In certain advertisements Miss Sykes always stated that she wished to assist the *mistress* of the ranch or farm. This did not prevent widowers from replying. Here is one of the answers she received:

Dear Madam: I seen your "ad" in the Province. I have 100 and 20 acres of land of my hone, it is all payed for I lost my wife 4 years ago I ham 36 years of age I have horses and cattle and a lot of chicken would you cair to go in Pardners with me as I want to settle down again. Pleas let me know by return mail. . . .

She wondered how many other "ads" he would answer before he found any woman willing to "go in Pardners" with him.

Some of the immigrants who might secure positions for which they are suitable, absolutely refuse to take them, having made up their minds to a certain course. One such Miss Sykes mentions. She was an excellent

milliner, but the bare idea of seeking work in the shops was abhorrent to her. Said she: "I hate the idea of it. I want to live in a home and arrange the flowers and help the lady of the house with her correspondence." Not finding any post of this kind, this would-not-be milliner took a position at an hotel in the Rockies, where the high altitudes proved "too much for her nerves."

Canada seems to be no place for immigrant nurses. According to Miss Sykes,

all nurses should know that they cannot get on, in Calgary, at all events, unless they have a general hospital certificate for three years. I made friends with one nurse, who had had two years of general hospital training, and had been seven years as district nurse, and yet, with all that experience, she got very few cases, although they were certainly lucrative when she *did* get them, as 21-25 dollars (4£ 4s. to 5£) a week was paid for a case. Other English nurses told me the same tale of lack of work, and two were going out as home-helps in despair. At another town I came across a girl who had been a trained nurse at the Liverpool Children's Hospital, but she could get no nursing work, and being a skilled seamstress, took a post as needle-woman and housekeeper combined. She had to sew from 9 A.M. to 6 P.M. and do household duties before she began her work, so it was hardly surprising that her health gave way, and that she hated Canada and longed to return to England.

Miss Sykes met with a few successful cases of which she describes two:

I met two sisters who had come out with the firm determination to work hard for three years and to take whatever post was offered to them. The result of their efforts was a comfortable bungalow to which they have retired in independence, intending to keep poultry for the rest of their days. Again, the matron of a Y. W. C. A. home told me that she was the daughter of a Scotch captain in the Navy. When her father died the family was left very badly off and she supported herself by teaching. She arrived in Toronto at the age of 17 with sixpence (12c.) in her pocket. She learned stenography, was three and a half years as bookkeeper, ultimately got a post in a bank where she remained 20 years. She spent seven years teaching the Indians. Now she has two farms, valuable stock and building lots, and in fact is very well off.

Miss Sykes, as the result of her experiences, offers the following opinions for the benefits of intending emigrants:

I consider that Canada is a land of opportunity for the young, strong and resourceful, who are not afraid of hard work and who can cheerfully adapt themselves to entirely new conditions.

In order to succeed a girl must be skilled in something that the country wants, such as teaching, stenography, dressmaking, poultry or vegetable raising; a knowledge of the domestic arts being absolutely essential. I do not, however, recommend an educated woman to become a home-help, save in certain districts, though she

might do worse than take such a position for a month or so until she found work more to her taste.

Canadians are, as a rule, most capable and efficient, and have no use for the incompetent, who will find the Dominion a hard country, with few to care whether they sink or swim, and it ought to be clearly realized that the girl who is a failure in England will not be a success in Canada, and is quite

unfit to help in building up our great Empire overseas. . . .

Examples, and my own experiences, brought me to the conclusion that very few on the wrong side of forty ought to try their luck across the Atlantic, because they will find it very hard, if not impossible, to adapt themselves to an entirely new environment. I consider also that the occupation of home-help has not been presented in its true light.

A WORKING PROGRAM FOR THE BRITISH SUFFRAGISTS

THERE seems to be a lull in Woman Suffrage affairs on the other side of the Atlantic. Possibly the rejection, on its second reading in the House of Commons, of the so-called Conciliation Bill has taught the lesson that militant tactics are a failure. This at any rate should be the logical result. In the opinion of those qualified to judge, this latest turn in events should "make earnest and thoughtful suffragists reconsider the whole position of their cause." This view is expressed in the *Contemporary Review* by Mr. E. Crawshay-Williams, M. P., who says further:

If they [the suffragists] are wise, they will see that . . . any attempt to attain Woman Suffrage by a conciliation of almost opposite schools of thought must be in all probability a fruitless endeavor. The outstanding difficulty is that, argue as the suffragists may, there is a large number of convinced democrats who hold an unshakable belief that it is as important sternly to uphold the principle of democracy as it is to abolish the sex bar to the franchise, and who believe that to introduce a property qualification for women almost at the moment when it is proposed to do away with it for men would be an illogical and foolish proceeding. It is hardly too much to say that if Woman Suffrage is to be attained, this section of thought must inevitably lend its coöperation. It follows that the real conciliation measure of the future must be so framed as to bear on its face the impress of democracy, and go hand in hand with the Government Reform bill.

The suffragists will doubtless say that the country is not ready for adult suffrage, and that they cannot wait until it is ready. But,

if woman is to obtain the vote in the near future, she must obtain it by a policy which has neither an undemocratic savor nor the defect of swamping the electorate with a mass of women. Is this intermediate policy between the Conciliation bill and adult suffrage a possibility? If it is, surely suffragists would be wise to adopt it instead of wasting their energies on futile compromises.

The *Contemporary* writer sets forth a number of standards to which, if it is to succeed, the new bill must conform:

It must not set up a property qualification. It must be obviously democratic at first sight, and it must not need argument to prove it so. It must not admit to the franchise a larger number of women voters than there are, or will then be, men voters; and, if possible, it must restrict the numbers so as not to frighten the more timid woman suffragists.

Presuming that the Government Reform bill, promised for this year by the Prime Minister, is to introduce manhood suffrage at a certain age, "all that it is necessary to do in order to graft on to this a harmonious, simple, and moderate form of Woman Suffrage, is to provide for womanhood suffrage at a suitably higher age."

It is quite evident that by a process of raising the age-limit for the women's vote, the number admitted to the franchise could be fined down to any extent; but since to restrict the vote to ancient dames of over eighty would be not only open to criticism, but possibly also to ridicule, it is clear that any substantial and adequate measure must provide for the admission of a considerable number of women. It is no good blinking the fact that no democratic solution of the franchise question can avoid a large number of new women voters; but it is obvious that the adoption of an age-limit as the basic qualification opens the way to a scale of modifications, all of them of an essentially democratic nature, and that at least the great argument against complete adult suffrage, that it would enfranchise more women than men, is at once overcome. In other respects, the policy of adult suffrage with a higher age-limit for women than for men fulfils all the requirements laid down for a true conciliation measure. Nor need advocates of complete adult suffrage look askance at the proposal. Adult suffrage in its entirety is the only ultimate and logical solution of the franchise question; and it would not take many years to reduce the age-limit for women down to that for men, if, as is certain, the new departure proved a success.

This is the policy which appears to offer the greatest hope to woman suffragists in England. Indeed, this writer asserts that the solution of the problem of participation in political life is now well within their grasp.

GOVERNMENT RAILROADS IN SWITZERLAND

GOVERNMENT ownership and operation of railways is a subject that interests the student of economics and the general public alike. For several years writers on railway problems have speculated on the success or failure of the federal railways of Switzerland; and it is only now, when the first decade of their existence has been completed, that sufficient data upon which to base a judgment in regard to governmental management have become available. In the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* Dr. A. N. Holcombe makes an exhaustive analysis of the Swiss experiment, from the passage of the law authorizing the taking over of the steam railways by the Swiss Government (October 15, 1897). This law was accepted by the people in February of the following year by a vote of 386,634 to 182,718, or more than 2 to 1. There were then five main lines of steam railway in the country; and, arrangements having been completed with the companies, the *Generaldirektion* of the federal lines met for the first time on July 1, 1901.

Briefly, the aims of the Swiss Government in its new venture were: lower rates and additional facilities for shippers and the traveling public, improved conditions for the railway employees, better management generally, the elimination of foreign influence from the conduct of the lines. Dr. Holcombe shows the measure of success obtained by the government under each of these heads.

The popularity of the plan was undoubtedly one of the leading factors in the victory of the policy of public ownership. It was desired that the administrative organization should be made independent of political influence and yet that it should be so closely connected with the government that there would be no danger of its becoming a state within a state, a body that might come into conflict with the government itself. Hence the administration of the federal railways forms a separate division of the federal administration, and the finances of the railways are entirely disconnected from the finances of the Confederacy.

The supreme authority in railway matters is the Federal Assembly. Then there are the Federal Council, which carries out the policies of the Federal Assembly, and the Administrative Council. The last named is a popular feature of the scheme among the shippers and the public generally, a certain number of its members being chosen with regard to the interests of agriculture, industry, and commerce, respectively. The government has retained three classes of passenger service; but the second and third may be

omitted from express trains, and the first may be omitted from accommodation trains.

The relations between the state employer and the railway workers have been most harmonious and free from friction; the workers have never struck, nor even threatened to strike. The reason is not far to seek. Care has been taken from the beginning that the employee should have "a square deal." We read:

The highest rates paid on any of the private roads were adopted as the minimum rates for the corresponding classes of the federal service. . . . An eleven-hour day (which is less than the usual continental European working day) was established, with the further provision that every train crew should have at least ten hours of unbroken rest in each twenty-four.

When, on the ground of increased cost of living, the Federal Assembly was petitioned by the men for a supplement to their regular wage, the "courteous tone of the employees' petitions and the reasonableness of their request" was noted, and grants ranging from 50 to 100 francs annually were made to each married employee and each unmarried one with persons dependent on him. These "high-prices-increments" were granted in 1906, 1907, and 1908, and finally in 1910 a permanent general increased wage schedule was adopted.

With regard to freight, the classification is relatively simple.

Provision is made for the special classification of raw materials used in agriculture, and of some other commodities. Special rates may be made out of consideration for foreign competition and to secure transit traffic from competing lines, provided that domestic shippers are not injured thereby. In times of public distress the Federal Council may make special rates on foodstuffs and livestock. . . . The pledges of the Federal Council relating to rates . . . were carried out to the letter.

As to the financial result of the governmental operation of the railways, there is considerable difference of opinion. Dr. Holcombe cites two writers, each of whom is a trained investigator—one saying that "the railways are more than paying their way," the other, that "they are a drain on the taxpayers." The explanation seems to lie in the fact that net earnings are applied to the amortization of the railway loans.

The Swiss regarded the funded debt in the light of a mortgage upon their railway property, and determined to own their property clear of such

charges before diverting net earnings to the federal treasury.

When it outlined the advantages of nationalization, the Federal Council calculated very closely; and any abnormal conditions would naturally produce temporarily abnormal profits or losses. Though the railways have had to face deficits year after year, "these deficits have been more apparent than real." The payment of increased wages to the employees, for which no provision had been made, has been courageously main-

tained, and by a vigorous policy of retrenchment the second decade of the Swiss federal railways "begins auspiciously with an estimated surplus, the first budgetary surplus since the government's railway policies have been in effect." In Dr. Holcombe's opinion, the charge that lines are "a drain on the taxpayers" is not sustained. On the contrary, he maintains that "the Swiss federal railways have already reduced rates, improved the service, raised wages, and made a profit."

PRUSSIAN IDEALISM IN GERMAN POLITICS

IN their bearing on the political relations of England and Germany, two articles, entitled respectively, "The Key to German Politics" and "Prussian Idealism," from the pen of Mr. Philip Ferris, in the *Westminster Review*, are interesting by reason of the novel hypothesis put forward to account for the condition of affairs which for some time past has given such grave cause for alarm to Europe in general and England in particular. The judgment of this writer is that Englishmen cannot understand the principles and motives that prompt German political actions; and, on the other hand, that Germans hold the methods and principles actuating the English to be defective, that the lines upon which the British Empire has been built up are wrong lines, the key to the whole situation lying in the fact that whereas the Englishman proceeds from sense to ideal, the German sensualizes the ideal.

In developing their nation, says Mr. Ferris, "the English have taken, above all other guides, great Nature herself, and have been contented to wait simply, perhaps inarticulately, upon her in her courses."

Committing themselves to the deep, they have departed into far countries, where they have worked hard and long, through dark and light, some planting, and others watering, till the beautiful thing just grew, and now there is hardly any village so small in any land, however remote, where some one will not step forward to greet the traveler, asserting that he speaks English.

The manner in which they have put their empire together, piecemeal, is the method they live by in general. To whatever material they give their attention, geographical or ethnological, they work upon it just as they find it, bit by bit, and form a whole from the parts. . . . Every new enlargement of their horizon has deepened their feeling of drawing nearer and nearer the ramparts of the world, has increased their sense of responsibility, and has filled them with the belief that the kindly method which has led them so far through the

visible world will still guide their steps through whatever lies beyond it.

Their manner of dealing with other races has been the same . . . they have arrived at a great vision of a common humanity, of which the different nations are but adumbrations. This . . . is the reason why, for suffering peoples, England is humanity itself, and why everything English is held for a model. The nations formerly copied the Englishman's constitution; now they envy him his empire.

But this amalgamating of mankind, and the peace necessary for it, "has been energetically rejected by one wilful opponent—the German nation—on the ground that the whole procedure is wrong and immoral."

Especially is the English method of subjecting reason to experience felt to be at fault, to be something unintelligent, mythological, and fatalistic. The Prussian masters Nature not by obeying, but by prescribing laws to her. Nature does not command man: man is the measure of all things. This is the great doctrine that Germans are so proud of having discovered. . . . The jerry-built British Empire would be much more tolerable to Prussian eyes if Pitt, or Queen Elizabeth, or Alfred the Great, or whoever else is credited with having started the movement, had had the advantage of reading Hegel. They would then have learned that among the means by which a small state can be made great, there is, besides the method of toiling and colonizing, the alternative one of scheming and conquering. If the rise of Britain is like the growth of a plant, that of Prussia is like the unexpected hatching of a cannon-ball.

The ground of the Englishmen's failure to understand German statesmen is, Mr. Ferris thinks, partly the difficulty of the German language, and partly that they (the Englishmen) "have from the beginning fallen into what is called the sympathetic fallacy, that is, attempting to explain the actions of a strange party by one's own feelings."

Taking for granted that the internal structure of Europe is homogeneous, they have concluded that

something true in Spain, Great Britain, France, or Russia, would also hold in Germany, unaware that the names, law, religion, art, and sentiment do not connote the same conditions in Germany as they do in the rest of Europe.

The German view of German history may be said to hinge upon two dates, the Peaces of Frankfurt and Westphalia; and these "must be kept always connected, so that every clause of 1871 is directly conditioned by something in 1648." By the Thirty Years War Germany was "wiped out"; her land was wasted, and the financial devastation was so great that it was not until 1850 that she was again on the footing of 1625.

Of the interests that stimulated the war the German remembers nothing—only the ruin. His re-

gard for the differences between orthodoxy and reform are not beneficent. . . . Whatever influence Christian teachings or the moral views symbolized by them still have in other lands, in Germany they have next to none. The old ways of thinking have disappeared from top to bottom, through and through. Now in this point Prussia has done Germany good service; for, in addition to her superior military organization, which, accepted by all the other German states, proved stronger than the veteran legions of France, it was Prussia that elaborated the marvellous system of philosophical idealism, which corresponds so exactly to the new feeling, and which is to Germany what the Greek Church is to Russia, the Anglican Church to England, the Roman Church to France, and Mohammedanism to the Arabs—a means of brotherly communication and the public expression of the highest ethical models. Cultivated Prussians, Bavarians, and Austrians all equally use idealistic terms on solemn occasions.

HAS A NEW BIOLOGICAL LAW BEEN FORMULATED?

IT is a well-known fact that more boys are born than girls. The proportion of excess is represented by the figures 106 and 100. This proportion was established in the days of the Venetian republic, when they used to drop a white ball into an urn at the birth of a boy and a black ball at the birth of a girl. The same figures are obtained from modern accurate statistics. Yet it remains an equally well-established fact that everywhere the number of male adults is less than that of female adults.

Starting from these facts and correlating them with the discoveries made by Dr. Hermann Swoboda, of Vienna, concerning the periodicity of human life, Dr. V. Fliess, of Berlin, has groped his way to what seems a new biological law—namely, that human existence may be regarded as built up of biological periods corresponding to the number 23 for men and the number 28 for women. It reminds us of the rings that indicate the age of a tree. The difference may be that in man we have to deal with a substitution rather than an addition.

The discovery of Dr. Fliess has been supported by the evidence gathered by Dr. H. Schlieper, also of Berlin, and has won further corroboration at the hands of a Norwegian student, Christian Claussen, who has set forth not only his own findings but also those of the two Germans in a recent issue of *Samtiden* (Christiania). What they come to is that the natural life period of the male is shorter than that of the female, and that for this reason nature provides more males than females. Out of the excess in male births

and the excess in female life length may be formulated an equation that seems to establish a constant proportion.

Fliess tries to show, says Dr. Claussen, that this proportion expresses a natural law which determines not only the relation of birth and death, but also the relation of one birth to another within the same family. Thus the length of time from a man's birth to his death, if that death be "natural," proves divisible into periods of 23 days. And the length of time between the birth of two children by the same mother becomes equally divisible—that is, by the figures 23 or 28.

Dr. Claussen gives some examples from Norwegian genealogical tables. One of these, showing the birth dates of six children, is particularly striking. From the first to the second child there were 644 days, or 28 times 23 days. Between the second and the third, 663, which has to be resolved into two periods: one male of 13 times 23, and one female of 13 times 28. And it is interesting to note that the child born at the end of that period was the only one of six to die young—having lived just 23 days. From the third to the fourth child the distance was 812, or 29 times 28, days; from the fourth to the fifth, 805, or 35 times 23, days; and from the fifth to the sixth, 506, or 22 times 23, days.

Finally Dr. Claussen quotes Professor Wilhelm Ostwald as saying of these discoveries that, with all possible allowance for mistakes, "there remains under all circumstances so much that is valuable and new, that it may be taken for granted that science will be largely helped by these ideas."

FRANCE IN AFRICA: HER OCCUPATION OF FASHODA

IT is now fourteen years since the press announced to the world that a French expedition, which had left the Atlantic coast of Africa in April, 1896, had succeeded in crossing the continent and reaching Fashoda, the end of May, 1898. The officer in charge of that expedition was Captain (now Colonel) Marchand, who, in the *Revue de Foyer* (Paris), gives a sketch of his eventful journey. Colonel Marchand, in introducing his subject, seeks to emphasize the fact that France is preëminently a colonizing nation. He pays a high tribute of praise to Brazza, who in the valley of the Congo "represented magnificently the penetration and colonizing capacity of the French."

As the crow flies, the distance covered by the Marchand expedition was about 8000 kilometers, but in reality the party traversed nearly 17,500 kilometers in its journey from the Atlantic to the Red Sea, land and boat passages included. An idea of the completeness of the outfit and the scale upon which the expedition was planned, may be gained from the following facts presented by Colonel Marchand:

For the transport of necessary material and provisions for the revictualing of the party, the expedition employed the services of 23,000 persons, of whom 17,000 were porters and 4000 were native travelers, engaged in divers capacities; 28 river steamers; and several hundreds of canoes manned by 2500 canoeists. The number of convoys, from the start in April, 1896, successively reformed during the journey across the continent to the Red Sea, exceeded 1300. Every kind of locomotion was employed, including man, boat, railway, wheelbarrow, stretcher, horse, dog, ass, ox, and camel.

The principal points at which the convoys were reformed and reorganized were Brazzaville, Bangui, Mobaye, Ouango, Bangasso, Rafai, Tamboura, Fort Desaix Fashoda, Baro at the foot of the great mountains of Ethiopia, Goré at the summit, Addis Ababa, Menelik's capital, and finally the entrance to the desert Dankali. It appears that during the whole of the expedition an interval varying from 1200 to 2500 kilometers separated the vanguard from the rear of the party. Only once could the entire party be said to be united after leaving Loango on the Atlantic coast, and that was twenty-eight months later at Fashoda.

Colonel Marchand illustrates his sketch with photographs of the most interesting features of the journey. In passing through the



COL. MARCHAND, THE FIRST HERO OF FRANCE'S
AFRICAN EMPIRE
(From a recent photograph)

country of the Banziri, he noticed the abnormally long hair worn by the women—the longest in the world, as he puts it. He adds, however, that it was artificial! In the Oubangui, the great affluent of the Congo, they encountered large numbers of hippopotami, the bodies of which were eaten by the natives. One of the chief obstacles encountered was the great swamp into which the waters of the Soueh flowed. Here all roads ceased completely. The area was covered with a giant kind of reed and dwarf rushes: the Colonel terms the district "an aquatic prairie." Emerging from the great swamp, the country of the Chillouks was entered, the people numbering a million and a half and prosperous. The sultan Abd-el-Fadil was attended by two or three of his ministers, "somewhat *en déshabillé* for excellencies."

There was nothing specially interesting about Fashoda. Legend assigned it to the days of the Queen of Sheba, when it was one of her capitals, under the name of Denab. Its name now is Kodok. On leaving Fashoda the explorers used the steamer *Tewfikieh*, one of two taken by the dervishes at Khartoum. On quitting the Nile by its affluent, the Sobat, the steamer bearing the expedition, the *Faidherbe*, was wrecked.



A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF REGINA.

REGINA, SASKATCHEWAN---AN OLD-NEW CAPITAL

OF few towns, villages, or cities can it be said, "Once a capital, always a capital." Yet this is how Regina can correctly and concisely describe its own history. At first it was the seat of government of the old Northwest Provinces, a distinction which it probably owed to the fact that it happened to be situated on the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and not to any natural beauty, appropriateness, or anything indicative of possibilities of future greatness. Indeed Dr. Begge, the historian of the Northwest, describes the site as a "blank, unattractive spot," and suggests that it was chosen for the capital as a compromise to offset the rival claims of Troy—Qu' Appelle and Fort Qu' Appelle. But this was twenty-five years ago; and, although Regina remains to-day a typical prairie town in many respects, it has proved its right to existence. This is the claim advanced by Miss Emily P. Weaver in the *Canadian Magazine*, and the lady has no difficulty in proving her case. She writes:

It is not with Regina as with many capitals, which, occupying some commanding eminence, or standing beside some commodious harbor or mighty river, appear to have been destined from the beginning for a great center of human industry.

Regina is situated by a mere rivulet, the Wasicana or Pile of Bones Creek; and, so far as the making of the city is concerned, it has been with the little capital as with many heroes of industry and finance. She may be described as "self-made," for her good fortune is largely due to her own exertions, or, rather, to those of her citizens.

I had almost said of her children; but, considering that, if one counts from the advent of the first settler, Regina is only thirty years old and that many of her inhabitants are very newcomers indeed, the time-worn metaphor is hardly appropriate. Rather one must think of her citizens as her fathers and her nurses who delight in her growth as parents rejoice in the strength and vigor of their firstborn and who labor to acquire for her a large share of every good gift attainable in the way of civic privileges and transportation facilities.

It was in 1885 that the name of Regina first became familiar to all Canadians in connection with the trial and execution of Louis Riel; and, as a result of the inquiry into his rebellion and the following investigations of the grievances of the Half-breeds, the first elective Assembly of the Northwest Territories was convened at Regina in 1888. At this time

its population still numbered only a few hundred souls, and at the beginning of this century it had not two thousand people all told. Yet the hour of



THE CAPITAL OF SASKATCHEWAN

its awakening was close at hand. . . . By the opening of the twentieth century, the restless enterprising American pioneers, finding the scope of their energies continually narrowing in their own country, turned their attention to the Canadian West. Soon they began to migrate across the border in steadily increasing numbers, and the fact that prosperous American farmers thought this a good enough country to emigrate to, proved a persuasive argument with people of the British Isles and other parts of Europe in opening their eyes to the merits of the Dominion.

From 1903 the progress of Regina has been rapid. During the four years 1901-1905 its population more than trebled; in 1910 the total had grown to 18,500; and last year, owing in part to newcomers and in part to the extension of city limits, the population had risen to 25,000, or about ten times that of a decade earlier. Regina's development has been due to the fact that in recent years the city "has never lacked a full complement of public-spirited citizens, who have worked to advance its interests as keenly as they work for their own." For instance,

Regina can boast that her handsome City Hall, which was completed in 1908 and cost \$200,000, did not add by one cent to the burdens of the taxpayers. . . . On its own land the city has constructed a system of spur tracks, which can be extended as required; and it offers sites for warehouses at the low price of \$200 a lot with a 25-foot frontage.

Doubtless the greatest factor in Regina's prosperity has been facility in the matter of transportation. Since the Canadian Pacific many other railways have included Regina in their systems, until to-day it has more than a dozen lines running out of the city. Regina is the distributing center for a district of more than 60,000 square miles; and in one respect—the distribution of agricultural implements—it is said to lead the world. According to the article under notice, "in 1910, Regina firms sent out to the farmers of the district no less than \$25,000,000 worth of implements, and no doubt the figures for this year will be still higher."

The city owns its waterworks and electric light and power plant, and has put in operation the first street railway in Saskatchewan. Regina already boasts some seventy-five miles of graded streets and covers an area of about thirteen square miles. The pride of Regina is the new Parliament Buildings, looking upon a lake formed by damming up (for seven miles by half a mile) the waters of Wascana Creek. A few rods distant are the barracks of the Mounted Police of which Regina is the military headquarters. Regina was so named by the Marchioness of Lorne in honor of Victoria the Good, and "now reigns the capital city of Saskatchewan by the vote of the representatives of the people."

AN EMPIRE WITHOUT A UNIVERSITY: BRAZIL

LAST year there was a revolution—a bloodless one, in Brazil. A new law, called a “reforma de ensino,” abolished by a stroke of the pen the privileges and prerogatives of faculties in law, in medicine, and in engineering, some of which had existed for nearly a hundred years. Theoretically, this law made a complete revolution in the professional schools of Brazil. Writing in the *Bulletin* of the Pan-American Union, Dr. Edgar Ewing Brandon says:

Up to the present time Brazil has the unique distinction of possessing no universities. . . . All degrees have been abolished as unsuited to a democracy. Instead of the coveted doctorate, conferred with cap and gown in an elaborate ceremony, the graduate now receives a simple certificate of having finished the presented course of study. This statement entitles him to the right to practice his profession. Any school, therefore, whether Federal, State, or private, may prepare physicians, lawyers, dentists, pharmacists, and engineers. The federal monopoly is gone. For this reason the “reforma” is said to grant “freedom of instruction.”

As any sect, society, city, or state may found a professional school or university, it might have been expected that the result would be the foundation of a large number of non-state universities, not subject to national regulations. But a paragraph in the new law may make professional courses more national than heretofore. We read:

If a faculty is self-supporting, it has under the new law complete freedom. It can regulate the

length of its course, the age of its students, the number of its professors, and the system of instruction. If, on the other hand, it asks and receives a subvention from Congress, it must conform in the essentials to the standards presented by the law, such as length of term and order of studies, and the professors must be appointed by the government from a list submitted by the faculty. . . . It seems probable that instead of loosing the professional schools from the control of the central government, the new law will bring them into more direct subjection, and instead of a very limited number of national faculties, there may arise many more in different centers, but all equally national.

It appears that academic degrees were abolished in the hope of “lessening the intellectual proletariat.” For

to be a “doctor,” whether of jurisprudence, medicine, or mathematics, has long been a distinct honor in Brazil, as in many other countries of Europe and America. Almost every son of a well-to-do family set this as his goal; and if the young man did not himself have the ambition, the parents strove to implant the desire and fostered it with all the influence of family pride. In either case it was not with the intent that the young “doctor” should practice conscientiously his profession and in that way be a useful and honorable member of society. Not more than 20 per cent. of the doctors of jurisprudence practiced law or ever intended to do so. A scarcely larger percentage of the doctors of medicine followed their profession. For the vast majority in all the schools the goal was not the profession, but the gilded title. The result was not merely a social and intellectual waste, but a national evil.

It is in the matter of secondary education that the new law works for absolute freedom.



POLYTECHNIC SCHOOL, ONE OF THE CELEBRATED SCHOOLS OF SAO PAULO, BRAZIL

(It has a very complete and modern laboratory, and its courses of study are practical)

These schools are now completely divorced from the professional faculties.

A certificate of graduation from a "collegio" will no longer admit to a professional school. All students must pass an entrance examination fixed and administered by the particular faculty. This policy is theoretically correct, considering actual conditions in Brazil; but it may result in the evil of young men studying only to pass the entrance examination, and not with the aim of acquiring a real education. Already there is appearing the special preparatory-to-examination school, and the

race of skilful tutors who "insure" their pupils against the risks and dangers of the examining board.

There are half a dozen centers of higher education, all in the larger cities of Brazil: the capital and São Paulo with schools of law, engineering, pharmacy, and dentistry; Bahia and Porto Alegre, with law, medicine, and engineering; Bello Horizonte, with medical and law schools, and Recife with a law school only.

THE FRENCH ISLANDS IN THE PACIFIC AND THE OPENING OF THE PANAMA CANAL

AMERICANS as a rule recognize the importance of the Panama Canal that is to be for the trade between the Atlantic coast and the western shores of both North and South America, and, in a vaguer way, its effect upon the trade of Europe and the eastern United States with the Orient; yet few, we imagine, have thought of a phase of the matter which has of late been discussed: the effect of the opening of the new waterway upon the commercial value of certain of the Pacific islands which up to this time have played but a very minor part in the world's affairs. M. Numile, in a recent number of *Cosmos* (Paris), calls upon his countrymen to seize the opportunity now offered to secure for the French islands in the mid-Pacific the commercial importance which their position makes possible if not actually certain.

Last December the French Minister of the Colonies obtained a grant to pay the expenses of a commission whose duty was to study conditions in the Caribbean Sea and in the Pacific, and to report to the ministry what work should be undertaken to place French ports in those regions in a position to handle the traffic which must result from the opening of the Canal. The most important part of the commission's investigations will have to do with the islands of the Pacific.

The direct route from Panama to Melbourne or to Auckland passes through, or very close to, the Tuamotu or Low Archipelago, which is under French control. Moreover, the mid-point between the isthmus and the Australian coast lies on the edge of this group. The English, well aware of the importance for the Pacific trade of a coaling-port in this neighborhood, have offered to purchase from the French the small island of Mururoa, in the heart of the Low Archipelago, as the

site for a British port-of-call. To this proposal M. Numile advances strong objection.

Naturally the writer exhibits some feeling when he recalls the part France has played in the projection of the Suez and Panama Canals, only to see them pass later out of her hands,—in the case of the second, at least, after the absorption of immense sums of French money. As a species of poetic justice, he regards a profitable coaling-port in the mid-Pacific as a means of returning to his country a part of the loss she has suffered. From Panama to Australia is about 15,000 kilometers or 9320 miles. To cover this distance without recoaling is impracticable for most classes of steamships. It may be that the use of liquid fuel will change the situation; but at the present time sailing vessels alone can afford to remain at sea while on such voyages and still earn dividends. The realization of this fact has long since led the British to develop Cape Town, Aden, Colombo, Singapore, Hong Kong, as ports-of-call where coal, provisions, and water may always be had, whether the ship be British or not, and—as is usual with matters conducted with prudence and liberality,—this policy has been exceedingly profitable from the business standpoint. If well chosen, such ports become distributing centers where local trade and trunk lines come together, to the great benefit of each. M. Numile takes for an example, Aden: situated in a sparsely settled, almost unproductive, country; built upon the naked rocks, at the most sterile point in Arabia; where rains are as a rule three years apart and the only available water is that which has been distilled and is stored in vast tanks; where the poorest vegetation is regarded as a luxury;—and yet Aden has a population of 45,000, and more than 120 vessels stop each

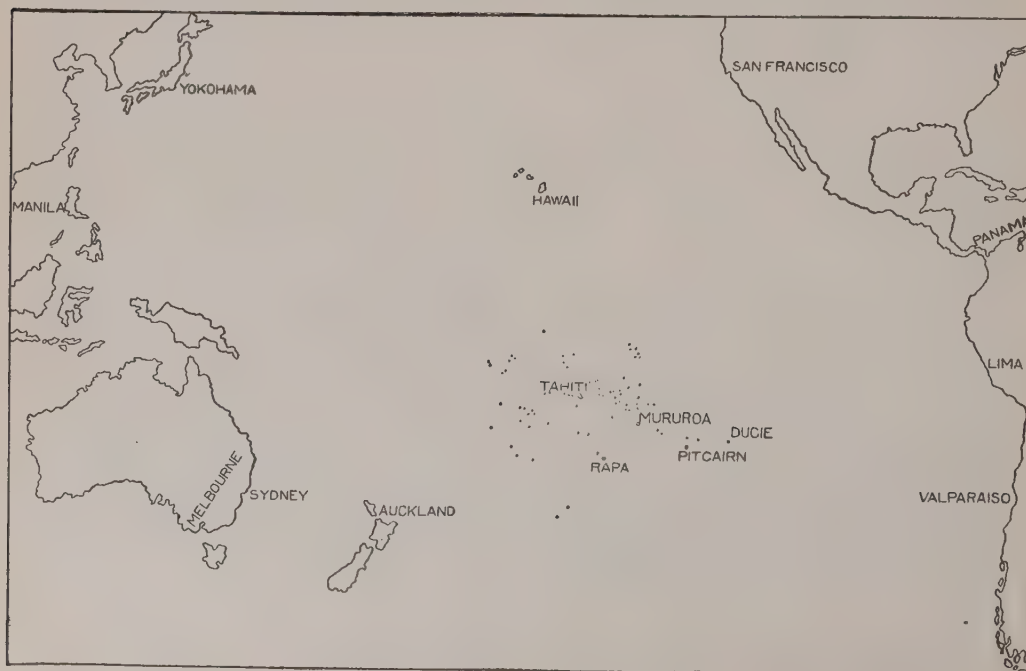
month for coal. There is no manufacturing other than the annual production of 100,000 tons of salt, yet the trade of the port amounted in 1910 to \$30,000,000. Only a short distance away is the French port of Djibouti, the stopping-point for a number of subsidized liners; but poorly equipped and—according to our author,—“characterized by the inefficiency which belongs with everything French beyond the seas.”

Here is an analogous strategic position, another Aden, which our cousins wish to develop upon a French island which they are to purchase from us in an archipelago providentially placed upon the route of future navigation. We should also have a port; since they ask only a single island from among a hundred which we possess. But they will transform Mururoa into another Aden, while Pape te, or Port-Pha ton, or Rapa, will remain a kind of Djibouti, receiving only the leavings of a trade *which must come to us*, if we part with none of our possessions. To develop this port would evidently cost us millions; if the State cannot provide them, a chartered company could act for it. Abundance of material for construction work is to be found in Guiana whose hardwoods are incomparable for durability. It is true that the penal administration [of Guiana] would find it hard to overcome its dislike for employing its abundant workers upon some useful work.

M. Numile goes at considerable length into a description of Mururoa, the island desired by the British, and of Tahiti and Rapa, others of the Low Archipelago which exhibit, in his opinion, advantages over Mururoa as sites for an important commercial station.

Speaking broadly, the Low Archipelago, comprising numerous groups of islands, islets, and reefs, covers a vast area of the southern Pacific Ocean, its greatest diameter being about 1500 miles from northwest to southeast. Mururoa lies toward the southeast edge of the group, but surrounded by other islands at greater or less distances, and apparently not to be reached except by very careful navigation. Its position is: $21^{\circ} 50'$ south lat.; $138^{\circ} 40'$ west long.; about 4660 miles from Panama and the same distance from the southeast coast of Australia; about 2800 miles from New Zealand. The island is small, consisting of a low ring of land surrounding a lagoon, except for the entrance from the sea on the north side. Everything which a port-of-call would have to supply for visiting ships—coal, provisions, fresh water, naval stores—would have to be provided as at Aden.

Mururoa's competitors for the honor of becoming the great emporium of the South Pacific, in the opinion of our author, would be Tahiti and Rapa. The former is the seat of the French administration in this part of the world and is the most important island in the Low Archipelago. It possesses two harbors, that of Pape te, the seat of government, open to the north, and that of Port-Pha ton, on the south. It goes without saying that to convert either of these into a port-of-call for large steamers would involve large expense;



ISLANDS OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC

M. Numile considers the second far more worthy of consideration by reason of its area, depth of water, freedom from high winds and ease of defense. Unlike Mururoa, Tahiti has a considerable area of fertile soil, and numerous streams from the mountains would supply abundance of good water. The climate, as in all these islands, seems to be healthful, and the vegetation is so luxuriant that the Tahitians are famous for their indolence,—Nature providing practically everything they require with a lavish hand. It is a curious index of the relations existing between the French colonies and the mother country that practically all the trade of Tahiti is with Great Britain.

The position of Tahiti is: $17^{\circ}30'$ south lat.; $149^{\circ}30'$ west long. It possesses the same disadvantage as Mururoa in that it is surrounded by other islands, reefs, etc., and these render the navigation of the neighboring waters by no means easy.

Much further to the south: $27^{\circ}35'$ south lat.; $144^{\circ}17'$ west long.: lies the little island of Rapa, on the great circle connecting Sydney and Panama. Of volcanic origin, it rises from the depths of the sea far from other land; hence the approach to it is much easier and attended with less danger than is that to Mururoa or Tahiti. Although its area is small—only about half that of the city of Paris,—it is dominated by high hills, one of which reaches to a height of nearly 2,000 feet.

In a sort of crater among the hills lies the bay of Ahoureï, connected with the sea by a deep and narrow fiord; the depth of water in the bay is ample, it is protected by the hills from heavy winds, and it is capable of easy defense. The soil of the island is fertile, its climate is healthful, sea-food is abundant, and deposits of lignite have been discovered capable of supplying fuel for local use. For the various reasons suggested, M. Numile considers the harbor of Ahoureï the best for a South Pacific coaling-port and urges the immediate inauguration of the work of its development.

The supplies of coal for the port to be chosen could be secured from New Caledonia, whose mines have never been developed to their full capacity, and even from the deposits of Hongoy and Kebos, in Indo-China. This would be a way to provide for the output of the mines developed in competition with those of India, Japan and New Zealand. The mineral wealth of the Indo-Chinese coast is considerable and the product of the mines can be loaded on ship-board at the mine itself. Ships and men are not lacking.

M. Numile points out that none of the islands controlled by the British in the South Pacific has, at the same time, the two fundamental requirements: a good harbor and a good strategic position. Ducie and Pitcairn possess the latter, but not the former qualification. Hence the interest taken by John Bull in the tiny island of Mururoa.

AUSTRALIA'S DOUBTFUL FUTURE

READERS of the REVIEW may remember an article entitled "A White Australia and the Australian Fleet," which appeared in the issue of August, 1911, commenting on a declaration by the editor of the *Sydney Bulletin* to the effect that Australia had figuratively "put its foot down" on the matter of colored immigration; that "Australia is to be a white Australia."

The Australian fleet (when there really is such a fleet) will be found (when the day comes for defining the situation) to exist, first, for the purpose of keeping Australia a white man's country against all comers, and second (only second) for the defense of the British [mostly colored] Empire.

It now seems to be quite within the range of possibility that the Australian Commonwealth may be compelled to fall back upon a policy of "immigration without restriction, save that the colored immigrants would be prohibited from crossing certain defined

boundaries." A number of articles have lately appeared, all pointing to the grave danger which threatens Australia in respect to the sparsity of the population of her great Northern Territory. The *Morning Post* (London), for instance, says:

The calamity of Australia being overwhelmed by an Asiatic invasion; the disaster of seeing her territory occupied by a European power, willing and able to give it effective occupation—neither of these prospects can be viewed with an easy mind. Yet the Australian people, by their apathy in regard to immigration, seem to invite one or the other.

If they will not populate their land and develop its wonderful riches, somebody else surely will. With every year the open spaces of the earth dwindle, and the pressure of fecund populations increases. Australia must be filled, by the British race or by some other. With the present-day government of that country the issue rests. . . .

The Northern Territory is in the position to-day of a land which is not "effectively occupied." Australia could be accused of a dog-in-the-manger policy if she said "No"—as inevitably she would

say "No"—to the request of a foreign power for leave to occupy it for colonization. Yet to-day only the might of the British arm stands in the way of that request being made.

Australia must occupy the territory to make her tenure of it secure. At least a million people are needed to give it even a sparse sprinkling of inhabitants.

It is, indeed, remarkable, in view of all the facts, that the Australian people should still dally with the problem of peopling their country, still cherish illusions, still refuse to face realities. It is the more remarkable because on another great national issue, that of defense, they have shown a wise promptitude in recognizing facts and in adopting sensible precautions. But all their courage and wisdom in that regard probably will go to waste if they will not recognize that their garrison for a continent is too thin, and that the time to strengthen it is now.

The settlement of the Northern Territory is, however, only one part of the difficult problem of the peopling of Australia. To quote further from the *Morning Post*:

All over the continent there is a lack of population, and for many years the rate of increase has been most unsatisfactory. A study of the Australian census figures over thirty years shows that if the rate of increase, by births and by immigration, secured during the ten years 1881-1891, had been maintained during the following twenty years the 1911 population would have stood at 6,272,000, instead of the present figure of 4,455,000.

In the *National Review* Mr. George Gascoyne goes so far as to say that, "in the question of its tropical areas there looms before the Commonwealth the most terrible problem any of the Dominions will ever have to face." He points to the fact that the Northern Territory, four-fifths of which lie within the tropics, has an area of 523,620 square miles—two and a half times the size of France—with a total population (in 1908) of but 16,573, including whites (1081), resident Chinese, Japanese and other foreigners (1892), and aborigines (13,600). Thus, "one of the richest areas in the world, emphatically earmarked for the white race, is, after seventy-five years of direct possession, occupied by appreciably less than a thousand white adults." Mr. Gascoyne advances several arguments with reference to the peopling of the Northern Territory, which he summarizes as follows:

I contend (1) that the Northern Territory can never be colonized by indentured labor, because the Asiatic races will no longer consent to sign indentures which prescribe compulsory repatriation; (2) that the alternative of free immigration of Asiatics would soon submerge all restrictions, with disastrous consequences to the rest of Australia; (3) that in any case Northern Australia would have to be colonized by yellow men, and not by brown men.

At present the Australians do not intend to admit colored labor. They propose to people their northern tropics with white settlers. But where are these settlers to come from? "The southern Australian states are desperately in need of millions of more settlers. Few white men will care to make their home in the north when they can acquire holdings in the milder south." Recognizing the well-known fact that "Australians tend to concentrate in towns to a degree unknown in any other country in the world," Mr. Gascoyne holds that

the Northern Territory can never be won to civilization by a town-loving people. It will have to be developed by a race content to live in villages, like the people of India and Java. . . . If the Australians will not populate the Northern Territory, can white settlers from over seas be expected to do so? Emigrants from Great Britain and Germany and Sweden, or even from Italy, will never be persuaded to live near the Equator, trying to grow rice and tobacco and cotton, or perhaps wheat, in competition with colored men across the Eastern seas who can live handsomely on two-pence (four cents) a day. Even if it were possible for white men to engage continuously in tropical agriculture, the proposition would be economically unsound. But it is not possible. I do not believe that any white race will ever people Northern Australia, and rear hardy vigorous sons able to fight for their lives, as they would certainly have to do at some time or other. The lands of the monsoons are eternally set apart for the colored races. I have lived many years in the tropics, and have seen the white races in several tropical countries; and, deeply though I sympathize with the policy of a White Australia, it is my unalterable conviction that the north can never be developed and held by whites.

The only thing that could save the north for the Commonwealth would be "the rearing, beyond the twentieth degree, of a race of millions of virile white men and women, able to stem the yellow flood." Meanwhile

Asia is awake and militant, and is discovering once more the secret of the sea. The swarming millions will not be content to wait for a century or two, while a handful of white men try to find out whether they can live and work and breed in one of the richest regions of the world. . . . Northern Australia is to the yellow races a Naboth's vineyard, and it lies empty and open and inviting. The nearest precedent is the case of Tripoli, which Italy has just annexed in pursuance of her economic necessities, with the sanction of every power in Europe. Is it likely that the yellow races will admit that there shall be one law for Europe and another for Asia? Only until they get sufficient ships and guns.

And once a million or two Chinese are established near the northern seaboard of Australia, the door can never be shut.

KING OF JOURNALISTS AND BEST OF MEN—A FRENCH TRIBUTE TO WILLIAM T. STEAD

OF the many tributes to the memory of the late William T. Stead which have appeared on the other side of the Atlantic, one of the most remarkable, from many points of view, is that by M. Jean Finot, editor-in-chief of *La Revue* (Paris), formerly the French *Review of Reviews*, occupying no less than twenty-two pages of his magazine. Immediately beneath the title, "Le Roi des Journalistes, le Meilleur des Hommes," are printed two quotations from Carlyle ("That good man Stead") and Cardinal Manning ("When I read Stead, it seems to me that Cromwell has come back from the dead"), respectively. The gifted French editor, who was on terms of the closest intimacy with Mr. Stead, speaking of his friend's character, says:

Our epoch is prodigal of talents. At no time in history, perhaps, could one count in the various domains so many original intellects. But what we lack especially is strong and vigorous characters with ardent convictions, capable of going so far as to sacrifice to their ideals their fortune, their life, and their success. In the midst of our fluctuating ideas of man and the universe, religion and morals, progress and destiny, a sort of antagonism, a discrepancy, manifests itself everywhere between our tendencies and our lives, our beliefs and our acts. The *Titanic* catastrophe has demonstrated this: we know how to die worthily, but we do not know how to live humanly. . . . And we ought to greet as heroes those who in their daily lives present the uncommon spectacle of men living by and for a great ideal. It is from this point of view that I propose to examine certain episodes in the life of Stead.

Referring to the affair of Stead's imprisonment, his French coworker writes:

His campaigns were memorable. One often hears of those which led to a jail sentence for Stead; but people are wont to forget those on the English navy, followed by many others, relative to various abuses of which the England of that day was the victim. When he began his Homeric war on the white slave traffic and the secret vices of noblemen, noble lords, and wealthy and powerful men, Europe and the whole world followed with intense interest those acts of superhuman courage on the part of a journalist. What evoked sympathy for the writer was his evident good faith, his prophetic style, his illimitable devotion to justice, and his unbounded fearlessness. These were perhaps the most heroic and the

happiest years of Stead's life. Alone he succeeded in rousing a country against vices of all sorts, in saving the existence of thousands of women, and in aiding the triumph of virtue, ever his idol. . . . The months passed in prison were perhaps the most symbolic of his life: they were in any case the most decisive for his future activity. . . . Henceforward he glorified the beauty of isolation. He there collected his forces, his inspirations, and his thoughts for struggles more and more intense.

In considering Stead as a sort of king of journalists, says M. Finot, never was title more justified nor better merited.

From every country there came to Stead applications for his aid in defending the cause of truth and justice. Sovereigns themselves did not disdain to call him to their side in order to interest him in their great and generous conceptions. Thus the ruler of the Russias invited him to St. Petersburg before issuing his appeal for the first Hague conference. . . . It is well known with what devotion Stead worked at The Hague. . . . He was among the most devoted and convinced on the subject of arbitration; but it is not generally known that Stead spent a little fortune in his enthusiasm for the cause. The Russian Government desired to recoup him the expenses for his long propaganda, but Stead declined any reimbursement of his large expenditures. . . . His greatness of soul impressed itself on every one. The most representative men and women of England, such as Gladstone, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Manning, and Queen Alexandra testified their affection and esteem for him. His vast study, unique of its kind, was filled with hundreds of photographs of the celebrities of the times. And, a remarkable thing, kings who ordinarily restricted their dedications to a simple signature of their names, showered upon Stead evidences of their sympathy and friendship. Beside the holders of temporal power were also the princes of science, literature, and the arts;



W. T. STEAD IN SOUTH AFRICA

for to read Stead was to know him, and to know him was to admire and love him. Confidences came to him from all parts. He became a sort of spiritual father for troubled consciences and for those obsessed with an ideal.

One of the most interesting portions of M. Finot's article is his reference to the relations of Stead with Cecil Rhodes. He tells us that

a sort of mystic adoration for Stead prompted Rhodes one day to write him long letters from the Transvaal. Stead had already at a distance conjectured that energy and will power were among the characteristics of him whom he surnamed the "Napoleon of the Cape." One day Rhodes, like a thunder-clap, presented himself in Stead's study. Their conversation was short and significant. Said Rhodes to Stead: "You have many good and noble ideas, and I have many millions to aid you in realizing them." The two energies joined forces, and a hearty handshake sealed the union.

For some years Stead had been accustomed to make unannounced visits to his friend Finot at the latter's retreat far from the busy life of Paris.

One morning Stead burst in on Finot and, with that infantile gaiety, unstudied and full of charm, and peculiarly his own, asked brusquely, "Will you go with me to hell?" This hell, in the Biblical language with which Stead embellished his secular conversations, was nothing else than a world-wide journal—or perhaps two journals, two gigantic and profoundly human enterprises.

Cecil Rhodes had asked him a few days previously: "What would you do, Stead, if you suddenly found yourself in possession of a million pounds (\$5,000,000)?" Stead did not hesitate an instant. In his talks with his intimates, he had often urged the necessity of founding an international journal, independent of advertisements, subscribers, finance, governments, and "of the devil himself." His reply was ready: "I would found an English journal such as England has never yet seen, and another for the Continent such as Europe has perhaps never had." And Rhodes, with his characteristic simplicity of gesture and sobriety of speech, answered him: "Establish your two journals: I hold at your disposal the million pounds you will require."

The two journals were never founded. The friendship of Stead and his Mæcenas was destined to a severe strain during the Boer War. M. Finot gives an interesting summary of the incidents which led up to the estrangement. Convinced that the war was an unjust one, Stead even went so far as to say that England, if disloyal to the cause of justice, deserved to be wiped from the face of the earth. Stead's letters on the subject of this war are, says M. Finot, among the finest and noblest in the latter's possession. It was characteristic of Stead that when Rhodes died, and public opinion in England

showed itself singularly hard upon its former favorite, "the voice of one just man was heard above the concert of scandal. Stead did not hesitate to proclaim publicly the merits and the virtues of the man who had once called him friend and had cast him off."

As to Mr. Stead's attitude toward Germany, M. Finot says:

He wanted to bring all the professionals of England and Germany in contact, in order that, knowing each other better, and thus being able to appreciate each other, they might the better love one another. But his successive journeys to Germany opened his eyes. He began to understand the fatal force which was pushing the German Empire toward the domination of the world. And then, braving ridicule, he declared himself the advocate of two keels to one.

As instancing Stead's remarkable independence of character, M. Finot relates the efforts of the present Sultan of Turkey to induce Stead to accept some compensation for the expense he had been put to in connection with his visit to Constantinople last year. The Sultan offered him a check. Stead desired the sovereign to send it to the Peace Society at Berne. The Sultan then begged his acceptance of a personal souvenir, and handed him a gold cigarette case set with diamonds. Stead realized he could not well offend his Majesty, but was determined to maintain his independence. So he compromised by asking the Sultan if he would condescend to accept a small object from him, and solemnly handed his Majesty a gold-mounted Waterman fountain-pen. The Sultan was delighted. Said he: "I have often dreamed of possessing one, but this is the first I have ever received in my life."

M. Finot devotes some pages to Stead's associations with spiritualism, remarking in one passage: "With that unshaken conviction which characterized his faith, he assured me that the thing [communication between the living and the dead] was possible, and that he knew that he could prove it to me." He closes his sympathetic and interesting article by comparing Stead to Marcus Aurelius, the desolate Stoic and also one of the most active emperors that Rome ever had. In Stead's case his activity in spiritualism never caused him to deviate a hair's breadth from his set course in regard to his social and political propaganda. "Before the sovereign Death all the detractors of Stead join with his admirers in saluting him as one of the most worthy and most representative sons of their noble country. . . . And Stead dead is more alive than ever!"

THE REAL PERSONAL CHARACTER OF THE POETESS SAPPHO

THE recent announcement of the discovery, by Dr. Hunt at Oxyrrhynchus, of a papyrus containing still another fragment of a hitherto unknown poem of Sappho, the famous Greek poetess, has impelled Dr. Theodore Reinach, the French literary critic, to a careful analysis of all the evidence which goes to establish the popular idea that the poetess of Mitylene was of the *hétaira* or courtesan class among Grecian women. He has offset against this evidence two other fragments of Sapphic poetry, discovered a year or two before at the same place and deciphered and published by Dr. Hunt in a recent issue of the publications of the Egypt Exploration Fund. Unfortunately for his purpose the most recent "find" has not yet been published and hence is not available. The argument and conclusions of Dr. Reinach are in the form of a communication to the French Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, and have been made public in a recent issue of the *Temps*.

Dr. Reinach tells us that "the sands of Egypt have lately restored to us the precious remains of three or four little manuscript poems by Sappho, interesting by reason of their novel metre, in strophes of three verses, which were to be published shortly in Berlin. He deplores the fact that so little of the work of Sappho has been restored to us, especially in view of the recent discovery of a long lost poem of the Bœotian poetess Corima. Hers he characterizes as a "sweet and pretty talent," but one in which "we search in vain for that something, of flame, of color, of passion and above all of personality, which the word lyricism would suggest to the mind of the modern reader."

In glowing language, Dr. Reinach now heaps encomiums upon the writings of Sappho.

There is not a line, however brief, that does not reveal, by its brilliant scintillations, a nature in which nothing is mediocre

and which cannot love indifferently, like the concentrated sun-fire in the foreshortened diamond. . . . There is exquisite choice of words, the style, the natural and bold turn of thought, the grace of imagery, the magic flexibility of rhythm.

On the other hand he admits quite freely that

grave differences of opinion have existed, since antiquity, concerning the social position and the moral worth of this woman. Was she a courtesan or a *grande dame*? May we see in her the lofty and pure figure of the impassioned muse, whom Plutarch compared to Pythia on her tripod, or a vulgar paramour and unspeakable follower of vice?

Concisely put, this is the question, the solution of which Dr. Reinach seeks in the somewhat elaborate discussions which he sets forth.

The modern idea of the frailty of the character of Sappho dates back about sixty years, when a man of broad intelligence, in a study which attracted wide attention, assigned to Sappho a panel of honor,—if I may so express it,—in the gallery of Greek courtesans.



THE GREEK POETESS SAPPHO

(From an old Print)

Dr. Reinach traces this, which he regards as a misconception of the true character of the poetess, to the writers of the Middle Comedy [404-340 B.C.] who,

in search of characteristic types, met with the far-off, enigmatical figure of Sappho, head of a school of music and poetry, with such joy of life, such liberty of thought and speech, such baffling frankness in the expression of those most intimate sentiments, that they found no parallel for such a prodigy in the middle class of Athens. They did, however, find some in the world, or the half-world of venal coquetry, with its uncertain boundaries, —the pleasing but irregular party wavered between the Aspasia and the Phrynes.

In short, Dr. Reinach finds that the times had changed and that what was permissible in woman, in Sappho's time, two centuries before their day, was not permissible then; and hence the comic writers, "with that absence of historic sense which characterized their age and their kind, did not hesitate to make of Sappho a courtesan, the chief even of courtesans."

Thus characterized by the fancy of the comic dramatists and this characterization accepted without question by those artificial writers, who called themselves *Hermecœux* and *Chameleon*, and later by the fathers of the Church, the figure of Sappho the courtesan has become so incorporated into literary history that the learned Alexandrians did not dare wholly to reject it. However, as between the shameless *bachante* and the noble poetess whom, Aristotle says, the *Mityleans* honored, the contrast is impressive.

Modern scholarship, Dr. Reinach finds, has inherited these contradictory traditions and perplexities; but he feels sure that were we to possess a complete collection of the poems of Sappho, internal evidence would suggest sufficient proof of the untruth of the scandalous idea of her character. He urges that in classical Greece, women of lofty station and noble family, such as was Sappho's, were invariably of good character. He argues:

If we can discover in the poems of Sappho a certain proof that there existed in her, not alone an exalted sense of personal dignity, but a very lively concern for the speech of people, and for points of honor in herself and in hers, do we not discover that which brings about the destruction, to all human sense, of the absurd tradition of the moral obliquity of Sappho?

Following this line of argument, Dr. Reinach brings forward what he regards as a clinching argument, the fragment discovered a few years ago by Grenfell and Hunt at *Oxyrrhynchus*. The story is not new—that

of the attachment of a brother of Sappho, Charoxos by name, to an Egyptian *hétaira*, Rhodopis by name, whom he purchased and freed and upon whom he lavished the greater part of his fortune. The proof that the reproaches of his sister, with which she met the knowledge of his prodigality, were called forth by the personal disgrace which he had brought upon himself and his family, and not by the loss of the property, Dr. Reinach finds in this fragment, which has been deciphered by Dr. Hunt and thus translated:

Sweet Nereides, grant to me
That home unscathed my brother may return,
And every end, for which his soul may yearn
Accomplished see!

And thou, immortal Queen,
Blot out the past, that thus his friends may know
Joy; shame his foes—nay, rather let no foe
By us be seen!

And may he have the will
To me, his sister, some regard to show,
To assuage the pain he brought, whose cruel blow
My soul did kill.

Yea, mine! for that ill name
Whose biting edge, to shun the festal throng
Compelling ceased awhile; yet back ere long
To goad us came.

In this poem Dr. Reinach finds "a touching fraternal sentiment, simple yet sweetly affectionate even in the reproach it implies," and also a sure and certain proof that here is a Sappho who is 'cut to the heart by the little innuendoes which tarnish the good name of whomsoever they touch,'—a Sappho who could not possibly be of the character ascribed to her by the Athenian comedians."

Dr. Reinach pursues his subject further also by examining the Berlin Sapphic fragments which serve to bring into relief one known phase of the life of Sappho,—that of a leader of a coterie in Greece devoted to the study of music and literature, the proprietor, in effect, of a boarding school, or conservatory where these things were taught. The Berlin fragments are ascriptions to the virtues and character of one of the young girls, who has for a time been one of her pupils, but who has been summoned to return home. After studying these freshly discovered words of Sappho, Dr. Reinach feels positive that

we are able to affirm with a little more assurance than before that, if she was neither a saint, nor above all a prude, at least when she endeavored to instruct her young companions, to bring them nearer to her heart, to mold them after her own image, it was certainly not the courtesan, endeavoring to form other courtesans, but true women in all respects like herself, enjoying like her all the beauties of life.

THE NEW ROLE OF THE GOVERNOR



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GOVERNOR CHESTER H. ALDRICH
OF NEBRASKA

GOVERNOR JUDSON HARMON
OF OHIO, CHAIRMAN

GOVERNOR HERBERT S. HADLEY
OF MISSOURI

THE COMMITTEE OF GOVERNORS WHO ARE REPRESENTING THE STATES BEFORE THE FEDERAL SUPREME COURT IN THE RAILROAD RATE CASES

CONDITIONS have changed considerably since Madison asserted in the Convention of 1787: "The executives of the States are in general little more than ciphers; the legislatures omnipotent." And Mr. Bryce, should he have occasion to issue a new edition of his "American Commonwealth," would probably be disposed to change his view concerning the State legislature, of which he said: "The State legislature is so much the strongest force in the several States, that we may almost call it the government and ignore all other authorities." The fact is that "a popular distrust of the legislature has arisen and steadily grown until it has become one of the most striking political phenomena of the present day." So writes Mr. J. M. Mathews, of the University of Illinois, in the *American Political Science Review*; and he asserts that

a history of State legislatures would be largely concerned with the successive development of various methods of curtailing the almost absolute power which those bodies originally possessed. . . . This general movement has manifested itself in the transfer of legislative power from the legislatures (a) to the courts, (b) to the people, and (c) to the governor.

The increasing influence of the governor over legislation is "the comparatively new rôle which he is now beginning to play, and which, in its relation to popular control of

government, bids fair to become one of the most important developments in the history of the State governments." By means of his veto the governor has from the beginning exercised a certain amount of control over legislation; and the tendency of constitutional development has been toward increasing the legal power of the governor over the shaping of legislative policy. But

this tendency has not yet advanced far enough to give the governor any very real and effective control. . . . The plain fact is that the governor is held responsible for controlling the course of legislation, but is not given the legal power commensurate with that responsibility. He can sometimes block vicious legislation, "jokers," "riders," and "jobs," but he has legally no correlative power of initiating and pushing through legislation which is demanded by intelligent public opinion. Unless the governor is given both these powers, he ought not rightfully to be held responsible for the course that legislation takes. But . . . the people are holding him responsible because he alone stands out conspicuously among State officers.

This state of things has "led some publicists to advocate the entire abolition of the legislature," and others to advocate "a thoroughgoing reorganization of the State governments upon entirely new lines." But a development is taking place which may render such reorganization both unnecessary and undesirable.

"The whole country," says Governor Wilson of New Jersey, "since it cannot decipher the methods of its legislation, is clamoring for leadership, and a new rôle, which to many persons seems little less than unconstitutional, is thrust upon our executives." . . . By the gradual accretion of precedent, and by the growth of custom, the governor is forging the instrument of control over both the initiation and the passage of legislation. This extralegal instrument is the personal influence of the governor, supported by the full force of "pitiless publicity," and public discussion.

It is in securing the passage of so-called "administration bills" that the personal influence of the governor comes into play. These bills are nominally fathered by some member of the legislature, but really emanate from the governor. Further,

In some States we find the governor appearing before informal meetings of legislative committees, discussing with them questions of public policy, and advocating the measures that public opinion demands. The personal influence of the governor is not the influence of coercion or the selling of appointments for favorable votes on administration bills. . . . The real influence of the governor over the legislature, as Governor Wilson has pointed out, consists in his power to represent, to persuade, and to lead the people. If by his qualities of leadership and the force of his arguments he can persuade the people during the campaign, the same qualities will give him such a personal ascendancy over the legislature after his election that he will

be able to lead that body also. The legislature must be led by some person or persons. . . . The bosses have too frequently dictated the passage or the sidetracking of measures. In his new rôle the governor becomes the virtual boss and shapes the course of legislation for the general benefit, instead of for private and special interests.

Not every one can successfully undertake this new rôle of the governor; only men of unusual ability are capable of playing it; but

the opportunity which thus presents itself for the display of statesmanlike qualities will induce a much abler type of man to become a candidate for the office than has hitherto been the case.

The significance of the increasing influence of the governor lies in the fact "that through him the people have found a means of controlling the formulation of public policy." The power of the boss hitherto has been due to the fact "that he has performed two functions which must of necessity be assumed by some one. "These are the dictation of legislation and the appointment of nominally elective officers. In order to make the power of the governor fully commensurate with his responsibility, it will be necessary to reduce the number of elective State officers and to vest in the governor a greater power of appointment and removal.

THE SCIENTIFIC MAN AS AN ART CRITIC

DR. WILLIAM J. S. LOCKYER, who has the good fortune to be the son of Sir Norman Lockyer, the great astronomer and astrophysicist, and who is further known to fame for his own scientific attainments, paid a visit to this year's exhibition of paintings at the Royal Academy, and reports his impressions in *Nature*.

We are not aware that any modern painter borrows a leaf out of the book of Apelles, and hides behind his canvases, when on exhibition, in order to hear and heed the criticisms of the chance spectator who happens to know what he is talking about. If such were the modern custom, our artists would learn much wisdom from the lips of shoemakers and scientists; but since it is not, Dr. Lockyer's plan of publishing his criticisms in a widely read journal, where they may chance to fall under the eyes of the persons most concerned, is highly to be commended.

Here are some specimen comments:

Rain Clouds: Bosham. Moffatt Lindner. The large nimbus is far too solid-looking and lacking

in detail. Such a cloud in nature is full of detail, both in structure and light gradations. As here depicted it looks like a lump of dough.

The Approaching Shower. Beatrice Bland. Both clouds and falling rain are well represented. The shower, however, is not approaching but traveling nearly from left to right, as indicated by the slant of the falling rain.

Submarines and Torpedo Craft: Old Portsmouth. W. L. Wyllie, R.A. Most excellent clouds, showing the result evidently of much observation. Indications of ascending air and upper horizontal air currents very natural. Reflection on water well graded.

The Walls of England. R. Gwelo Goodman. Absolutely impossible skyscape.

The Home Port. W. Ayerst Ingram. This would be a fine picture if the rainbow were omitted. The sun is setting on the right of the picture more than 90° away from the observer. This can be gathered from the position and sunlight on the ship in the center of the picture and other illuminated objects. As one of the fundamental conditions for seeing a rainbow is that the sun should be at the back of the observer, it is not possible for a rainbow to be included in the picture under the existing sunset position.

Such criticisms have too seldom been passed upon the skylscapes of prominent artists. Many years ago the English painter

Elijah Walton published a book on clouds, in which he pointed out the startling fact that a very large proportion of paintings, including those of the old masters, are grotesquely untrue to nature in their skies; but this book is little read, and appears to have had no great influence for good.

Now and then the scientific journals call attention to the more egregious blunders of this sort, such as the amazingly common habit of turning the horns of the new moon in the wrong direction. More than one astronomer has expressed the irritation with which he and his colleagues behold a painting of the night sky in which the stars are scattered about absolutely at the caprice of the artist, without the slightest regard to the real form of the constellations. On the whole, however, the scientific sins of painters pass unnoted so far as ordinary art criticism goes.

Dr. Lockyer is, among other things, a meteorologist, and it is a part of his *métier* to be familiar with the typical aspects of the sky, including the forms of clouds. So, also, one would suppose, is it a part of that of the landscape painter. Why should one be a more accurate observer than the other?

The reason is obviously this—because the man of science has, in addition to the knowledge gained by his limited personal observations, that collected by a multitude of his colleagues and digested according to the process of scientific induction. He knows, for example, that the, at first sight, infinitely variable forms of clouds can be classified into a few simple types—a discovery made over a century ago by the immortal Luke Howard.

The elements of astronomy and meteorology ought to be taught, along with anatomy, in every art school.

WHY DO WE LAUGH?

A WRITER, who does not sign his name, contributes to the current *Edinburgh Review* an erudite discussion of laughter. As to its causes and its general "content" he says:

We must assume that at any moment the existing quantity of liberated nerve force which in some way, little understood, produces in us the state we call feeling, must expand itself in some direction, and if of several channels one or more is closed, or partially closed, the discharge along the remaining one must be more intense. Laughter is a display of muscular excitement and so illustrates the general law that feeling, when it passes a certain pitch, vents itself in bodily action. It is not a sense of the ludicrous only; there is sardonic laughter, hysterical laughter from mental distress, laughter from tickling, and, under certain conditions, from cold and certain kinds of pain.

If now we have this overflow of nerve force, undirected by any particular motive, it will manifestly take the most habitual route. It is through the organs of speech that feeling passes into movement with the greatest frequency. The muscles round the mouth, small and easy to move, are the first to contract under pleasurable emotion. The class of muscles which may be considered next most easily set in action by feelings of all kinds are those of respiration. We breathe more quickly under excitement of any kind, so that it is not difficult to see the likelihood of convulsive movements of the respiratory organs being set up. If the feeling still continues and increases, the muscles of the upper limbs are set in motion, the hands are rubbed together or clapped, the knees slapped, the body is swayed backward and forward.

Proceeding in his argument by quoting Herbert Spencer's "Physiology of Laughter," the writer observes:

We do not laugh simply at any incongruity, but when the unexpected state of feeling aroused is less in intensity, so leaving us, as it were, with something in hand to be expanded—*i. e.*, when the attention is transferred from something greater to something smaller—and this Herbert Spencer describes as "descending incongruity." A simple example will make this clear. If we watch a door opening slowly with the full expectation of the entrance of some imposing and important personage, and then instead there trots in a small dog or some quite unimportant and insignificant person—we laugh. We were prepared adequately for the greater event, and we have a supply of nervous energy over. If, on the other hand, we reverse the process and the incongruity is of a marked degree of the opposite kind—*i. e.*, unexpectedly important—we are left with an insufficient stock of nervous energy and are more likely to be left motionless, with our mouths open, until we have time to recover ourselves.

He then reviews at length the definition of wit and humor that they have made at various times, and quotes M. Henri Bergson as saying that "the attitude, gestures and movements of the human body are laughable in exact proportion as that body reminds us of a mere machine." He concludes with this attempt at a definition of humor:

As soon as we use the expression "sense of humor" it is widely recognized as at once defining and limiting the use of the word in a peculiar way. It betokens a certain kindly, tolerant, broad-minded point of view, keenly alive to inconsistencies and incongruities, quick to note and to place in a view where they become patent the small failings and absurdities, but at the same time with a sympathetic understanding which suggests a nature large enough to see the faults and yet not to be repelled by them.

SOME LIVELY TURKISH OPINIONS ON THE WAR

THE Turkish press has permitted itself to become very much worked up over the Italian attempt to force the Dardanelles and the capture, by the Italian fleet, of the Turkish islands in the Eastern Mediterranean. In her inauguration of this new phase of the war, the Turkish periodicals generally see the "fine Italian hand" of Russia.

Italy endeavored to arouse Europe on the question of the closing of the straits. The attack, however, failed and no intervention took place. The Turkish journals claim that the Ottoman diplomats gained a great victory in inducing Europe to recognize Turkey's right to close the straits in time of danger. The Porte also, say the journals, gained further in the sight of Europe by refusing to submit to the veiled threats of Russia, which power, according to an agreement made with Italy some few years ago, had been planning to force Turkey to open the straits to Russian warships from the Black Sea.

The editorials in the Turkish press congratulate the government at Constantinople on having requested Russia not to send more troops to the Caucasus, and also on having asked an explanation of the speech recently made in the Russian Duma by Foreign Minister Sassonov endorsing Italy in her Tripolitan campaign—"expressions which are incompatible with the declared neutrality of the Russian Empire."

Speaking of Russo-Turkish relations at the present moment, and making special reference to the speech already referred to, the *Jeune Turc* says:

All Europe has been disturbed by the adventurous diplomacy of Sassonov. The continent has noticed with suspicion the sudden withdrawal of Tcharikov, the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, the concentration of Russian troops in the Caucasus and of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea. The rumors of Italo-Russian agreement, and the successive endeavors of Russia to bring an end to the war favorable to Italy. . . . The Sublime Porte, in asking the Russian government for an explanation of this situation, has shown that courage and conviction which will secure the recognition and respect of other nations. Turkey has compelled Europe to recognize that she is no longer the decrepit, and worm-eaten organization of Hamidian times. . . . From now on, Russia will find us more tenacious in Persia. She will learn that the present war, instead of making us weaker, has rendered the Ottoman nation more persevering, united and courageous.

Referring to the closing and opening again

of the Dardanelles, this same journal says: "Russia has acted too hastily. She has become isolated from England, and even France, her ally, does not approve of her policy." Commenting on the war itself, the *Jeune Turc* continues:

Beaten in Tripoli and vanquished in Cyrenaica, Italy is also defeated in diplomacy. The recent speeches of Count Berchtold at Vienna, and Lords Grey and Morley in England are as precious victories as those gained by our valiant soldiers and countrymen on the fields of honor in Africa.

In a long editorial discussion of Russian "encouragement" to the revolutionary bands in Macedonia and the general Muscovite policies in the Balkans, the *Tanine* (The Echo), perhaps the most influential of the Young Turk journals, says:

If Russia is invited by Bulgaria to help her in the Balkans, it is not for peace and tranquillity, but to help Bulgaria annex Macedonia. . . . The Ottoman government has done more than it promised in 1878, not only in Macedonia but all over the Empire. It has guaranteed the political rights of all Ottomans without any distinction of race or creed, and now it has a Parliament. If the situation in Macedonia is not what it should be, this is due to the foreign friends of that country. Peace will come to Macedonia only when these foreign friends let it alone.

The journals of Constantinople permit themselves to make merry over the Italian exploits in the *Ægean*. Thus *Jeune Turc* says:

The "Giolitti-annexation-it-is-to-laugh" cabinet is really to be pitied. It started on a "military walk" intending to glorify the arms of Victor Emmanuel. . . . After eight months of "walking" it conceived the brilliant idea of taking Zouara and thus blocking the caravan route between Tunis and Tripolitania. Unable to take this port by sea, its soldiers failed to take it by land. Poor Signor Giolitti! In the same manner as they "took" Zouara, they "forced" the Dardanelles. Now the "Consulta" has lost its head and thinks it can take Zouara or annex Tripolitania simply by changing the map. . . . Italy is trying to transform a colonial kidnapping into a European war. She wants European diplomacy to help her "make good" in this kidnapping. But if there be any way in which a colonial seizure of this kind is justified, it is that the kidnapper shall do the job himself without help and with the least trouble to neutrals. Never will the public opinion of the civilized world agree that Europe should aid Italy in this matter. . . . If Italy is able to actually take Tripoli, let her do it . . . but the occupation of Rhodes and the other naval actions will never compel Turkey to subscribe to the Tripolitan annexation act.



CAVOUR. THE STATESMAN

MAZZINI. THE AGITATOR

GARIBALDI, THE SOLDIER

THE MOLDERS AND WELDERS OF ITALIAN UNITY

MAZZINI, CRISPI, AND ITALY AS A WORLD POWER

THE most picturesque and dramatic achievement in Europe during the last half of the nineteenth century was undoubtedly the *Risorgimento*, the struggle of the Italian people to win liberty, independence and unity. This great work was accomplished chiefly by the three men whose names are supreme in the Italian history of their generation,—Cavour, the statesman, Mazzini, the philosopher-agitator, and Garibaldi, the soldier. To these should be added the name of Francesco Crispi, who worked with these great ones and survived until a later day to help direct the foreign policies of the united Italian people.

It has been said that "men fight to lose the battle and the thing they fought for comes about in spite of their defeat, and, when it comes, it turns out to be not what they meant." If ever this could be truly said of any patriot statesman it can be said of Giuseppe Mazzini. He dreamed of an Italy free as well as united. He saw his country free, but without unity. Furthermore, although he died defeated, Italy did become united and free, only, however, as a monarchy, which, to him,

was detestable. Some of the chroniclers of the movement for Italy's freedom insist that his part in that story was a minor one. They claim that the glory of the final victory belongs rather to the brain of Cavour and the sword of Garibaldi. There is justification, however, for regarding Mazzini as the pioneer. It was his achievement "to develop and perfect and arm conscience," without which Cavour and Garibaldi would not have found the Italian people ready.

In this REVIEW for December last we had something to say about William Roscoe Thayer's fascinating two-volume study of "The Life and Times of Cavour." The appearance of the letters and recollections of Mazzini,¹ by Mrs. Hamilton King, casts a fine illumination upon the entire period so ably treated by Mr. Thayer. At the same time the publication of the two volumes (with the promise of the early appearance of a third) of the memoirs of Crispi² completes

¹ Letters and Recollection of Mazzini. By Mrs. Hamilton King. Longmans, Green & Co. 140 pp., por. \$1.60.

² The Memoirs of Francesco Crispi. 2 vols. Translated by Mary Pritchard-Agnetti from Documents Collected and Edited by Thomas Palamenghi-Crispi. George H. Doran & Co. 979 pp., ill. \$6.

the documentary history of the entire life of modern united Italy. This history is made more vivid by the personal achievements, hopes, fears and sufferings of the Italian statesman, who, beginning with the days of the Risorgimento, took a leading part in shaping his country's destinies until the inauguration of her African expansion policy. In the working out of this policy, so disastrously checked for the moment at Adowa in 1896, Signor Crispi was always the dominant figure. It was he who dreamed of a new Italian empire on the foundations of ancient Rome, and the Italian ships and soldiers now fighting the Arabs in Tripoli are but carrying out part of the grandiose dream of Francesco Crispi.

It is with the Mazzini of his later years, of 1864 to his death in 1872, that Mrs. Hamilton King has to do in her collection of letters. She was a generous and romantic girl of eighteen when she read Gladstone's translations of Farini's "History of the Roman State." This fired her zeal for Italian liberty. At that time, 1849, in the progress of events in Rome the name of Mazzini was very prominent. To her Mazzini at once became not only "an image of the ideal patriot, hero and saint, but the master mind of the century and the master and responsive note of her own mind." She resolved to dedicate herself to the aims and purposes of the Italian liberators. She wrote Mazzini an idealistic letter full of impersonally romantic and philosophic sentiments. "Had my age permitted me," she wrote, "I would have been among those who served in the campaign of 1860. I have nursed the sick and dying. Let me offer relief and consolation to the holy Italian war. . . . In the crusade of our day surely maidens and children are not out of place." Mazzini wrote in reply, saying, "I accept and welcome your enthusiasm as one of God's blessings." The correspondence continued. A visit to Mazzini in his dim London lodgings was arranged, and later, after her marriage, Mazzini stayed with the Kings in their country home in England.

In addition to the letters of Mazzini given in these pages, Mrs. King includes several of her own, besides some of those written by other friends of the patriot. It seems almost sacrilegious, after fifty years, she comments in the volume, "to expose these letters warm from living hearts to the mockery of a skeptical and materialistic world, yet in those days the world was equally skeptical and materialistic, and it was even harder and pervaded by a

vice which has now disappeared—hypocrisy. But, after all, truth is best."

The record of Mrs. King's first visit to Mazzini during his London exile is well worth quoting.

It was on January 30, 1864; Mazzini lived then, and during all the years I knew him, in a house called 18 Fulham Road. It was one of a row of small, three-storied houses, standing a little way back from the road, with, in front, a little iron gate and a small grass plot. . . . I do not remember if we had previously announced our visit; but we found him at home. He was in the small front sitting-room, so filled with books and papers there was hardly room to move, and with his little canaries and greenfinches fluttering about the room. He had been smoking, but had put away his cigar. At last we stood face to face. I had a photograph of him, but a small and poor one, and it was with an indescribable emotion that I saw before me the slender emaciated form, the noble face and brow, and the great dark, liquid velvet eyes, with their wonderful fire and depth, and heard the gentle, caressing voice. He was dressed, as always, in the deep mourning, the black velvet waistcoat buttoned up to the throat, which was his distinctive costume. I have no recollection of what was said. I could only utter a few words of devotion and thankfulness: and though Mazzini himself was a fluent and eager talker, I do not remember that he said much, nor anything that he said. It was my husband who principally sustained the conversation. . . . As for me, I felt disappointed, not in Mazzini, but in myself. He never took his large wonderful eyes from my face; and in them there was the expression of the deepest melancholy.

The conception of Mazzini, once quite widely accepted, as "a pestiferous conspirator, fanatical and cruel," has long since been thrown aside. Yet it is good to hear Mrs. King's first-hand testimony to the gentleness and generosity of his nature. He was, she tells us, the most domestic of men, and his life was characterized by simplicity, innocence, gayety and charm of nature. The keynote of his nature was his "utter generosity, self-denial and self-sacrifice." Everything that it was possible to give away he gave. "Besides his private charities, he financed the whole Republican movement in Italy, and supplied the funds for every private and public expedition . . . although this was only possible through the contributions of his friends and followers."

He was the gentlest of human creatures, and the kindest. The little birds that flew about his room, nestled on his shoulder, and fed from his hand, were one proof of this, shut out as he was from the comfort of human relations. His love and tenderness to children were also touching and wonderful. He could be bitterly indignant against wrong, oppression, and cruelty; but his indignation itself, though fiery, had never anything violent or cruel. He *could* not be other than gentle in every action, word, and tone. In all his gentleness there was a

deep note of melancholy; and this was not merely for the sorrows of his country and of humanity, and for his own deceptions and disappointments; for those who knew him, there might be perceived a perpetual mourning for those lives which had been sacrificed in following him, and whose martyrdom was a perpetual weight upon his heart.

In personal appearance he was of middle height, slender and of noble carriage. His eyes were the most remarkable feature of his face. They were extremely large, "luminous, of a velvet darkness, and full of fire and passion. In him extraordinary purity was transcendent. . . . A sort of living flame surrounded him, which could not help striking every one in his presence. I have never met any man or woman who so embodied the idea of perfect purity."

Mazzini, Mrs. King admits, had not the gift of prophecy. Some of his predictions have been falsified by history, but "Mazzini the man, the saint, the leader, the hero, the martyr, must ever remain one of the most splendid, noble and pathetic figures in the story of mankind."

Crispi as Seen Through his Letters

One of the most ardent followers of Mazzini and Garibaldi during the war for Italian unity was the young Sicilian, Francesco Crispi. He championed the cause of "Italia Unita," and fought against French interference. He was a leading spirit among those who brought about Italian occupation of Rome, a most prominent figure in the formulation and direction of Italian foreign policy up to the time of his death, and a prime mover in the entrance of Italy into the Triple Alliance, as well as one of the originators of the idea of an Italian Tripoli.

Authoritative documents concerning the war for Italian unity are scarce. The letters of Crispi, written at the time, are illuminating. The editor of the two-volume collection of Crispi's memoirs, Tommaso Palamenghi-Crispi, in his introductory note avers: "a book from nearly every one of whose pages Francesco Crispi speaks has no need of a preface by another." It is indeed characteristic of this collection of letters that the personality of the writer shines out unmistakably. The two portly volumes are full of descriptions of and references to Garibaldi, Cavour and Mazzini, but all are saturated with the passionate, devoted personality of Crispi himself. Traveling through Europe as Italy's secret agent in European political affairs, during most of his career, he kept his own name comparatively unknown, but it is

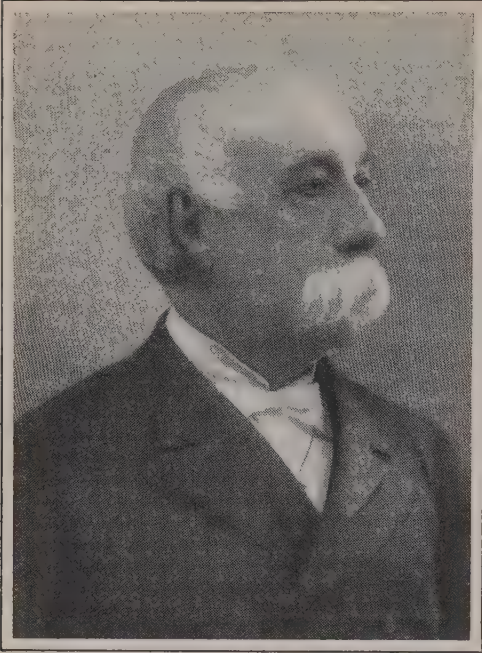
a significant record of all that he saw and heard that is given in this collection of letters.

Crispi's absorbing ambition was Italy's interests in the Mediterranean. On this subject, says his editor, he entertained "ambitious, uncompromising and ardent opinions." He realized that England had cut off his country from Egypt, and that Tunis and Morocco were as inevitably French as was Algeria. He saw, however, "that not only might a skillful and firm policy prevent Italy's position on her own sea from becoming worse, but even lead to some compensation for the injury she had already suffered." In a letter addressed to the German Ambassador at Rome, and dated July 24, 1890, Crispi declared that failing in the attempt to prevent French occupation of Tunis, "measures must be adopted to insure Tripoli to us [the Italians] as the only possible guarantee against encroachments of the naval and military power of France." In a letter dated July 31, of the same year, from the Italian *chargé d'affaires* in London, it is stated that Lord Salisbury, then British Premier, admitted that "the interests of Europe demand this occupation [of Tripoli by Italy], that the Mediterranean might be prevented from becoming a French lake." The editor quotes in this connection also a statement made by M. Ferry, then French Foreign Minister, to the effect that if Italy wished to occupy Tripoli, he would offer no opposition. All of which is reproduced here to show that, more than two decades ago, Europe had accepted the Italian absorption of Tripoli.

Crispi had personal dealings with all the great men of Europe, and for his own record alone he jotted down his estimate and impressions of such world figures as Gambetta, Bismarck, Cavour, von Bülow, Gladstone and Disraeli. An absorbingly interesting and secret interview with Bismarck at Wildbad, on September 17, 1877, gave the Italian statesman a very clear idea of what the great German empire maker thought about almost all the international complications of the last thirty years of Italian history. In the light of what has actually happened since that conversation, Crispi's account is significant.

After greetings and exchange of views on the political situation generally, Crispi said:

We are informed that it was your wish to strengthen the bonds of friendship between our countries, and I am therefore come at my King's command to discuss several matters with you. . . . I am unaware whether it will be necessary to readjust the treaty of commerce which was signed in 1865, but I am convinced that the opening of the



CRISPI AT EIGHTY

Gotthard Tunnel will greatly increase traffic between our countries, and it will therefore be well to make such provisions as shall remove all obstacles to trade between our peoples, and also facilitate the transaction of private business. With this end in view our government hopes that Your Highness will agree to a treaty by virtue of which Germans in Italy and Italians in Germany shall be placed upon a perfectly equal footing with the subjects of those countries, as far as civil rights are concerned.

In reply to a question as to whether Germany would sign a treaty of "eventual alliance" with Italy and would be willing to come to an understanding" as regards the solution of the Eastern question, the German Chancellor replied as follows:

I heartily welcome the proposal for a treaty which shall place Italians in Germany and Germans in Italy on the same footing with the subjects of those countries, and by virtue of which all shall enjoy perfect equality in the exercise of civil rights. I cannot, however, establish this without first consulting my colleagues. A treaty of this sort would suit me because it would be a public manifestation of our cordial relations with Italy.

As to German relations with France and Austria, Bismarck said:

Only by keeping peace can the republic continue to exist in France, and should she adopt another policy than that of peace she would be risking destruction. I hold that only a return to monarchy would make war possible. In France all dynasties are of necessity clerical, and because her clergy are

restless and powerful and her kings must be warriors in order to sway the masses, the natural consequence is that they are forced to attack their neighbors. Such conditions have long prevailed, and you will find an example of them as far back as the reign of Louis XIV. As regards Austria, the conditions are totally different. I shrink from even assuming that she might one day be hostile to us, and I frankly admit that I must refuse to consider such a possibility. . . . We desire that Austria and Russia should be on friendly terms, and we are doing our best to keep them so.

With regard to Austrian policy generally, particularly with regard to the Balkan question, Bismarck said:

Austria is wise. There could be but one cause for a breach in the friendship that unites Austria and Germany, and that would be a disagreement between the two governments concerning the Polish policy. There are practically two nations in Poland—the aristocracy and the peasants (*la noblesse et le paysan*)—two nations in whom temperament, views and habits all differ widely. The one is restless and factious, the other quiet, industrious and sober. Austria favors the aristocracy. If a Polish rebellion should break out and Austria should lend it her support we should be obliged to assert ourselves. We cannot permit the reconstruction of a Catholic kingdom so near at hand. It would be a northern France. We have one France to look to already, and a second would become the natural ally of the first, and we should find ourselves entrapped between two enemies. The resurrection of Poland would injure us in other ways as well; it could not come about without the loss of a part of our territory. We cannot possibly relinquish either Posen or Danzig, because the German Empire would remain exposed on the Russian frontier, and we should lose an outlet on the Baltic.

Continuing to discuss the general European situation, Bismarck said:

We have been accused of wishing to acquire Holland and Denmark. What should we do with these countries? We have a sufficiently large number of non-German subjects to make us shrink from adding to them. We are on friendly terms with Holland, and our relations with Denmark are satisfactory. As long as I remain in office I shall be with Italy, but although I am your friend I will not break with Austria.

Crispi asked Bismarck what was the latter's opinion on the question of disarmament. The Prince replied:

The principle of disarmament can never succeed in practice. There are no words in the dictionary that accurately define the limits of disarmament and armament. Military institutions differ in every State, and even when you have succeeded in placing the armies on a peaceful footing you will not be able to affirm that the conditions of offense and defense are equal with all the nations which have participated in disarmament. Let us leave this question to the Society of the Friends of Peace.

Altogether these two collections of letters and reminiscences are of unusual interest and significance.

POETRY, NEW AND OLD

"The singer who lived is always alive; we hearken and always hear."—JOHN BOYLE O'REILLY.

IN an obscure legend it is recorded of a race that "They had no poet and so they died." We have this month sufficient in the field of poesy to assure us that we shall never come to extinction through a dearth of poets. Mr. George Sylvester Viereck offers "The Candle and the Flame"; we have "The Lute of Life" by the late James Newton Matthews, "Sonnets and Ballads" by Guido Cavalcanti, the collected poems of William Sharp, "Womankind" by Wilfred Gibson, and the poems of Schiller, in translation by E. Arnold Foster.

"The Candle and the Flame" is accompanied by an explanatory pamphlet from Mr. Viereck's publishers, which gives in brief synopsis an account of

A Youthful
Genius

the life and works of the author. He was born in the city of Munich, in 1886. His father had been a member of the German Reichstag and his mother was a native of California. He attended the public schools of New York and was graduated in 1906 from the College of the City of New York. Now at the age of twenty-eight Mr. Viereck has a half-score of books of various kinds to his credit. His career has been that of a poetical comet, his fiery locks shearings from the aureoles of François Villon and Oscar Wilde. It is true that Mr. Viereck has genius; he has also astonishing talent and virility. At twenty-eight, he is a prodigy of precocious and brilliant accomplishment both in prose and verse; but he has a tendency to juggle with Mr. Viereck's personality. Let Mr. Viereck speak for himself, through his "Credo": "I strive to express every segment in the great circle of human life, whether purple or golden or sombre or bright." Again, in the preface to "The Candle and the Flame": "I am in poetry what Strauss is in music, Rodin in sculpture, and Stuck in painting—a cerebral impressionist. My artistic aim is to extend the borderland of poetry into the realm of music on the one side and into that of intellect on the other." Yet, for all this, he bids farewell to the Muse in this volume. Art for art's sake seems a jest, literature only a "sickly mirage of life." Now he proposes to test the actual dynamics of living, bestowing as a parting gift his stock of cerebral impressionism. The poems included in "The Candle and the Flame," are more forceful though not more poetic, than those of a previous collection—"Nineveh." Erotic imagery often symbolizes moral truths. There is little for the prude or the Puritan to fear in Mr. Viereck's eroticism. It is stingless; it explains itself and it is explained by him as follows:

Perhaps the passions of mankind
Are but the torches mystical
Lit by some spirit hand to find
The dwelling of the Master-Mind
That knows the secret of it all
In the great darkness and the wind.

A wholesome doubt here and there shadows the assurance of Mr. Viereck's Muse. He writes: "I am sometimes seized with the fear of Baudelaire—the idol heedlessly dragged to the junk heap may be the true god after all." Still, beyond all cavil, he has written much that is freshly and uniquely beautiful. There are echoes of the music that tortured Keats' soul from his body and now and again some dust from the grave of Heinrich Heine is blown across our faces. He is just to woman, but he does not think the austerities of life are in her keeping. In a land untraversed by ordinary mortals, he has met vampire souls and singing sirens and knelt at the altars of strange gods and walked up the highways and down the byways searching out his exotic songs. One conclusion seems apparent after a survey of all that Mr. Viereck has done and that is, that his prose is better art than his poetry—like Stevenson's prose, more poetical at times than his verse. While Mr. Viereck's work has all been brilliant, it has been odd and uneven. We hardly know what to expect from him.

James Newton Matthews as a poet belonged to the James Whitcomb Riley School. As a man he belonged with the good and the great. Down in

A Mid-Western
Singer

"Egypt," Southern Illinois, in the little town of Mason, he lived and worked and died and left behind him his poems and unfailing remembrance of his deeds and his virtues, Walter Hurt has written a foreword of appreciation for this volume² together with some analysis of Dr. Matthews' poetical gift. The poems are distinctively American; they can hardly be compared for purposes of criticism with the classics, for they possess a quality that in all times and in all lands has defied criticism—a simple lovingness, it might be called for want of a better word. If you remember some old, sweet verses that your mother used to read when the sun was setting over the hills, out of a Repository of Song that had faded covers and had always belonged to the family, you know the kind of verse Dr. Matthews wrote. Joel Chandler Harris said of him: "He was native to the soil, yet his spirit was as universal as art's expression." His muse dwelt in his heart; his verse was the overflow of great tenderness of spirit. Many of his poems are simple in form and childlike in expression, yet to sense his actual mastery over the technique of poesy one has but to turn to his sonnets or the tribute to Edgar Allan Poe. The verse and the sonnet quoted below are excellent examples of Dr. Matthews' work.

WHEN I SHALL MEET MY YOUTH AGAIN

Sometime—I know not how or when—
This weary road I journey on
Will lead through lands that I have known,
And I shall meet my youth again,—
Thro some old wood my childhood knew
The road at length will bring to view
A cottage in a lonely glen,
Where I shall meet my youth again.

¹ The Candle and the Flame. By George Sylvester Viereck. Moffatt, Yard & Co. 131 pp. \$1.20.

² The Lute of Life. By James Newton Matthews. Hor-ton & Co. 348 pp. \$1.50.

Where I shall greet beside the gate
 A boy whose unforgotten face
 Will glad me with its tender grace
 Of artless life and love elate;—
 My soul will sparkle in his gaze
 The while his sunburnt hand I raise
 Against my lips in silence then,
 When I shall meet my youth again.

And yet the lad of whom I dream
 May know me not for I shall be
 To him a deep'ning mystery
 Of things that are and things that seem;
 From these old scars of time and toil
 His heart, albeit may recoil,
 As children's often do from men,
 When I shall meet my youth again.

But he shall know me at the last,
 And creep into my arms and weep,
 As I shall lull his lids to sleep
 With stories of the changed past;
 And ere the morning breaks upon
 Us twain, our souls shall be as one,
 And time shall breathe a soft "amen,"
 When I shall meet my youth again.

A REFLECTION

To-day is ours, to-morrow God's; and this
 Is all of life we know. Helpless we stand
 Beside the straits of Time; on either hand
 An ocean infinite as the abyss
 Between a past day and a day that is.
 Beneath our feet the ever sliding sand
 Down-sweeps us struggling to the star-less
 strand
 Where billows rock and blinding sea-winds hiss.

Why vex our souls with vain similitudes
 Of life which ere we can discern it, slips
 From out the harbor, like a dream of ships,
 Half-freighted to the alien solitudes
 The home of silence where the long night broods,
 And Time sinks breathless, 'neath the vast
 eclipse?

It is to be hoped that many of our readers are
 familiar with the poetical works of William Sharp,
 disguised in his lifetime as "Fiona Macleod." The

"Fiona Macleod" series of his writings, covering a period of twelve years
 of the author's life, have been gathered
 together and published heretofore. Mrs. William Sharp has prepared this companion series of the
 "Writings of William Sharp," signed with his own
 name and representing, with a few exceptions, the
 work that extended over the period of thirty years
 prior to the "Fiona Macleod" period. This series
 will comprise five volumes of poems, fiction, biography,
 essays and also some of the ephemeral work
 which sprang into existence from the demands of
 daily life. The first volume of this series is the
 collection of poems which are culled from five volumes
 published in his own name. Poetically they
 bear a distinct resemblance to the work of Matthew
 Arnold. There is the same loftiness of spirit, the
 same serene vision and high striving for spiritual
 worthiness. The Romantic Ballads which form an
 interesting portion of this volume, were written in
 the hope of the renaissance of the Romantic Spirit in
 literature; they bring the premonitions of the su-

pernatural world into their true relation with the
 activities and realities of exterior life. Sharp's
 vision turned inward upon his own soul with all the
 burning desire for self-knowledge that drove the
 pen of William Blake. Beside his Sonnet Sequence
 included in this volume, the sonnets of Rossetti
 seem a bit tawdry and born of a lesser inspiration.
 Of the shorter poems none is more sweet with
 Nature's "anodyne" than "The Veil of Silence":

Three veils of Silence, Summer draws apace.
 The noontide Peace that broods on hill and dale,
 That passes o'er the sea and leaves no trace,
 That sleeps in the moveless clouds' moveless trail.

The wave of color deepening the day,
 The yellow grown to purple on the leas,
 Blue within there beyond the dusky ways;
 A green-gloom dusk within the grass-green trees.

The third veil no man sees. She weaves it where
 Beneath the fret and fume tired hearts aspire
 And long for some divine, impossible air.
 Out of the Man's heart, she weaves this veil of
 Rest—

Sweet anodyne for all the feverish quest
 And ache of inarticulate Desire."

Mr. E. Arnold-Forster modestly offers a translation
 of the poems of Schiller as "a tolerably faithful
 rendering of the original poems," with attention
 bestowed upon the preservation of
 the original meters.² The translator
 of Schiller encounters difficulties not

fully grasped by the average reader—the recalci-
 trancy of the German idiom to flow easily into musical
 English and the added burden of holding together
 as it were, the identical vibration of poetic
 impulse. The work in this volume is scholarly and
 artistic though somewhat lacking in poetic fire.
 For instance the lines of the popular poem, "The
 Diver," as given in a previous translation run,
 "Oh where is the knight or the squire so bold, As to
 dive to the howling Charybdis below?" In Mr.
 Arnold-Forster's version they are: "Is there a
 knight or a squire who dare Dive into yonder
 abyss?" The latter is more faithful to the German
 text, but a certain freedom in the translation
 of verse has always been considered a pardonable
 liberty.

For the student of poetry, Ezra Pound gives us in
 translation the "noble line" of Guido of the Cavalcanti,³
 who was Dante's contemporary and of
 whom we hear in the "Decameron"

One of Dante's Contemporaries that "He was of the best logicians in
 the world, a very fine natural philosopher," and from Filippo Villani who set him above
 Petrarch, that he was "most skilled in the liberal
 arts—worthy of laud and honor for his joy in the
 study of rhetoric, he brought over the fineness of
 this art into the rhyming compositions of the common
 tongue. For canzoni in vulgar tongue and in
 the advancement of this art he held second place to
 Dante, nor hath Petrarch taken it from him." Rossetti's
 translations are often more fortunate than Mr. Pound's
 rendering of Cavalcanti's text, but they are not so exact
 nor so expressive of the shadings of meaning intended by
 the poet. A

² The Poems of Schiller. E. P. Arnold-Forster. Henry Holt & Co. \$1.60.

¹ Poems. By William Sharp. Duffield & Co. 323 pp. \$1.50.

³ The Sonnets and Ballads of Guido Cavalcanti. Translated by Ezra Pound. Small, Maynard & Co. 118 pp. \$2.

great spiritual insight characterizes these neglected canzoni. As a psychologist of the emotions of the soul he is most powerful in his analysis of the perceptions of love and beauty, that perception of the

nobler sort—"Love that is born of loving like delight." The preface to this volume written by Mr. Pound is of exceptional value to the proper interpretation of the text.

NEW BOOKS ABOUT THE FAR EAST

BOOKS published on Japan nowadays are not few. To be counted as the most comprehensive of them all and as scholarly as any—if the soul of scholarship is accuracy—is a distinction. Mr. Robert P. Porter's work¹ carries that honor with ease. It is not a small work; it has almost 800 generous pages. It is concise, nevertheless; it has to be, for after all, 800 pages even if generous in size, do not harbor many idle inches of space when they try to cover almost all the leading activities of a race of people numbering nearly seventy millions, the things which go with them and the country in which they live. A glance at the table of contents will be enough to convince any reader of the ambition of the work. It gives from an outline history of Japan to a careful and meaty presentation of finance, army, navy and education. In it the reader can find an excellent review of the literary movements and activities among the writers of the New Nippon; here he can have a bird's-eye survey of what the dramatic world of Japan is like as well as the latter-day tendencies in art. Chapters are devoted to Chosen (Korea) Karafuto (Japanese Saghalien) Taiwan (Formosa) and that section of southern Manchuria known as the Kwantung Peninsula—in short every section of the Far East with which Japan is having her version of White Man's burden.

Like so many other scholarly works, there is nothing startlingly original, either in the subject matter or in the manner of treatment. One thing stands out clearly in every page. The author has not spared pains in gathering his material. "The facts and figures," he tells us, "have been obtained almost exclusively from official sources." He has gathered them in his two trips to Japan—in 1896 and in 1910. It is a great pity that the author does not have the advantage of reading the Japanese literature himself. For with his conscience and industry (both of which are truly amazing) he would have put Japan under a debt as heavy as she owes to Chamberlain, Satow, Aston and Hearn. It is this lack of first hand intimacy with the native documents which makes his historical survey at times somewhat school text-bookish.

Perhaps the most significant thing about Mr. Kawakami's book² is that it affords the English speaking peoples in particular and the Occident Japanese Problem in general, an opportunity of hearing direct from a native of Japan what the Japanese themselves are doing and thinking about their own affairs. The work before us is not a department store of the lettered sins, picturesque and otherwise,—mostly otherwise,—which have been and are being perpe-

trated upon the devoted heads of patient Occidental readers by so many immodest young men from the most modest country in the world. Mr. Kawakami commands a clear, straightforward prose style. His English is impeccable. In the present work, he devotes himself entirely to American-Japanese relations; to the three chief and most troublesome themes arising therefrom: the Manchurian Question, the Korean Question and that of Immigration. By training Mr. Kawakami is a journalist. He still contributes occasionally to the *Yorozu Choho* of Tokyo. He has a faculty specially trained for observation. And, in dealing with the above-mentioned questions, he has had an exceptional opportunity in gathering data at first hand. It is a delicate job he has undertaken. The restraint and sanity with which he discusses the questions (which seem for some reasons to be so ready to catch fire at the least possible provocation, and even without a ghost of an excuse) is really admirable.

His book is a splendid tract on international peace. What prevents peace societies from purchasing an entire edition of this book and scattering them from the lakes to the gulf and from the Atlantic to the Pacific—especially along the Pacific seaboard of the United States,—it is difficult to see.

"That, despite of care exercised, the book contains some errors, is doubtless true," says Mr. Clarence Poe about his own book,³ with a modesty and candor utterly unnatural for a man who has done the Orient in how few hasty months, he himself best knows. But, like the author of "The Changing Chinese" who did a same sort of thing, Mr. Poe went over the seas with a pair of trained eyes. That is the reason why there is something more than the mere impressions of a globe-trotter in the present volume. Mr. Poe is a specialist in his knowledge and in his power of analytical observation in the industrial life of a race. In Japan where he had a kindly opportunity to bring his specialized spectacles to bear, this fact comes out strikingly. Chapters on "Welfare Work in Japanese Factories," "Does Japanese Competition Menace the White Man's Trade," and "Asia's Greatest Lesson for America" are able and illuminating. This must be born always in mind however; that the figures given in different statistical tables of wages, etc., do not carry correct meaning to the American readers' mind. When a carpenter in Japan gets 80 *sen* a day (40 cents in American money) it must not be supposed that the purchasing power of 80 *sen* in Japan is equal to that of 40 cents in America. As far as the life essentials are concerned, a Japanese carpenter, even in Tokyo, can manage with his 80 *sen*, to

Mr. Poe's Impressions

¹The Full Recognition of Japan. By Robert P. Porter. Oxford: Henry Frowde. 789 pp., maps. \$4.

²American-Japanese Relations. By Kiyoshi K. Kawakami. Fleming H. Revell Co. 370 pp. \$2.

³Where Half the World is Waking Up. By Clarence Poe. Doubleday, Page & Co. 276 pp. pors. \$1.25.

satisfy his needs when his American comrade would find it harder to do the same thing in New York on one dollar.

What the author has to say about the silly talk, so fashionable in America and Europe, on the cheap labor of the Orient and its advantage in industrial enterprises, is eminently true. But the moment he walks in the wake of the time-honored globe-trotter and tries to make a plausible case of the threadbare joke of the up-side-downness and the back-side-frontness of things Oriental, he proves with dreadful facility that he, too, is nothing more than—a mere globe-trotting gentleman. "I learned that with them the subject of a sentence comes last (if at all), as for example, 'By a rough road yesterday came John,' instead of 'John came by a rough road yesterday.'" But the Japanese do not say it that way. He will say usually, "John, yesterday, by a rough road came." The author says that "Japan is a land 'where the flowers have no odor and the birds no song.'" That is because he has never heard the nightingale in Japan and most likely did not happen to be in the country when one plum tree in flower perfumes an entire village. Even Mr. Poe cannot very well ask the whole four seasons to go their natural round within two, three, or even five or six months. He adds that cherry flowers bear no fruits. Oh, yes, they do. But the people do not eat them. Birds do. "Girls dance with their hands, not with their feet," he declares. As a matter of fact they dance with both in Japan. When he says that "a man's birthday is not celebrated, but the anniversary of his death is," it makes the natives of Japan think that the American must burn a city to celebrate their birthdays. Unless they do something like that, the Americans can not claim that they make more fuss than we do over birthday celebrations. The author had actually to drag out the alleged "Port Arthur massacre" which has been proven a baseless fabrication for these fifteen years past, to show that we are a sad contradiction. The safer rule for a tourist like the author is to take it for granted that man is a man even in Japan and the oft-quoted speech of Shylock paints a truth wider than the Jew.

In his book of scarcely three hundred pages, Mr. Poe covers, Japan, Korea, Manchuria, China, Philippines, Straits Settlements and Burma, India and their industrial, social, religious, political activities—a noteworthy feat and that is putting it very mildly indeed.

Mr. J. Johnson Abraham's book² is a shock, altogether delightful—a double shock. That a book of travel on the Far East is pleasant reading is no vulgar shock. Greater

An Enjoyable
Book of Travel

than that, however, is the fact that so excellent an artist of the pen, should be buried in a mere surgeon. His book is the story—not a record—of a vagabond trip o'er the far Orient seas in a ship called—by the author at any rate,—*Clytemnestra*. We have the pleasure of seeing, not through witless eyes such as are

yours and mine, but through the sparkling and twinkling pair that is in the surgeon-author's head, the scenery—and more than scenery, the life of Pinang, Singapore, Nagasaki, Kobe, Yokohama, Tokyo and the South Pacific island ports. The humor of the book is compelling. There is art in his portrayal and positive genius in his observation—not always true according to heartless mathematics and soulless science. But what matters that? The author actually saw Hamlets in Japanese coolies at a seaport! It would be a fine idea if every one of the passenger ships doing business with the Eastern ports should each buy at least a dozen copies of this book for the delectation of its patrons.

Professor Reinsch's book³ is a crane among crows when placed in the company of the above-mentioned publications or their likes. It is utterly different; it aspires to something higher; it is indifferent to the mere skin of things. It is an erudite

The Inner Life
of the Orient

and searching study into things and thoughts profound—profound everywhere but especially so in the Orient. The author is especially happy in his point of observation. He does not seem to have carried on his study on a trip to the Orient. There is a charming illusion that for a foreign student to get a clear view of the real life of the Orient, he must go there and stand in the market places and temples of Japan and China and India. But of course, this is not the only illusion in the world. A Japanese proverb says that it is harder to see things at the very foot of a lighthouse—there a shadow always dwells. Non-essential trifles, usually picturesque, cloud and fog the observing eye; and sometimes they do worse than even that: they kidnap the attention of the foreign student altogether and away with it. The author is fortunate: he has had the rare opportunity of coming in contact with a number of Oriental brains which supplied him with materials he needed in a half predigested form,—certainly in a refined form. The materials thus furnished him are naturally idealized somewhat, but in passing judgment on the soul life of the East, one arrives at a much more correct conclusion in dealing with just such idealized material than with the crude ore of which even an indefatigable traveler sees only an infinitesimal fraction.

This book of Professor Reinsch is easily the ablest available digest of the thought life of the Orient and it marks a great advance on such works as that of Percival Lowell and the Bushido of Nitobe.

How authoritative is the latest book on "The Civilization of China,"⁴ can be read on its very title page. The author is H. A. Giles. It is a very small book of 250 pages and it covers a large field. It gives the summary

A Handbook
on China

of the history of China; her laws and governmental system, religion, social life, literature, education, and the conditions of the foreigners who are within her borders and their relations to her people. It is an excellent primer and introduction to the study of China.

²The Surgeon's Log. By J. J. Abraham. E. P. Dutton & Co. 388 pp., ill. \$2.50.

³Intellectual and Political Currents in the Far East. By Paul S. Reinsch. Houghton Mifflin Co. 396 pp. \$2.

⁴The Civilization of China. By H. A. Giles. Henry Holt & Co. 256 pp. 75 cents.

LIVE TOPICS WITHIN BOOK COVERS

"SOLUTION" is a big word when used in relation to any economic question, and when we find this word in the sub-title of a work dealing with the trust problem in the United States

Mastering "Big Business"

President Van Hise, of the University of Wisconsin, in a volume just issued from the press,¹ suggests concentration and control as the two last words in the discussion of the trusts. As he frankly admits in his preface, his book is one of opportunism. He wishes to show how to gain the economic advantage of industrial concentration in this country, and at the same time how to guard the interests of the public. He rightly says that this is the most pressing problem now before the people and before Congress and State legislatures. Furthermore, no other problem is likely to have so much discussion in the political campaign of the present year. In preparing this volume President Van Hise has availed himself not only of the standard authorities on the trust problem, but of the special reports on manufactures in 1905 by the Census Office, reports of the Commissioner of Corporations upon Standard Oil, Tobacco, Steel, Beef, Lumber, and water powers, and hearings and reports before the various committees of the Sixty-Second Congress. Even cursory readers of the newspapers know that in these recent hearings an immense amount of important data has been disclosed. President Van Hise does not withhold his own conclusions from the facts presented, but even if the reader is unable to follow these in all respects, he cannot fail to find the author's summary of facts bearing on "Big Business" very helpful. The book presents the more important factors of the problem in a way that should lead to logical thinking, and the author is fully justified in his hope that he may in this way assist in obtaining a consensus of opinion which will, in the end, result in sound remedial legislation.

The President's cabinet in the United States is an institution for which only indirect provision was made by the national Constitution, and which

The Cabinet in Our History

has no precise analogy in any other country. Forgetting that the cabinet as it exists to-day is the product of a gradual evolution, and that in the early years of the Republic neither the President himself, nor Congress was fully assured as to the powers that this extra-constitutional body would in time come to possess, we sometimes wonder why the term "cabinet" was ever applied to the small group of advisors who surrounded the chief magistrate and were responsible to him alone. But the exact place of the President's cabinet in our scheme of government was established only by experiment, and in the beginning there was a greater likeness to the English Cabinet Council than there is to-day. To trace the origin of the cabinet from Washington's administration to Taft's, as well as to describe its structure, has been the task of Mr. Henry Barrett Learned in a valuable monograph recently issued from the Yale University Press.² The re-

search necessary to the fulfillment of this task must have been great, and even after laborious consultation of official records and other documentary materials the author is still unable to complete the story at every point. He has, however, disclosed the crucial facts regarding the history and formation of the cabinet as a distinct governmental institution, and in its field his book is an indispensable authority. He promises a second series of studies which will be concerned with the whole subject of cabinet practices and personnel, and will consider such matters as cabinet appointments and resignations, qualifications of cabinet officers, the influence of the cabinet on executive policy and on legislation, and the history of the cabinet meetings.

A lawyer's analysis of the popular distrust of the courts, which has recently been manifested in various parts of our land, is to be found in Gilbert E.

Roe's little volume entitled "Our Distrust of the Courts Judicial Oligarchy."³ This work is

not an attack on individual characters of judges, but is rather an inquiry into the nature of the decisions themselves, pointing out the dangers to our institutions to be found in the present attitude of the courts, and discussing certain proposed remedies for these abuses. He reviews the arguments for and against the recall of judges and declares that if the courts will not interpret statutes according to the intention of the law-making branch of the government, without reference to their own economic or social theories, and will not recognize the right of the people, within constitutional limits, to make such laws as they please, a reconstruction of the courts is inevitable, and that the recall and also the popular election of all judges for short terms seems likely to be adopted in an effort to force the courts back into their original constitutional position.

In his new study of "Socialism As It Is,"⁴ William English Walling attempts, he tells us, "a survey of the world-wide revolutionary movement."

Modern Socialism

He shows, in a temperate, comprehensive way, that socialism is a living, growing and ever changing force. His discussion of the relation of the socialist movement to the progressive movement on the one hand, and to syndicalism on the other, is stimulating and helpful. He does not idealize; he admits that the movement has made serious mistakes, many on its own confession, and that it still fails to find an answer to some vital and pressing problems. These weaknesses, however, he regards, properly, as inevitably part of the process of evolution. It is significant of the new spirit of the movement he describes that Mr. Walling should close his study with the admission that "Socialists expect their children to be far wiser and more fortunate than themselves, and do not intend to attempt to decide anything for them that can well be left undecided. They intend only that these children shall have the freedom and power necessary to direct society as they think best."

¹ Concentration and Control. By Charles R. Van Hise. Macmillan. 288 pp. \$2.

² The President's Cabinet. By Henry Barrett Learned. New Haven: Yale University Press. 471 pp. \$2.50.

³ Our Judicial Oligarchy. By Gilbert E. Roe. B. W. Huebsch. 239 pp. \$1.

⁴ Socialism As It Is. By William English Walling. Macmillan. 452 pp. \$2.

Believing that "the only socialism of interest to practical persons is the socialism of the organized socialist movement," Mr. Walling studies socialism not through its program or its pronouncements, but through its acts.

Mr. H. G. Wells recently remarked that "the old and largely fallacious antagonism of socialist and individualist is dissolving out of contemporary thought." With this idea before him, the editor, who is anonymous, of the collection of essays on "Socialism and the Great State"¹ has constructed opinions by Mr. Wells, Frances Evelyn Warwick, L. G. Chiozza Money, E. Ray Lankester, Cicely Hamilton, Roger Fry, Herbert Trench and others. These essays, lacking nothing except the religious touch, "are hoped to present a fairly complete picture of modern constructive social ideals."

Mr. John Spargo, whose writings on socialism always have an earnestness and dignity which adds much to the cogency of their reasoning, has gathered together a series of lectures delivered by him before the Rand School of Social Science in New York, and published them in a book entitled "Applied Socialism."² The progress of the socialistic movement since the time of Karl Marx has been so great and so rapid that a writer of commanding position like Mr. Spargo is justified in attempting to answer certain definite questions always put by those interested in social reform as to the proposed application of socialism,—if its advocates should triumph. Mr. Spargo attempts to give clear and authentic answers chiefly to the following questions: Will the Socialist state confiscate private property? Does it intend to destroy the family—the home? How will labor be compensated? If by wages what will be the adjustment under Socialism? Will there be an unemployment problem? Can genius thrive, and what will be the incentive to effort? It will be freely admitted by those who read his book that his replies to these questions have been at least intelligible and in a measure convincing.

In his other recently issued volume "Elements of Socialism,"³ Mr. Spargo has given us a text book arranged typographically in such a way that it is of very easy reference. The entire development and progress of the Socialist movement is set forth in analytical, almost tabular form. There are summaries and questions at the end of each chapter with bibliographical references. It is Mr. Spargo's final conclusion that, "so far from admitting that Socialism depends upon change in human nature, the Socialist contends that Socialism must come unless the fundamental human instincts and passions which we call human nature are changed."

A rather thorough and forcible discussion of the "biologic, domestic, industrial and social possibilities of American women" is presented for the perusal and profit of the modern student of sociology and the general reader in addition, under the title "Woman and Social Progress."⁴ It has been writ-

ten by Dr. Scott Nearing, of the University of Pennsylvania, and Nellie M. S. Nearing, of Bryn Mawr. The book resays some of the things that have already been said on the subject of the new woman, whom these writers call the same as the American woman, and some comparatively new things are added. The American woman, we are assured in the introduction to this book, is the first woman in the history of modern civilization "who can 'sass back' and make her 'sass' good." There will be those who will question the utility or desirability of "sass"—even if it "makes good." However, there is a good deal of data and comment in this book that is useful and stimulating. It is a record of such efforts as have already been made by women, and an argument in favor of a larger participation in this sex-wide effort. The style is dignified and clear.

A study of "Penal Servitude" made by Dr. E. Stagg Whitin, General Secretary of the National Committee on Prison Labor and Assistant in Social Legislation in Columbia University, has been brought out by the prison labor committee.⁵ The material contained in the book is a summary of the findings of the committee during investigations beginning in November last. The status of the convict,—penal servitude,—says Dr. Whitin, is the last surviving vestige of the old slave system. It is justified, apparently, by common law, statute law, and implied recognition in the Constitution of the United States, and "supposedly necessary to the continued stability of our social structure." With these statements as a starting point, Dr. Whitin proceeds to an exhaustive study of the whole question of punishment and the right of the state to the labor of the prisoner. His last chapter on "The Trend of Reform" intimates that the lines of advance in the future will be in the direction of the educational rather than the economic function of penal institutions. The book will undoubtedly become a useful reference work.

As the time approaches for the opening to the world's commerce by the Panama Canal, increased attention is being directed to the strategic position, from a commercial and geographical point of view, of the British West Indies, particularly the island of Jamaica. During the past year or so a number of excellent monographs have appeared on the history, resources and progress of these island possessions of Great Britain. One of the most thorough and comprehensive of these makes up the fourth volume of the "All Red" British Empire Series, the other volumes of which, already issued, have been noticed in these pages. "The British West Indies"⁶ is written by Algernon E. Aspinwall, Honorary Secretary of the West India Club, and author of "The Pocket Guide to the West Indies." The volume is illustrated, and provided with a good deal of statistical and other tabular matter and a map. We are promised volumes on other parts of the British Empire.

¹ Socialism and the Great State. By H. G. Wells. Harpers. 379 pp. \$2.

² Applied Socialism. By John Spargo. B. W. Huebsch 333 pp. \$1.50.

³ Elements of Socialism. By John Spargo. Macmillan Company. 382 pp. \$1.50.

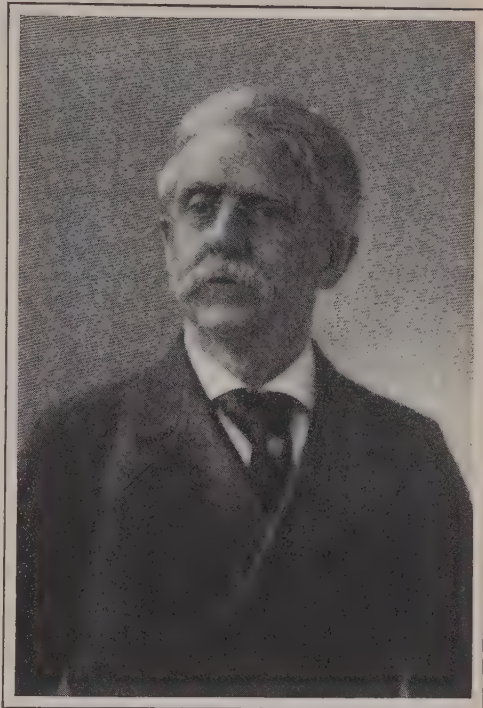
⁴ Woman and Social Progress. By Scott Nearing and Nellie M. S. Nearing. Macmillan. 285 pp. \$1.50.

⁵ Penal Servitude. By E. Stagg Whitin. New York: National Committee on Prison Labor. 162 pp., ill.

⁶ The British West Indies. By Algernon E. Aspinwall. Little, Brown & Co. 435 pp., ill. \$3.

BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

ONE of the first men in this country to seize upon the monthly magazine as an instrument for arousing public opinion against great social and economic evils,—in other words, one of the first of the noble army of muck-rakers—was the late Henry D. Lloyd, the author of "Wealth Against Commonwealth." To Mr. Lloyd's article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for March, 1881, on the subject of the Standard Oil Company is dated the beginning of the crusade against unregulated monopoly that has never ceased from that day to this. Mr. Lloyd's career in journalism, as financial editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, and his disinterested services to various reform movements are clearly set forth in a two-volume biography by his sister, Miss Caro Lloyd.¹ A brilliant and graceful writer, a fearless champion of the weak and downtrodden, and a rarely beautiful personality were lost to the world when Mr. Lloyd died, in 1903.



HENRY D. LLOYD

(First and ablest of so-called magazine "muck-rakers," whose biography has just appeared)

A study of the career and times of Gracchus Babeuf, the agitator, editor, and thinker of the French revolutionary period, is given by Ernest Belfort Bax, under the title "The Last Episode of the French Revolution."² Babeuf and the movement he inaugurated must be of the deepest interest to the historical student and modern socialist. By birth he was, in a sense, says Mr. Bax, "a pioneer and a hero of the modern international socialist party." There is a frontispiece portrait of Babeuf.

The memoirs of that remarkable woman, Madam Marguerite Steinheil, with many illustrations, have been brought out in book form.³ This book is a real human document, recounting the strange romantic career of one of the most extraordinary women of modern times. Some two years ago all Paris was aghast when the brilliant and beautiful Madam Steinheil, a conspicuous figure in the society of the French capital, whose salon was eagerly thronged by men and women of distinction, was charged with the murder of her husband and her mother. All France became excited, and when the trial came to an end she was acquitted. The "affaire Steinheil," however, had strange social and political ramifications, and it has been a remarkable revelation of the place that feminine intrigue still plays in French politics. These memoirs are vividly written, and the book is illustrated copiously.

The complete story of the rise and fall of the secession movement on the Pacific coast has never been told, yet it was one of the most dramatic in American history. Now we have the recital, by Elijah R. Kennedy, woven around the biography of Major-General, then Colonel Edward D. Baker. It was mainly through his efforts and influence that

the plot to involve California, Oregon, and their hinterland with the South in 1861, was frustrated, and the Pacific coast States were saved to the Union. Mr. Kennedy entitles his story "The Contest for California in 1861."⁴ Colonel Baker was a brilliant and charming personality, and a soldier and statesman of the first rank. He was, in addition, a poet and an orator, an able member of the House of Representatives and the Senate, and the friend of members of the political and social leaders of the early sixties. It is a fascinating story that Mr. Kennedy writes, and his book, which is adequately illustrated, cannot fail to be an important contribution to the biographical and historical works of the season.

The number of works treating of the European foundations of American history, and of the relations between political and economic development in Europe and in this country, is increasing rapidly. Two small but comprehensive and useful monographs on this subject, of recent publication, are Miss Alice M. Atkinson's "European Beginnings of American History"⁵ and Professor Will S.

¹ Henry Demarest Lloyd 1847-1903. A Biography. 2 Vols. By Caro Lloyd. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 698 pp., ill. \$6.

² The Last Episode of the French Revolution. By Ernest Belfort Bax. Small, Maynard & Co. 271 pp., por. \$1.50.

³ My Memoirs. By Marguerite Steinheil. Sturgis & Walton Co. 484 pp., ill. \$3.

⁴ The Contest for California in 1861. By Elijah R. Kennedy. Houghton-Mifflin Co. 361 pp., ill. \$3.25.

⁵ European Beginnings of American History. Alice M. Atkinson. Ginn & Co. 398 pp., ill. \$1.

Monroe's "Europe and Its People."¹ Miss Atkinson begins her study with a chapter on our debt to England. Other chapters consider the influence of the continental countries upon our early development, and its custom, traditions, ideas and personalities of Europe that still show their mark on American history. The volume, which is illustrated, is designed for grammar schools, but in

itself makes attractive reading for adults. Professor Monroe's book aims to acquaint the child of the high school age with the really fundamental ideas of geography, with Europe as the home of the white race, and with the structure and industries which have grown from it. There are maps and general illustrations, which add to the usefulness of the text.

SOME WORKS OF REFERENCE

RATHER late in its appearance, but not less welcome on that account, is the "New International Year Book"² for 1911. This is the fifth volume of

An International Annual

the current series, and no essential change has been made in the plan or scope of the work. The editors pride themselves on keeping this year book uniform in its range and method and in not confining it to special fields or to a single country. Information that is scattered through many statistical, historical, biological, and political works is here drawn upon, digested and succinctly presented in a single volume. Some developments of the year 1911 were of unusual interest,—for example, the work of Congress under the new Democratic majority; the State elections held in November as indicating the possibilities of the Presidential campaign of the current year; the progress of the woman suffrage movement in the West; the arrest and conviction of the McNamara brothers; the important trust decisions of the Supreme Court. All these topics and many others are clearly presented in a form especially convenient for purposes of reference.

Not every one is interested in the technical aspects of copyright, but in these days no intelligent American can afford to be ignorant of the general history and present status of the subject. The American reading public was very late in waking up to the importance of the international copyright regulations, but now that we have come into such relations with other countries it is important that we should understand their full significance. Mr. Richard R. Bowker, editor of the *Publisher's Weekly*, who has followed copyright development for many years and has taken an active part in the preparation of the new code of 1909, has prepared a comprehensive volume summarizing the principles and practice of copyright, with special reference to the American code of 1909 and the British act of 1911.³ Practically all that is necessary for any author or publisher to know about the copyright situation throughout the world is summarized in Mr. Bowker's book. It has long been a matter of common observation that copyright law is especially confused, and in some instances, almost un-

telligible. Realizing this, Mr. Bowker has endeavored in the discussion of specific subjects to concentrate his comment, making subordinate references to cognate topics. By the use of appropriate side-heads he has added greatly to the ease and convenience of the reader in following out these comments.

The twelfth volume, which has recently appeared, marks the completion of the "New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge,"⁴ a work that was begun more than eight years ago, under the able editorship of Dr. Samuel M. Jackson, who was assisted on the first six volumes by Charles Colebrook Sherman, and on the remaining volumes by George William Gilmore, with a staff of seven department editors. No mistaken sense of official dignity has prevented the editors from acknowledging such errors as have been pointed out in the earlier volumes, and the purchasers of later editions of the encyclopedia may be assured that they will profit by this policy. In the field of Protestant religion this work holds the same relative rank that the well-known Catholic Encyclopedia is so well maintaining.

The second volume of Dr. Paul Monroe's "Cyclopedia of Education"⁵ indicates very clearly the range and usefulness of this elaborate work. It covers the letters C to F, inclusive, and among its more important articles are "The American College," by President Charles F. Thwing; "College Curriculum," by President William T. Foster; "Froebel," by Percival R. Cole; "Education in England," by Anna Tolman Smith; and "Commercial Education," by Joseph F. Johnson.

Volume VII of "Who's Who in America,"⁶ the seventh edition (for 1912-1913), has just appeared. It contains 2664 pages and 18,794 sketches, of which nearly 3000 are new. There is also some useful analytical "front matter," including some interesting educational statistics. "Who's Who" is still the indispensable reference book.

¹ Europe and Its People. By Will S. Monroe and Anna Buckbee. Harpers. 120 pp., ill. 40 cents.

² The New International Year Book for the Year 1911. Edited by Frank Moore Colby. Dodd, Mead & Co. 808 pp., ill. \$5.

³ Copyright: Its History and Law. By Richard R. Bowker. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 709 pp. \$5.

⁴ The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. Vol. XII. Edited by Samuel M. Jackson. Funk & Wagnalls Co. 599 pp., ill. \$5.

⁵ Cyclopedia of Education. Vol. II. Edited by Paul Monroe. Macmillan. 726 pp., ill. \$5.

⁶ Who's Who in America. Vol. VII 1912-1913. Edited by Albert Nelson Marquis. Chicago: A. N. Marquis & Company. 2664 pp. \$5.

FINANCIAL NEWS FOR THE INVESTOR

THE city of Paris recently sold \$41,000,000 of municipal bonds bearing interest of 3 per cent. and the loan was eighty times oversubscribed. The city of New York has now sold \$65,000,000 of municipal bonds bearing $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. and the bonds were only four times oversubscribed.

Whereupon the financial writers and critics dipped their pens in vitriol and wrote biting essays on the backwardness of America in all things financial. "Paris does not place the denominations of its bonds at \$1,000 or \$500 or \$100, but in denominations of 300 francs, which is equivalent to \$60 in American money." So stated one of the leading financial weeklies, accurately enough, but leaving the less truthful inference that New York might copy Paris to good effect. It is not denied that thousands of Frenchmen purchase bonds direct from their government, federal or municipal, where less than a score of Americans will follow a like course. There are many brokers from whom New York City bonds can be bought after the city has disposed of them, but even these dealers sell the bulk of their wares to institutions, and no widespread campaign is carried on to distribute them to individuals.

One William D. Brown deserves to rank as an investment pioneer. At this recent sale of New York City bonds Mr. Brown put in a bid for \$20. He was awarded his tiny allotment with precisely the same formality that went with the successful bid for \$11,500,000 by a great banking syndicate. It matters little who Mr. Brown is. He is a living answer to that hackneyed remark: "They do things better in Europe."

For the Small Investor

The truth is that far better provision is made in this country for the small investor than some of the financial writers appear to realize. We acquiesce too readily in the "do things better in Europe" idea. Under the provisions of the New York City charter registered bonds may be issued in denominations of \$10 or any multiple thereof. The man with \$10 had just as good an opportunity to buy part of the \$65,000,000 New York City bonds as

did the powerful underwriting houses with their millions of resources and endless financial ramifications here and abroad.

If Mr. Brown was the only person who bid for as small an allotment as \$20, and only a handful of persons bid for \$100 and even \$500, it was not due to lack of provision for the small man. It was because investors did not know that their modest savings were wanted. New York needs a tremendous campaign of publicity. It should not always depend upon the great international underwriting houses for money. The country has tens of thousands of investors in whose combined pockets much of its wealth is concealed. They would be delighted with a bond yielding four and a quarter per cent., which is both safe and marketable to an extraordinary degree, if they only knew how to get it.

But how is the woman with a modest competence, or even the business man living far from financial centers and influences, to know how much to bid for state or city bonds? Any bank with which they may deal can furnish ideas on the subject. As a convenience it will even forward their bid for them. A slight perusal of the financial columns of a daily paper will familiarize them with the prevailing prices for similar securities. The state or city controller will always furnish the prospective bidder with circulars containing detailed information in regard to the bonds, and how to buy them.

Big Figures Need Not Frighten

What the American investor most needs to learn is not to be afraid of big figures. Newspaper headlines told of the \$65,000,000 issue as the largest of its kind, and hardly was it out of the way before the State of New York announced the coming sale of \$25,950,000 of its bonds, likewise the largest amount ever put out at one time. But while Wall Street gossip busied itself with guesses as to how much this or that "syndicate" would bid for these securities, what was to prevent the man with \$100 from becoming an owner of bonds of the richest state in the Union?

Then came the announcement with its

even more benumbing totals, that all parties had finally agreed on the expenditure of \$261,000,000 for new subways in New York City. But an array of dollar signs such as these need not in themselves bewilder the investor if he does a little clear thinking. Adequate transportation means enhanced worth for municipal bonds.

New York City is committed to spend \$124,372,200 as its share toward building the 106 miles of new subways. And yet two private corporations will have to provide a still larger amount and the bankers who will gather together the dollars for the private corporations are to quite an extent the same firms which took the largest portion of the recent issue of city bonds. No one can predict how much the value of property in the metropolis will be enhanced by 106 miles of new subways. But the increased value will be many hundreds of millions of dollars, which means new taxing power and greater municipal wealth, both of which make the city's obligation that much safer.

The Safety of New York City Bonds

There is no question as to the marketability of New York City bonds, for they are probably dealt in by more different firms than any other bond. New York has \$860,440,784 of debt, a vast amount, but there is ten times that amount of taxable property back of this obligation. It is asserted the city is extravagant, and certainly there are flaws in its management, as there are in any organization so vast and so complex. But if one studies the personnel of the banking firms which absorb the bonds of this huge municipality it is clear that the leading financiers have no fears as to the safety of their investment. If New York City bonds "go bad," so will the reputations and perhaps the solvency of the greatest financial institutions in the country.

The city of Paris adds several clever lottery features to its bond offering. While these bear only 3 per cent. nominally, they are sold at less than their face value, a device which appeals more to the avarice of buyers than a bond selling above its face value and paying a much higher rate of interest. Then too Paris sells its bonds on the instalment, or part payment plan. New York will not sell bonds under par; lottery is out of the question, and the instalment plan has never been considered.

The Credit of Paris Compared With New York

Paris is more ingenious in raising money than New York. But if we take into account the cost of a lottery, the loss of interest to the city in the instalment payments, and the fact that Paris really pays more than 3 per cent. because the bonds are sold under par—then the disparity between the credit of the two cities is not so great after all. But the fact remains that the Paris loan was eighty times oversubscribed and the New York loan was only four times overbid.

Clearly we need more ingenuity and education in the science of investment. But progress is being made. Each year the one hundred dollar bond increases in popularity. Each year finds more reputable firms considering the advantage of taking up this class of business. It is said that \$100,000,000 of savings go annually into worthless stocks, and a great portion of our best investments have to go to Europe for lodgment. The essential investment problem is to popularize the high grade bond, and to depopularize the lure of the swindling promoter.

A movement to bring into the American Bankers Association 2,000 of the investment bankers of the country has received a check by the refusal of the Executive Council of the Association to establish a separate section for the investment men. But the movement may continue in another form, and the mere fact that dealers in investment securities are trying to coöperate means much for the buyers. Among the purposes of the proposed organization was the standardization of procedure regarding the issuance of securities, the purification of financial advertising and the elimination of stock swindlers.

The many efforts to protect and educate investors steadily gather force. It is evidenced, for example, by the issuance from such an organization as the American Academy of Political and Social Science of a booklet on timber bonds. This booklet tells briefly how to judge such securities. There are now very few investment subjects in regard to which there is no adequate literature. Ten years ago there were hardly any of these subjects concerning which it was possible to secure any reliable information from books.

TYPICAL INQUIRIES AND ANSWERS

READERS of this magazine can find no more concise and interesting exposition of the current news affecting investments, and of the rules governing them, than is given in the thousands of inquiries from REVIEW OF REVIEWS subscribers and our answers to these inquiries. Each month we shall print in this department a number of them, chosen for their broad interest and universal application.

No. 365. A KENTUCKY MERCHANT

As an old subscriber I come to the Investment Bureau for some assistance. I am saving some money each year and would like some ideas on how to invest. I want good security and, if possible, something tax exempt in Kentucky. Would Chesapeake & Ohio stock and $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. convertible bonds meet my requirements?

Not as well as they might be met. We are in doubt that Chesapeake & Ohio stock would afford the "security" for which you are looking. It is not by any means a seasoned 5 per cent. dividend payer, and is, in fact, pretty generally looked upon as being surrounded by not a few speculative conditions. The convertible bonds are deemed good middle grade securities, but they do not appear to come within the class of non-taxables in your state. We are informed that, as a matter of fact, all bonds are taxable in Kentucky except government and municipal bonds, and that even the latter are taxable when listed outside the city and county of issuance. All stocks of companies incorporated in Kentucky are, in accordance with the general rule, free of taxes throughout the state. A recent decision of the Supreme Court seems to exempt all stocks of companies incorporated elsewhere, but holding real estate and having an office within the state. The case in question concerned the stock of the United States Cast Iron Pipe & Foundry Company, but has been construed by local authorities to affect similarly such stocks as Pennsylvania Railroad, Illinois Central and Southern Railway, in the railroad list, and the stocks of Distillers Securities and of several of the tobacco companies, in the industrial list. Of these we should say that Pennsylvania would by all means come nearer to meeting the requirements of a conservative business man. The five per cent. preferred stock of the Louisville Traction Company is another example of a security with investment merits in the category of tax exempt issues. It would be desirable for you to consult with some reputable banker whose experience has familiarized him with conditions in Kentucky as an investment field.

No. 366. COUNTY PIKE BONDS

I am an interested reader of your financial department, and deeply appreciate the service you are rendering your subscribers. I would like your opinion as to the advisability of buying county pike bonds on an income basis of about 4 per cent.

Such bonds come within the class of "municipals"—securities supported by taxes and unanimously held to be the safest kind of investments, outside of Government bonds. That the pike bonds which you have under consideration sell on as low an income basis as 4 per cent. seems to be indicative, among other things, of the fact that the issuing county is well populated and prosperous, and, on that account, one enjoying prime credit. A few gilt-edged bonds of this character may well find a place in almost any individual investor's list. But few confine themselves entirely to securities of such low yield. One may get a good deal higher income nowadays with little appreciable sacrifice of safety.

No. 367. REAL ESTATE vs. MORTGAGES

I have a few thousand dollars which I feel should be earning more than it is in banks. Have thought of purchasing lots in Vancouver, British Columbia, and Pensacola, Florida, as an investment. Have you any suggestion as to this method of employing money? Would the purchase of first farm mortgages be better?

Farm mortgages unquestionably have "the right of way" over lots, as investments. We may repeat here the suggestion which we have made to scores of other readers, that real estate seldom, if ever, works out satisfactorily as an investment, when situated at a distance from the purchaser. This department has observed hundreds of cases, too, from every part of the country. The result is well expressed by the following rules:

"Buy no land which you have not looked upon with your own eyes.

"Buy no land which you do not intend for your own personal use.

"Don't buy it until you are ready to use it."

Depending largely upon the part of the country producing the mortgages, such securities would earn from 6 to 8 per cent. And when bought through dealers of experience and responsibility, they afford, as permanent investments to hold through to maturity strictly for income, a peculiarly satisfactory degree of safety.

No. 368. POSTAL SAVINGS BONDS

Can you give me an approximate value of the United States Savings Deposit Bonds bearing $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. interest?

Judged by the ordinary standards of investment, they are probably worth not much if any more than 80. But there is no danger that the bonds will ever sell in the market at any such price. One holder wished to dispose of some of them a short time ago and found that the best bid he could get in the general market was considerably under par. A little while after this incident the government authorities announced that in the future par would be paid for the bonds to anyone who wished to sell.

No. 369. A MISSIONARY IN INDIA

I would appreciate it if you would let me know something about the 5 per cent. bonds of the Rochester, Syracuse & Eastern, selling at about $85\frac{1}{2}$. Some time ago these bonds were quoted at 90. Would you advise one to sell, or to hold? Let me know whether or not any dividends are being paid on the preferred shares, and whether the road is being properly kept up. As I remember, there are several millions of common and preferred stock. I notice that 5 per cent. bonds of one of the sister roads, the Auburn & Syracuse, are selling at 101. Why is there such a difference between these two bonds?

Rochester, Syracuse & Eastern fives are not high grade public utility bonds, but there seems to be nothing that would argue conclusively in favor of their immediate sale at a big sacrifice. That they have not shown more market strength is probably due, in a general way, to the fact that the final section of the road on which they are secured was completed only two or three years ago, and that, as a part of a larger system, it has not yet been given full opportunity of demonstrating just to what extent its earning power can be developed. For the last two fiscal years, for which official statements of

earnings are available, it seems that interest charges were covered only by a very small margin. The regularly published statements do not make clear just what policy is being followed in the matter of maintenance, depreciation, and so forth, but the road's management seems to be looked upon as one that would follow recognized standards in this respect under ordinary circumstances. The fact that the line is comparatively new would, of course, mean that it would not be necessary to provide for such charges quite so liberally as would be necessary in the case of an older property. The stock capitalization of the road consists of \$2,500,000 6 per cent. non-cumulative preferred and \$6,000,000 common. No dividends at all are being paid. The difference in price between the Rochester, Syracuse & Eastern bonds and those of the Auburn & Syracuse is accounted for largely in the latter road's ability to earn more in relation to its capitalization. It has outstanding much less stock and bonds, and on the latter (last reported as \$1,468,000) it is earning the interest about one and three-quarters times.

No. 370. STOCK IN A CHAIN OF BANKS

I enclose herewith a circular regarding the sale of stock to cover the establishment of banks in a neighboring state. In your opinion is this stock a good investment for a small wage-earner?

No. We note that the proposal is to establish a chain of banks with much the same directorates and controlled through one central institution. This method of banking may be all right within limits, but where it is spread out over an extensive territory it has too frequently been found in this country to involve inefficient, if not reckless, management, and is considered by the best authorities as an evil which should be eliminated entirely, rather than allowed to gain ground. Indeed, it is a practice which the Controller of the Currency only recently set about to stamp out in cases where national banks,—the only institutions, of course, over which that official has direct jurisdiction,—are found to be indulging in it.

No. 371. PROJECTED ELECTRIC ROAD

I wish to invest some money in an electric railroad. Would it be possible for a manufacturing company, or any combination of companies making cars and other railroad supplies, to injure the electric road by refusing to sell it equipment? Or could a more powerful railroad corporation through its influence upon the manufacturing companies injure the road in any way?

Because you do not tell us anything about the character of the enterprise in which you desire to invest,—the people behind it, its location, the exact nature of the territory which it is to serve (assuming that it is now merely a projected road), and other important things of like nature, we cannot, of course, undertake to discuss the stock or bonds, even from a speculative point of view. If the company has sufficiently strong backing and if it is assured of a sufficient amount of capital to carry its project through to completion and to establish its credit on a sufficiently strong basis, we cannot conceive of any manufacturer refusing to supply it with cars and other necessary equipment with which to carry on its operations. Your questions suggest certain charges that have been made against something which has been called a "money trust," now being investigated by a Congressional committee. This alleged "trust" is supposed to be dominated by powerful railroad and industrial interests, who, it is said, do not hesitate to crush weak and struggling enterprises whenever it ap-

pears that such action would inure to the advantage of the interests. But whether such a trust really does exist will remain for the Congressional investigators to discover. Why not write to us again furnishing more detailed information about the proposition in which you have become interested. We should be glad to report whatever specific facts we are able to obtain about it.

No. 372. PUBLIC SERVICE CORPORATION BONDS

I wish to invest a few thousand dollars where the principal will be safe and the income as high as possible. Your department, I notice, frequently suggest public service corporation bonds as conservative investments. I should like to ask in what manner one may keep posted on the financial condition of public service corporations located in distant quarters and on the value of the bonds in which investment has been made, where the same are not listed on any exchange.

By choosing a banking house of the highest standing and with the most experienced and efficient organization, through which to purchase the bonds in the first instance; then, by taking the bankers fully into one's confidence and asking their confidence in return. The careful, conscientious banker nowadays is a hearty advocate of publicity. To all of his clients he is found ready and willing to supply regularly the essential information about whatever securities they buy. He does not feel that his responsibility ceases immediately he has concluded the sale of his bonds. He realizes that satisfied clients are among the best assets to his business. There are scores of high-grade public service corporation bonds based upon solidly established enterprises that are never heard of on any of the exchanges. In fact, by far the majority of such issues are sold directly over the counters of the specialists to individuals whose habit it is to invest money permanently for income. Most companies issuing these bonds make at regular periods comprehensive financial statements which find their way into the hands of the security holders through the distributing bankers, if not through the medium of the financial press. We are not quite sure just how far you might go in giving up quick convertibility, but it may not be amiss for us to say that there are a good many investors who pay more attention to this feature than seems to be necessary. They frequently not only pay attention to it, but they pay for it in many cases, by making unnecessary sacrifice in the matter of income.

No. 373. FIGURING "YIELD" ON BONDS

Accept my thanks for your reply to my inquiry about United Railroads of San Francisco 4 per cent. bonds. I notice you say that at 68 the bonds yield over 7 per cent. on the investment. According to my way of figuring, they yield less than 6 per cent. Which is correct?

Your figure would be correct, provided the bonds were, like stock, of indeterminate maturity. But the life of a bond is an important factor in determining yield. For example, the United Railroads of San Francisco 4's fall due in 1927, at which time they will presumably be paid off, and not at 68, but at 100. During the fifteen-year period between now and their maturity, there must, therefore, be an appreciation of \$320 per \$1000 bond—an average annual appreciation of about \$21.33, which would accrue as a profit to one who purchased at the present price. It is customary to regard this profit as additional income. In the present case it amounts to approximately $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. a year on the purchase price of the bond. Add this to the 4 per cent. fixed annual interest, and you have a total of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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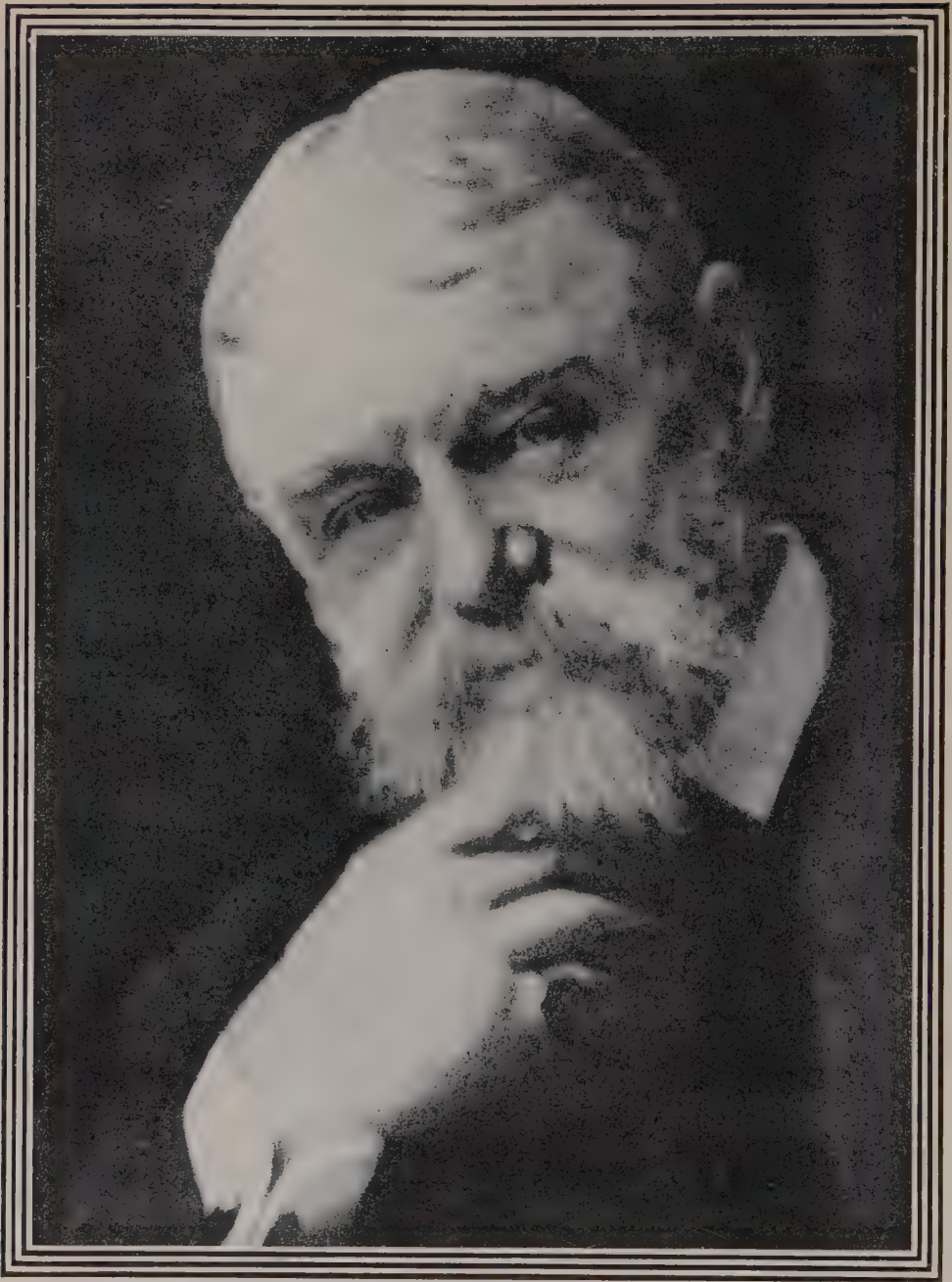
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ALMA-TADEMA, THE PAINTER WHO MADE ANTIQUITY LIVE AGAIN
BEFORE MODERN EYES

The late Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, though a naturalized Englishman, and generally known as an English painter, was by birth a Dutchman. Born in 1836, he was the son of Pieter Tadema, a Frisian notary. Alma was the name of his godfather. He adopted this in early life, humorously explaining that he wanted his name to come near the beginning of catalogues instead of near the end. He painted historic scenes with remarkable fidelity and with much of the fine execution and brilliant color of the old Dutch masters. He was a member of most of the great European societies of art. Among his best known paintings are "The Pyrrhic Dance," "The Vintage," and "A Reading From Homer." A number of his canvases are in this country. The artist died at Wiesbaden on June 25. The portrait above is reproduced from one made just before his death for the *Illustrated London News*.

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No. 2

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Facts about
Electing
Presidents*

A great many people, who ought perhaps to be better informed, do not understand either the method or the spirit of our American party systems, and still less do they seem to understand the relation of parties to the legal process of electing a President. Almost every one knows, however, that the voters in November do not cast their ballots directly for a President, and that they act as citizens of their respective States, and not as citizens of the nation. The President is elected by a body called the Electoral College. The Electoral College has a membership equal in number to that of the House of Representatives and the Senate, taken together. The House of Representatives has 435 seats, and the Senate has ninety-six seats (two for each of the forty-eight States). Thus the State of New York, with forty-three Seats in the House of Representatives, will have forty-five members of the Electoral College. Each party, acting under the laws of the State of New York, will nominate its own list of forty-five electors. The name and emblem at the head of each list on the ballot paper will be regulated by the provisions of the election laws of the State of New York. Thus the name and emblem of the Democratic party in the State of New York have come under the complete domination of Tammany Hall, which is governed before the public by Charles F. Murphy, while governed behind the scenes by those in whose interest Mr. Murphy carries on his political operations.

*The System
Concretely
Stated*

As a matter of undisputed fact, Tammany Hall has accepted the results of the Baltimore convention. Mr. Murphy and his associates will be nominally for Woodrow Wilson. If the Democrats carry the State of New York in November, it is morally certain that the

forty-five electors then chosen will meet on the second Monday in January and cast their ballots for Woodrow Wilson as President and for Thomas R. Marshall as Vice-President. They will not, however, be under the slightest legal obligation to vote for Woodrow Wilson. Neither are they under any moral obligations to accept the outcome of the Baltimore convention, apart from the fact that this outcome at Baltimore was finally reached with voluntary unanimity and accepted by the ninety New York delegates to that convention. The Democratic party in the State of New York is a legal entity. The Baltimore convention, on the other hand, had no legal standing of any kind, and was a purely voluntary meeting in which delegates from all the States came together for the purpose of agreeing upon a basis of common action in a matter of nation-wide concern. If the New York delegation had been of opinion that the Baltimore convention was unfairly organized, was tricky in its methods, and had failed to represent the really dominant sentiment of the people in its ticket and platform, it could have declined to accept the final work of that gathering.

*What Tam-
many Could
Yet Do*

The Democrats of the State of New York have not yet nominated their forty-five electors. They are to have a great State convention some time in September for the nomination of a Governor and other State officers, and at that time they will prepare the list of their forty-five candidates for the office of Presidential elector. There is nothing in the world to prevent this New York State convention from adopting a platform sharply antagonistic to the Bryan platform that was adopted at Baltimore. Nor is there any reason in law or in political morals why the New York State Democratic Convention should not

openly declare against Woodrow Wilson and put in the field a set of forty-five electoral candidates pledged to vote for some other candidate. The voluntary body that met, without sanction of law, at Baltimore, has no authority over the Democrats of the State of New York. As a matter of fact, the New York Democrats, if left to themselves, would adopt a platform very different from Mr. Bryan's Baltimore document. Furthermore, if acting according to their own preferences, they would probably instruct their forty-five electoral candidates to vote for Mayor Gaynor of New York, or for Governor Harmon of Ohio. If they should still do this, they would be acting within their legal and moral rights, and they would remain in full possession of the name and emblem of the Democratic party. Under those circumstances, the supporters of Woodrow Wilson would be obliged, at great trouble and expense, to get the names of their own electoral candidates on the voting paper by the filing of petitions; and they would not be allowed to use the Democratic name or emblem at the head of their column on the official ballot.

*Why New York
Will Support
Wilson*

Since, then, the Democrats of the State of New York have a legal and moral right to disregard the Baltimore ticket and platform, and to act strictly in accordance with their own preferences, why will they—most undoubtedly—acquiesce, and assume the outward appearance of entire satisfaction with the Wilson nomination and the Bryan platform? The answer is quite too obvious to need elaboration. New York will accept the Baltimore decisions because the Democrats of the whole country have accepted them; because those results were fairly and openly arrived at; and because for a great many reasons the Democrats of New York wish to act in co-operation with those who use the same party name in the other States. To sum it all up, the Democrats of New York will nominate Wilson and Marshall electors, because it is the overwhelming sentiment that no other course would be practical or useful. The New York Democrats have not been tricked into a national situation that is repugnant to their consciences or their judgments. They accept the situation because they have no conceivable reason for repudiating it. But let it be clearly remembered that they have every legal right to repudiate it, without losing their control of the Democratic name and emblem within the State of New York. They are the highest tribunal.

*The Great
Republican
Split*

Those readers who have followed this statement of ours,—and no intelligent person can possibly dispute its accuracy,—will be the better prepared to understand the Republican situation, in view of the Chicago convention and the many circumstances and events related thereto. In our issues for July and June our readers found a summing-up of the preliminary efforts of the Republican party as a whole to arrive at the choice of a Presidential candidate. Legal Presidential primary elections had been held in a number of important and typical Republican States. Two leading candidates had been presented to these primaries. They were the two best known public men in the United States. They personally appeared before the voters, and in so doing they agreed to respect the popular verdict. In the important State of Massachusetts the two candidates fared nearly alike, and each received half of the delegates. In the other Republican States having legal primaries for the naming of Presidential candidates, Mr. Roosevelt was victorious, and Mr. Taft's defeat was in every case decisive and in almost every instance it was overwhelming. In the States which did not have direct Presidential primaries, the Roosevelt preference was equally clear, except in the State of New York. In an honest, direct primary as be-



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MR. VICTOR ROSEWATER OF NEBRASKA

(Who was chairman of the National Republican Committee during the period at Chicago when it dealt with contests, and who presided over the national convention until Senator Root had been selected as temporary chairman)

tween Roosevelt and Taft in the State of New York, Roosevelt would probably have been the victor. But without such primaries the party machine was able to control the situation, and this machine had been persuaded to ally itself with the Taft candidacy. In his own State of Ohio, Mr. Taft had spent many days stumping from county to county, and he received only about 1 in 3 of the votes at the primary election. The great Republican State of Pennsylvania had given Roosevelt more than 100,000 majority over Taft. In Illinois, Taft had received only about one-fourth of the votes cast. The proportion was about the same in California. In Nebraska, Taft ran far behind La Follette, while Roosevelt had almost three times as many votes as La Follette, and almost four times as many votes as were cast for Taft.

Party Sentiment as Ascertained

Not to recount in full detail the facts that are now so familiar to the public, it is enough to say that no leading candidate ever went into a Republican national convention so undeniably repudiated by the sentiment of his party as did William Howard Taft in the political season of 1912. Not a single Republican State in the Union was clearly and unmistakably a Taft State. Michigan and Indiana, so far as real Republican sentiment went, were as strongly anti-Taft as the States surrounding them. The Taft delegates from Michigan and Indiana were secured by sharp practice of the most revolting kind, even if they were not secured by downright fraud. It happens that in those States there were no proper laws to regulate the choice of delegates, and the Taft leaders manipulated party machinery in such manner as to prevent the rank-and-file Republicans from having their way. These are matters, however, to be settled within those States. As for the State of Washington, it had no direct primary, but the will of the voters was as clear and unmistakable as was that of California and Oregon. The Roosevelt delegation from Washington was as undoubtedly entitled to be seated in the convention as were any delegates whatsoever. The action of the National Committee in seating the contesting Taft delegation from Washington was one of those unaccountably bad things that men will sometimes do when acting together in a movement, or a parliamentary body, which they could not possibly do if acting alone and bearing the entire odium. It would be easy to name a dozen members of the National Committee who had a part in placing the Taft



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WILLIAM BARNES, JR., CHAIRMAN OF THE NEW YORK STATE REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE

(Mr. Barnes is now the strongest personality remaining in the Republican organization that is supporting Mr. Taft for President, and will be the real director of the campaign)

delegation from the State of Washington on the temporary roll who could never have acted in that way if each had been placed in the position of a judge acting alone and sworn to render just judgment.

The Convention Not a Representative Body

How, then, when the Republican party in its most typical States had declared so sweepingly for Roosevelt, and when in not a single Republican State was there any strong pro-Taft sentiment (although in localities there was strong anti-Roosevelt sentiment), could the Taft people have the faintest hope of winning a victory in the Chicago convention? To politicians and students no answer is needed. But there are many intelligent readers who do not understand the conditions. Let us, therefore, recount them in a clear, simple way. The national Republican convention, as now constituted, makes no pretense of being a representative party body. Great efforts have been made to change its character so that it might represent the party.

A full account of these efforts, and a thorough study of the subject will be found in an article by Professor Potts, on the convention system, in the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* for May, 1912. An excellent article, strongly criticizing the present character of the Republican national conventions, and advocating a different plan, was written for this magazine in 1908 by Mr. Victor Rosewater, recently chairman of the National Committee. The present plan gives to every State a quota of delegates based upon its population, quite regardless of its voting Republican strength.

*A Glance
at Party
History*

In the earliest Republican conventions there was, of course, no Southern representation at all worth mentioning, because the Republican party could not expect to gain much foothold in the Slave States. Moreover, the early Republican conventions were rather informal and were more like the present mass-meeting conventions of the Prohibitionist and Socialist parties than they were like the later Republican conventions in which party sentiment has been often subordinated to machinery managed by professional politicians. After the adoption of the amendments following the war, which gave the franchise to the emancipated negroes, there was a brief period of Republican carpet-bag and negro rule in the South [(of which veteran partisans like Powell Clayton linger on the scene as survivors to remind the country of one of its most disgraceful episodes). It was natural enough in that period that the Southern delegations should be treated with exaggerated deference in the national conventions. Southern Republicanism was highly important in the campaigns of 1868, 1872, and 1876. It will be remembered that the election of 1876 turned upon the counting of negro votes in Southern States. The withdrawal of troops from the South by President Hayes had the practical result of leaving to each State the make-up of its own voting rolls. The result has been that in a number of those States the Republican party has been practically non-existent for more than thirty years. By this we mean that in those States they not only do not elect Republican governors or members of Congress, but do not even nominate Republican candidates for such offices.

*The
Southern
Delegations*

Nevertheless the Republican party throughout all of those States has a certain restricted sort of skeleton existence which assumes a false and menacing importance when the time comes

to send delegates, every four years, to a Republican national convention. The politicians who control these little Republican groups in the South have not all of them the same motives. A few of them, doubtless, are sincere men of independent means who are Republicans on conviction. Thus in Louisiana there have always been important sugar-planters who have been Republicans in the interest of a high tariff on sugar. In eastern Tennessee, there is a hardy population of white mountaineers, which never held slaves and which is almost as fanatically Republican as a certain element in the north of Ireland is fanatically Presbyterian. In North Carolina, there is a genuine Republican party, usually in hopeless minority. And the same thing is true in Virginia. But, generally speaking, the Republican politicians of the South wish to profit personally by reason of being useful to some Presidential candidate in the North, or to some powerful political manager who is supposed to make and unmake candidates. The late Mark Hanna was a conspicuous master of Southern Republican politicians. Mr. Taft seems to have put Mr. Hitchcock in the cabinet on the theory that he, having used these Southern delegations for Taft's benefit in 1908, could so manage the Post-Office patronage in the South as to give Taft the sure and certain control of like delegations in the convention of 1912. Mr. Taft began earlier than any of his predecessors to round up these delegations in his own interest.

*Building
Up the
Taft Support*

Thus, although there was not a single Republican State in which the party sentiment was enthusiastic for Taft, it was confidently believed at the White House, and so announced in many bulletins, beginning more than a year ago, that Mr. Taft would control the national convention by an overwhelming majority, and that, in fact, he would have all of the delegates from every State in the Union, north and south, except a few that would go to La Follette, or some other Progressive candidate, in Wisconsin and certain States lying west of the Mississippi. In order to make a show of having actual delegates, Mr. Taft and his managers caused the Southern conventions to be held a number of months earlier than the normal and suitable time. These conventions were conducted by federal office-holders, owing their appointments to the President. They were managed from Washington, and their instructions for Taft were forced upon them from the White House.

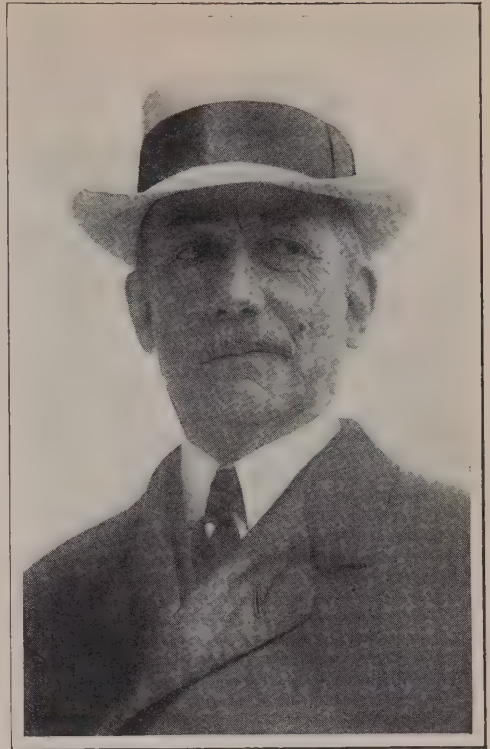
They represented nothing excepting what all thoughtful and patriotic men deplore as a scandalous misuse of public power for private ends,—a thing that has culminated this year and can never happen again without the certainty of impeachment proceedings.

*Efforts to
Reform
the System*

Nothing of this kind could ever have happened if Republican national conventions had truly represented the Republican party. These Southern States could contribute much to Mr. Taft's nomination, but they could contribute nothing to his election as a Republican. In the convention of 1908, an attempt was made to revise and change the basis of representation, so that the national gathering might be a real body of Republicans, instead of being half Republican and half "hand-picked" by the candidate who happened to control federal patronage. This motion, in 1908, to change the plan of the convention came within a few votes of being adopted. Its adoption was prevented at that time by the friends of Mr. Taft, who naturally desired to be certain of controlling a great block of delegates in the convention of 1912. This attempt to eliminate the undue strength of the "rotten boroughs" ought not to have failed. Similar attempts had been made at previous conventions. The best time to have reformed the basis of the national convention was in the year 1900. Conditions were such that Mr. McKinley's renomination could not be opposed. He would not have been a candidate in 1904, even if he had lived. The late Henry C. Payne, then vice-chairman of the National Committee, was about to push through the convention a measure that would have thoroughly changed its future structure. Mr. McKinley, at that juncture, sent Mr. Payne a private, personal request to let the matter be deferred. Unfortunately, Mr. Payne acquiesced against his own judgment; and thus Mr. Taft has had opportunity to coerce a great party by use of "patronage" delegations from "rotten boroughs."

*Some Figures
that
Explain*

The failure by a few votes to accomplish the reform in 1908 affords the answer to the question why Taft could be a formidable candidate in 1912 in the very face of the sentiment of the party as a whole. The following figures will express it concretely: After the National Committee had passed upon credentials, it gave Taft 250 delegates from the following States: Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida,



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SENATOR ROOT, OF NEW YORK
(Who was both temporary and permanent chairman of the
Republican National Convention at Chicago)

Tennessee, Arkansas, North Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky, Oklahoma, and the two new States of Arizona and New Mexico. There is no prospect that any of these States will choose a single Republican elector in November. Practically all of these 250 delegates were procured by direct action from the White House, and represent nothing except the use of high official power for personal and private advantage. Even the use of patronage and power could not have controlled the "rotten borough" delegations if the delegates had been selected in May, rather than many months in advance. Thus the Taft people not only imposed upon the Republican party as a whole, but also upon their own "roped and tied" bunches of Southern delegates. For these Southern delegates had accepted their instructions of last winter on the assurance that Taft would be easily and triumphantly nominated and elected. The natural and decent thing would have been to release them from their instructions after the Ohio primary. But instead of releasing them, the Taft management doubled the guards and kept their so-called mercenaries under stricter surveillance than ever. In addition to these

250 delegates,—most of whom do not represent Republican voters, and none of whom represent States that can possibly be carried for Taft in the election,—there were fourteen delegates from Territories which do not vote on Election Day,—namely, the Philippines (2), Hawaii (6), Porto Rico (2), Alaska (2), District of Columbia (2). All of these were for Taft through the use of official influence.

*Bargaining
with the
Bosses*

The next step taken by the Taft management to obtain control of the convention was the making of a series of alliances with politicians controlling State machines and organizations, where the people had no real chance to express themselves. Thus Taft secured the delegation from Colorado, and utilized the machine to give him Indiana delegates, countenanced glaring improprieties in Washington and Michigan, and, most important of all, obtained the great New York delegation, in chief part, through alliance with the head of the machine, Mr. William Barnes, Jr., of Albany. An even more important part of the program was that which involved many details, by means of which a large majority of the members of the National Committee, which had managed Taft's campaign in 1908, had been won over as pledged and aggressive Taft men for 1912. It was these men who were relied upon to decide all contests in Taft's interest. It was they who seated the Taft delegation from Texas, although the Roosevelt delegation, headed by Col. Cecil Lyon, was undoubtedly entitled to recognition. The filching of the Texas seats alone was more than enough to turn the scale. The use of the National Committee to seat the Taft delegates from Washington is said to have been unequalled for impropriety in the history of all national conventions, of whatever party. Enough has now been said to explain how (1) the control of the "rotten boroughs," (2) the bargains with bosses in States which had no popular primaries, and (3) the control of the National Committee for the sake of securing seats for Taft contestants, made it possible for a man holding the office of President of the United States to be a formidable candidate in a Republican convention without having any considerable Republican sentiment in his favor.

*"Fixing" the
Temporary
Roll*

Out of a convention of 1078 seats, Mr. Taft had somewhere between fifty and a hundred delegates properly chosen and fairly representative. The temporary roll, as arranged by the

National Committee, threw out enough Roosevelt delegates to give temporary control to the Taft forces. The temporary control, thus obtained, was used to secure permanent control. The Taft contestants, without regard to the merits of controversies, were accorded seats in the convention by a strictly factional vote. Thus California had elected all of its delegates on a general State ticket, giving a majority for Roosevelt over Taft of about 77,000. The election was held under a primary law which had been even more strongly favored by the Taft people than by the Roosevelt people, because the Progressives were in full control of the machinery, and without a primary law would have sent a solid Roosevelt delegation. The National Committee, subsequently dissecting the California vote, professed to discover that in one of the Congressional districts there was a very slightly larger vote for the twenty-six Taft candidates than for the twenty-six Roosevelt candidates.

*The
California
Instance*

Even this fact was in dispute, for the vote was not taken by districts, and affidavits from State officials were filed to the effect that it could not possibly be proven that the Taft delegates had more votes in that precise locality than their opponents. It is the general custom to send two delegates to national conventions from each Congressional district, and four from the State at large. But where every party and faction in a State like Cali-



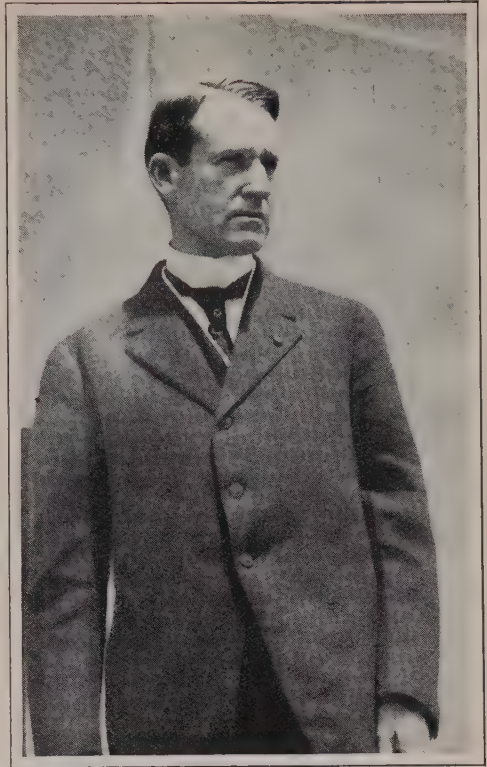
IN A MILLION HOMES

"Now, sonny, you mustn't talk like that. But I allow it don't seem reasonable that a man who is only 8 per cent. strong in the primaries should be 99 per cent. strong in the contests. It don't seem reasonable."—From the *Daily Tribune* (Chicago)

fornia had agreed, unanimously, to elect all the delegates on a general State ticket, just as the Presidential electors themselves are chosen, there could be no reason, in justice or honor, for subsequently dissecting the vote and awarding to Taft certain district delegates who had never appeared in California in that capacity and had not been so chosen. The characterization of this act by Governor Johnson was in the strong language of an honest man in the face of an outrage which for sheer audacity had seldom been surpassed in an American political convention. It is not necessary in these pages to go further into the details of the methods by which a factional temporary roll became the permanent roll of the convention.

*The
Roosevelt
Tactics*

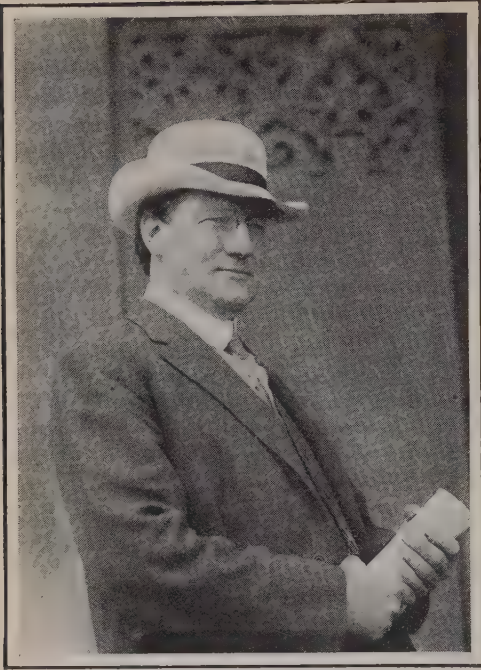
The fight over the contests and the organization of the convention lasted till the middle of the closing day of the convention. Governor Hadley of Missouri had been made the floor leader on behalf of the Roosevelt delegates. He had from the platform of the convention repeatedly denounced the work of the National Committee as improper, and the temporary roll as invalid and fraudulent. In meetings of the Roosevelt delegates, several hundred in number, held separately at night, Governor Hadley had expounded and advocated a plan of action. This plan took the form of a resolution which was eloquently advocated by Governor Hadley, thoroughly discussed, and unanimously adopted. It was agreed in these meetings of the Roosevelt delegates, under the leadership of Governor Hadley, that they would not at any time accept as valid the results of a convention which should organize itself by making permanent the temporary roll of the National Committee. It was decided that if the Committee on Credentials should merely ratify the action of the National Committee in passing on contests, and if the convention itself should make the temporary roll permanent, the Roosevelt delegates would remain in their seats but would denounce the convention as fraudulent and take no further part in its work. It was Governor Hadley, more than anyone else, who persuaded his fellow Roosevelt delegates that this was the proper course to pursue. This, in fact, is the course that was actually followed by a large majority of the Roosevelt delegates. It was a course that fixed responsibility, and made it impossible for the majority to escape from the logical results of its conduct. It created a situation from which nothing but defeat could follow.



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HON. HERBERT S. HADLEY, GOVERNOR OF MISSOURI
(Who was spokesman for the Roosevelt forces in the convention until the last day)

*Hadley
as a
Leader*

After this disputed organization of the convention was completed, a leading member of the Kansas delegation, the Hon. Henry J. Allen, obtained the floor in order to state the position of the Roosevelt delegates and to read to the convention a direct statement from Mr. Roosevelt himself, who had arrived in Chicago a day or two before the formal opening of the convention on June 18. The position of spokesman thus afforded to Mr. Allen had been, for some reason, abandoned by Governor Hadley. The course taken by Mr. Allen and the Roosevelt delegates in general was, precisely the one that Governor Hadley had taken the lead in formulating, and to which he had secured the assent of his fellow-delegates. Nothing had happened in the course of business excepting what had been foreseen when Hadley had declared to all these Roosevelt delegates that he would stand with them absolutely to the end, and lead them valiantly in the course which he persuaded them to adopt. As floor leader of a good cause in the convention, Hadley had been in such striking contrast with the



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MR. JAMES E. WATSON, OF INDIANA
(Who managed the contests for Mr. Taft and helped work the "steam roller")

men who had been put forward as apologists for the doings of the National Committee, that he had gained much favor with the on-looking crowd. Furthermore, Hadley had a good voice and a sonorous kind of fluency; so that he shared with Senator Root, the presiding officer, that kind of good-will that an audience accords to distinction of manner and courtesy of speech. But while Hadley made a good personal impression and won favor for himself, he was an unfortunate selection for the leadership of his cause. The contrast between the graceful Hadley, who was all the time, unconsciously to himself, being exploited and patronized by the far shrewder "Jim" Watson, who was managing the contests for Taft, was something like that between a matinee idol and a real master of men,—although Watson had a lame cause to advocate and was receiving no bouquets from the gallery. He was employed to put a bad piece of business through, and he was true to his job. If a man like Watson's old Indiana opponent, Senator Beveridge, had been floor leader for the Roosevelt forces, instead of Hadley, the real Republicans would probably have found a way to control their own convention. But Beveridge and the other Roosevelt contestants from Indiana had been shut out by the National Committee.

*The Intentions
of the
Leaders*

The leaders of the Taft forces had never really intended to nominate their candidate. They had meant to tie up the convention, check the Roosevelt movement, and evolve a compromise out of the deadlock. Taft himself, and those immediately near him, were evidently unable to perceive the true state of Republican sentiment. It was an instance of obtuseness so case-hardened that no gleam of light could have penetrated it. But Senator Crane, Senator Root, Senator Penrose, Mr. Barnes, and many of the rest, were in the exercise of their usual clear and penetrating intelligence. There were good and sufficient reasons why some of these here named, and others not here named, were inveterate in their determination to prevent the nomination of Roosevelt. The great block of delegates, ninety in number, from the State of New York were not instructed for Taft and were free to use their own judgment. They had helped to seat Taft's bunches of delegates from the Black Belt, and his contestants from other parts of the country, because, in point of fact, Roosevelt must otherwise have been easily nominated on the first ballot by the delegates fairly representing the larger part of the Republicans of the country. They knew that Taft was a discredited candidate and that he ought, after the Ohio primaries, to have released his delegates and allowed the Republican party to shape its own destinies without his further



THE DIFFERENCE!
From the Journal (Boston)

attempt to coerce it through the use of a power that was not his personally, but only his as a public trust. In their private attitude in Chicago they showed even less esteem for Taft and his candidacy than did the Progressive leaders.

*Barnes
and his
Viewpoint*

But while they held the Taft candidacy in contempt, they held the Roosevelt candidacy in fear. The Republican party in the State of New York has long been managed by a few organization leaders in the open, and by certain large business interests that are never in the open but are always in touch with the politicians. Mr. Roosevelt has at length become convinced that a system of this kind is outgrown and indefensible. He stands for the Western plan of direct control of the party in each State by its members. The kind of system that has been adopted in California and that is coming into full adoption in great States like Illinois, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, is quite likely to displace, at least for a time, such strong and able men as Penrose of Pennsylvania and Barnes of New York. These are public men of ability, but Roosevelt has told the people that these men are more devoted to special and private interests than they are to the public welfare. The success of Roosevelt would mean the new system and leaders willing to make the new system serve the public welfare. There are plenty of such men in the State of New York—men of great ability and character, and of fine qualification for public service. It is plain enough that the men who control State machines and who are somewhat picturesquely called "bosses," are naturally opposed to the new political methods that are advocated by Governor Hiram Johnson, Governor Stubbs, Governor Aldrich, and a great number of other good men who had asked Mr. Roosevelt to become their candidate for the Presidency this year.

*Too Late
For
Compromise*

These men of the Barnes type had far more respect for Roosevelt than for Taft, and in private were always ready to say so. But they could not do business with Roosevelt, whereas Taft was pathetically eager to do business with them on their own terms. These men were not without their own kind of loyalty to the old Republican party. They did not wish to shape the most shameful chapter in the party's history by naming a discredited candidate, even after they had helped to give that candidate a bare technical majority obtained



THE CHICAGO HOLD-UP
From the *Times* (Washington)

by misuse of federal patronage and by subsequent sharp practice. But the Roosevelt movement had to be somehow blocked, because it was not merely a movement against Taft, but it was even more boldly a movement against them as Taft's sponsors and managers. Unfortunately, they had done their work too well. By the utmost stretch of unfairness, the National Committee could only give the anti-Roosevelt forces a bare majority on the temporary roll. And it was only by making the temporary roll permanent that the Roosevelt movement could be retarded. The managers had expected to retard it long enough so that they could find excuse for turning to a compromise candidate. But the Roosevelt men had no possible reason for compromising. They had come to the convention as the responsible representatives of the Republican voters, without whose help a Republican President could not be elected. The men who were trying to force them into a compromise were in control of a body of delegates, many of whom represented nothing at all, and some of whom were not even allowed to cast a ballot in the neighborhoods where they lived. The very Taft leaders themselves were in large part men who had lately been repudiated by their fellow-Republicans in their own States. It was not to be expected that the Roosevelt delegates,

representing responsibly the leading Republican States of the country, should have entered into any negotiations at all with the leaders of a movement that had developed into a conspiracy, and that had passed from the stage of tricky politics, through the stage of sharp practice, to something that would have been on the criminal plane if the conduct of men in conventions were regulated by law, as is their conduct in actual elections. These are plain statements that it is not particularly agreeable to make; but it is altogether best to be frank, and this magazine, while always preferring to be courteous, has never shrunk from necessary truth-telling.

*Looking
for a
Candidate*

To proceed with our review of the Chicago situation, let it be said that after having obtained the control that seemed so satisfying to the unfastidious Mr. Taft, his own leaders attempted to carry out their plan of dropping him. They would have been glad to turn their strength to stancher and more experienced Republican leaders than Taft,—such men, for instance, as Vice-President Sherman or former Vice-President Fairbanks. But these men were nominally a part of their own anti-Roosevelt coalition. They hit upon the idea of going into the Roosevelt camp and taking Mr. Roosevelt's own floor leader, Governor Hadley, who had denounced them from the convention platform repeatedly as engaged in acts of fraud that would be punishable as

crimes if the laws that apply to elections were applicable to similar misconduct in conventions. Governor Hadley had declared that he would never accept or condone any act of a convention that owed its control to the seating of certain delegations. The Taft leaders, after the passing of the Hadley boom, which was as fleeting as it was accidental, would gladly have proposed Justice Charles E. Hughes; but there were several reasons why this would have been impossible.

*Why
Not
Cummins?*

They then turned to the best compromise suggestion of all, and offered to nominate Senator Cummins of Iowa. Cummins had been read out of the Republican party, with all the ceremonies of excommunication, by Taft's administration; and he and his late colleague, Senator Dolliver, had fought the administration with more fervor, industry, and sincerity of opposition and contempt than any other two men in the Republican party. But Senator Cummins,—who would have made an admirable candidate if these leaders had espoused his cause some months earlier, and who would then have been acceptable to Mr. Roosevelt and to all the Progressives,—would have nothing to do with a nomination suggested after the convention had been organized by sharp practice under the influences that had also cheated Mr. Cummins out of the delegates that ought to have been his from his own State of Iowa. Neither would Senator La Follette or his supporters entertain the idea of a nomination at the hands of a convention that had been so tainted in its organization. A point was reached where, in their distress, a good many of the Taft delegates would have voted for Roosevelt himself,—certainly enough to have secured his nomination if he could have permitted his own delegates to coöperate.

*The Crisis and
Roosevelt's
Statement*

But Colonel Roosevelt and his supporting delegates had agreed together in advance that they would not participate in the further acts of the convention if it made the temporary roll permanent, and if it refused to revise its membership. Thus, when the members whose seats were under dispute were made judges in one another's cases, so that each Taft contestant was seated in turn by the votes of all the other Taft contestants, the crisis of the convention had been reached. Here a man of sturdy fiber and good fighting qualities took the floor. Mr. Allen, of Kansas, has a powerful voice, ample wit and



IS THIS THE REPUBLICAN PARTY?
From the Journal (Jersey City)

humor, courage both moral and physical, and a splendid and wholesome capacity for righteous indignation. He held the convention in a sort of shamed quiet, under the spell of a scathing denunciation of its folly and misconduct. He then read the following statement from Colonel Roosevelt:

A clear majority of the delegates honestly elected to this convention were chosen by the people to nominate me. Under the direction and with the encouragement of Mr. Taft, the majority of the National Committee, by the so-called "steam-roller" methods, and with scandalous disregard of every principle of elementary honesty and decency, stole eighty or ninety delegates, putting on the temporary roll-call a sufficient number of fraudulent delegates to defeat the legally expressed will of the people and to substitute a dishonest for an honest majority.

The convention has now declined to purge the roll of the fraudulent delegates placed thereon by the defunct national committee, and the majority which thus indorsed fraud was made a majority only because it included the fraudulent delegates themselves, who all sat as judges, on one another's cases. If these fraudulent votes had not thus been cast and counted, the convention would have been purged of their presence.

This action makes the convention in no proper sense any longer a Republican convention, representing the real Republican party. Therefore, I hope the men elected as Roosevelt delegates will now decline to vote on any matter before the convention. I do not release any delegate from his honorable obligation to vote for me, if he votes at all; but under the actual conditions I hope that he will not vote at all.

The convention as now composed has no claim to represent the voters of the Republican party. It represents nothing but successful fraud in overriding the will of the rank and file of the party. Any man nominated by the convention as now constituted would be merely the beneficiary of this successful fraud; it would be deeply discreditable to any man to accept the convention's nomination under these circumstances, and any man thus accepting it would have no claim to the support of any Republican on party grounds and would have forfeited the right to ask the support of any honest man of any party on moral grounds.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Mr. Taft's
Great Chicago
Victory

The thing that remained after Mr. Allen had read Colonel Roosevelt's statement was virtually a Taft convention, rather than a Republican body. The delegates, numbering about 350, who remained in their seats but did not participate in the further work of the convention represented masses of Republican voters without whom it would be impossible to choose a Republican President. The convention at once made Mr. Root its permanent chairman and proceeded to adopt a platform and nominate candidates,—everything moving in a perfunctory way on a cut-and-dried plan without opposition. The platform was



Photograph by Matzene, Chicago.

HON. HENRY J. ALLEN, OF KANSAS

(One of the strongest and most influential of the Roosevelt leaders)

read by Mr. Fairbanks, nobody listening. In the course of the campaign this platform may catch the attention of the public, but such a moment has not yet arrived. Mr. Taft was put in nomination by an Ohio gentleman whose rhetorical phrases, carefully prepared in advance, were almost ludicrous in their remoteness from the state of mind in which the convention found itself. On the roll call Mr. Taft received 561 votes, the full membership of the convention being 1078. There were 344 delegates who declared themselves present but not voting. There were 107 who voted for Roosevelt, regarding it as necessary to obey their home instructions. La Follette received forty-one, Cummins seventeen, and Hughes two. Vice-President Sherman was renominated by a vote of 597. Three hundred and fifty-two Roosevelt men abstained from voting on this roll call, and seventy-one delegates had left the hall. There were about sixty votes for five other names. Thus the convention, in cynical mood and far from being happy or hopeful over its work, adjourned Saturday evening, June 22.

Roosevelt Nomin-
ated at Or-
chestra Hall

Later in the same evening a great gathering met in Orchestra Hall, Chicago, in the highest spirits and in an atmosphere of enthusiasm that could



VICTORY!

[The chaplet seems to be broken, and the robes of the goddess are stained with mire]

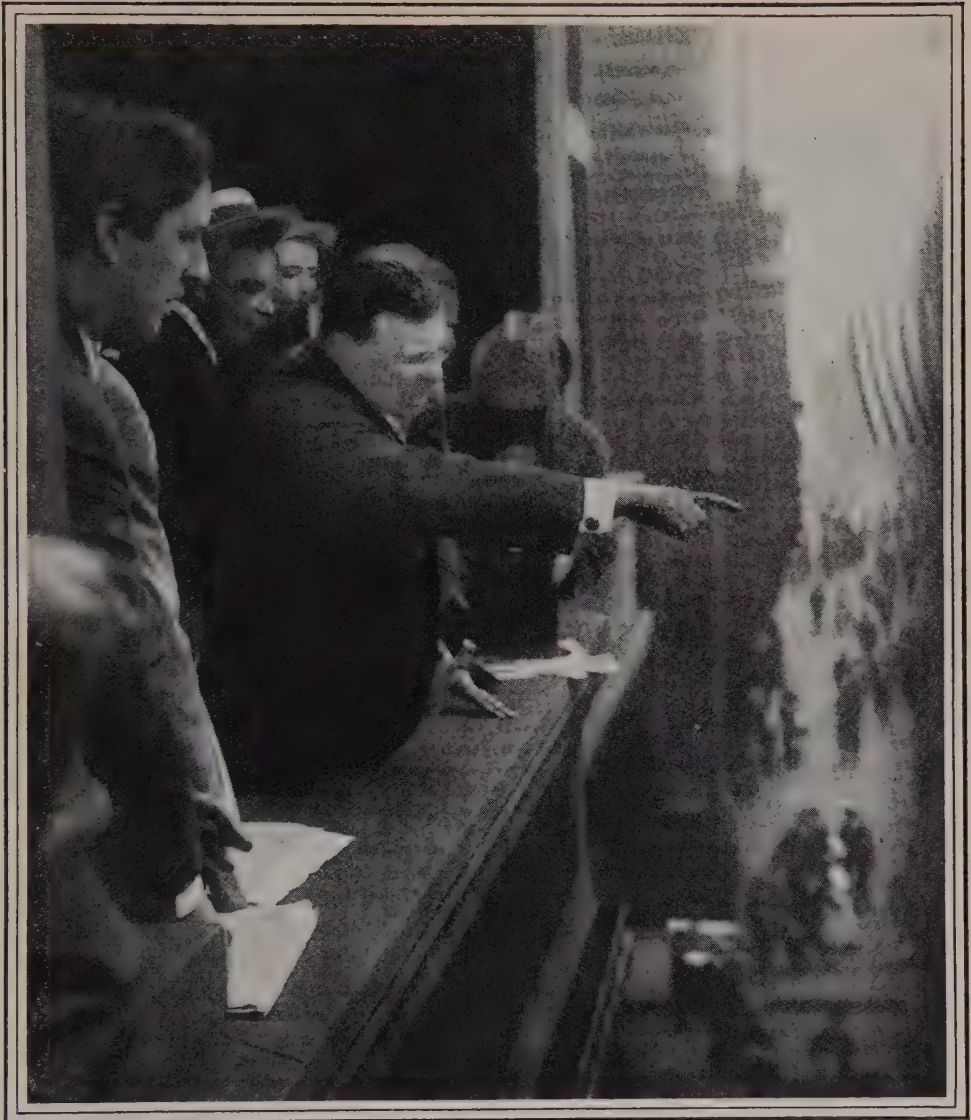
From the *World* (New York)

not easily be described. On the platform were massed the larger part of the Roosevelt delegates. The great hall was packed to the roof with friends of the movement, and outside in the street were many thousands more. Governor Johnson of California presided. Senator Clapp, of Minnesota, presented resolutions, and Controller Prendergast, of New York City, made a speech of great eloquence. Colonel Roosevelt was declared the rightful Republican candidate, and he was then and there accorded a nomination by the delegates and the mass meeting. Whereupon Colonel Roosevelt himself appeared and accepted the nomination, making one of the most powerful and impressive speeches of his lifetime. Colonel Roosevelt declared that the movement would have to be completed by a gathering or convention to be held several weeks later. And he made his acceptance contingent upon the approval of such a subsequent gathering.

The Appeal to the States

As we have already made clear, the national conventions are not the party courts of last resort.

The appeal from voluntary national gatherings is to the legal and tangible party organizations of the several States. And the final appeal, of course, is to the voters at the polls. The simple fact is that the Republicans of the country had already nominated Mr. Roosevelt, and that the business of the Chicago convention was to ratify that nomination, select a Vice-Presidential candidate, adopt a platform, change the basis of representation in future conventions, provide for the choice of delegates in future by popular primaries, and adjourn. Inasmuch as the convention failed to do these things, it had nothing to expect but to find its work repudiated in as many States as were dissatisfied. In States like California, Nebraska, Kansas, South Dakota, and various others, the Roosevelt Re-



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COLONEL ROOSEVELT AT CHICAGO, SPEAKING FROM THE BALCONY OF THE CONGRESS HOTEL TO THOUSANDS OF SUPPORTERS GATHERED IN THE STREET BELOW

publicans were in full control, and in some of them the Presidential electors had already been nominated. There was no reason why these electors could not declare themselves as intending to vote for Mr. Roosevelt in the Electoral College, if they should be elected for that purpose by their fellow citizens in November.

*Iowa Acts
on the
Appeal*

In the State of Iowa, although the Taft forces had secured a majority of the delegates to the Chicago convention, the party met in State con-

vention and emphatically refused to accept what was done in the Taft convention. By a vote of more than 2 to 1,—the figures being 773 to 342,—the Republican State Convention at Des Moines, on July 10, refused to endorse the Taft ticket or the Chicago platform. The new State Republican Committee is anti-Taft 10 to 1. The convention condemned the seating of fraudulent delegates at Chicago, and urged the voters to use the dictates of their conscience in selecting their candidate for President. Arrangements were made for putting a Roosevelt electoral ticket



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GOVERNOR HIRAM W. JOHNSON, OF CALIFORNIA

(Whose qualities of strength, courage and sincerity made him in some respects the foremost member of the Republican convention)

into the field, while endeavor will be made by the Progressives to keep control of the Republican machinery for all State and local purposes.

*Other States
Will Act
in Turn*

The Republican Presidential dilemma will be met in each State in accordance with existing conditions. Thus in Kansas, although Roosevelt electors had previously been chosen, it has been mutually agreed to settle, in a Republican primary election, on August 6, the question whether or not Taft or Roosevelt should be supported. The defeated candidate will then have to name his electoral ticket by petition, and run independently. In California, electors will be named in a convention that will almost certainly be controlled by Roosevelt forces, and the Taft electors will probably have to be nominated by petition. In Nebraska it is understood that the Roose-

velt nomination will be regarded as regular, and that the Taft men, if dissatisfied, will have to appear as third-party men, or bolters. Michigan will have primaries like Kansas, and the Roosevelt men, if successful in them, will be "regular." In Missouri, it seems to be the decision that the electors recently nominated by the Roosevelt forces ought, if elected, to vote for Taft. There will be a new list of Roosevelt electors on the ballot paper. Governor Hadley's position finally is that Missouri Republicans should support either Taft or Roosevelt, according to their preferences, while uniting in the support of State and local candidates. He seems to have gone over personally to the Taft camp, but has no objection to a set of Roosevelt electors in Missouri. In New Jersey there is to be a September primary, the results of which will determine whether or not the Republican electors will be for Taft or for Roosevelt. In many other States the situations have yet to be worked out.

*The Situation
in New
York*

Obviously in the State of New York Roosevelt electors will have to be nominated by the filing of petitions. The existing law, prepared by the bosses of both parties, makes it burdensome and difficult to file independent nominations. A strong Roosevelt movement was, however, duly launched almost immediately after the Chicago convention, and Mr. William H. Hotchkiss took charge of the preliminary organization, with men like Controller Prendergast, Timothy L. Woodruff, and many others, coöperating. Mr. Hotchkiss, who was State Insurance Commissioner under Governor Hughes, is one of the ablest and most highly accomplished public men that the State of New York has produced in recent years. Some of our readers may remember that this magazine mentioned him two years ago as the most suitable nominee to succeed Hughes as Governor. The Progressive movement in New York will be under the direction in every locality of groups of men thoroughly in favor of open, straightforward methods and opposed to the machine system.

*Progressives
to Convene
on August 5*

The expected call for the Progressive movement's convention duly appeared on July 7. It was promulgated by Senator Dixon, acting as chairman of the provisional committee selected by the Roosevelt men at Chicago. It calls for a convention to be held on Monday, August 5, at Chicago, to name candidates for President and Vice-President and to adopt a

platform. The call is not so much for a rigid party in the old sense as for an organization that will work openly and sincerely for the welfare of the people. The call is signed by sixty-three names, representing forty different States, nearly all of them being well-known men of representative character and tested qualities as men and citizens. All but three of them are Republicans. Although the movement invites men from all parties, it is obviously an effort to reorganize and modernize the Republican party, so that it shall take on thoroughly and completely the character and standing that have been given to the Progressive movement in the United States Senate by such leaders as Cummins, Bristow, La Follette, Clapp, Bourne, Beveridge, Dixon and several others. Or, to state it in another way, the intention is to give this new movement such a character as Republicanism has assumed in a number of States under the leadership of governors like Stubbs of Kansas, Johnson of California, Aldrich of Nebraska, Osborn of Michigan, McGovern of Wisconsin, Bass of New Hampshire, and others of like standing. If this were an arbitrary movement, figured out on paper, and merely devised to float the candidacy of Colonel Roosevelt, there might not be much chance for it. But the movement is a great and hopeful reality, quite regardless of the prospective convention of August 5. It was thoroughly represented by the group of governors who launched Mr. Roosevelt's candidacy before the primaries and State conventions, and won for him the support of a large majority of the Republicans of the United States. The meeting at Chicago can but help to give further direction and impetus to



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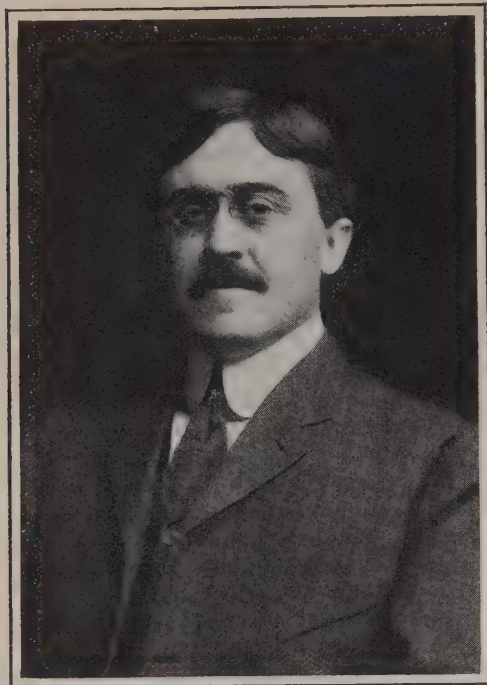
HON. TIMOTHY L. WOODRUFF, OF NEW YORK

(Who withdrew from the support of Taft at Chicago and joined the Roosevelt forces when he found that it was determined to control the convention by unfair and improper means, and who is one of the chief organizers of the Progressive movement in New York)



LAYING THE FOUNDATION
From the Journal (Boston)

a tendency that had already been made distinctive by the group of Progressive Senators who for several years have acted together virtually as a third party. Although Senator



HON. WILLIAM H. HOTCHKISS

(The distinguished New York lawyer, and formerly Insurance Commissioner, who assumed the chairmanship, last month, of the organizing committee of Progressives in the State of New York)

Cummins has been quoted as not favoring this Chicago movement, it remains true that the Progressive party is hardly likely to be so far removed from regular Republicanism as Senator Cummins' own position has been during the entire Taft administration. Our own definition of the new movement would be that it is the unexpectedly rapid culmination of the precise thing for which Senator Cummins and his friends have been standing and working for several years. In any case, the Progressive Republicans supporting Roosevelt would have to agree upon a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, and would wish to adopt a national platform of their own. These objects would not only justify but would require such a convention as will be held at Chicago on August 5.

*Republicans
Naturally
Progressive*

The reason why the Progressive party must of necessity be developed principally out of the Republican party becomes apparent after a little thought. In the first place, the evolution has already been accomplished in a number of States. In the second place, the Democratic party is a wholly different kind of entity from its chief opponent. The Republican party

has always been comparatively homogeneous. The present split in the party is temporary and transitional. Fundamentally, the Republican party has always been Progressive, but in order to keep alive it is compelled from time to time to accept new views of what progress means and to adapt itself to new conditions. It is now in the process of a healthful transformation from within. Precisely as it threw off machine domination in Pennsylvania a few weeks ago, so it has been struggling to emancipate itself in many other States. Whether it keeps the name Republican, or not, the Progressive movement will be made up of men who, like Roosevelt, have been the leaders in the more radical wing of the Republican party.

*Democratic
Party Less
Unified*

The Democratic party has some elements of unity, but in the main it is a coalition of groups. Its largest factor is the solid South. Its second factor in permanence is Tammany Hall. Its third is the old-line Democracy represented by men like Governor Harmon, of Ohio, and its fourth is the radical Democracy represented by men like Bryan and Hearst. The Democratic party finds its opportunity not so much in its own shining virtues as in the faults and failures of the Republican party. The immense Democratic wave that struck the country in 1910 was due to the weakness and failure of the Taft administration and the action of a Republican Congress in passing the Payne-Aldrich tariff. The recent Progressive movement in the Republican party, as led by Roosevelt, was a confession of these mistakes.

*Bright
Prospects for
Wilson*

The success of Taft through the "Old Guard" at Chicago gives the Democrats an even better opportunity than they had in 1910. The Democratic Congress has conducted itself in a praiseworthy manner under Clark as Speaker and Underwood as floor leader. A number of Democratic governors have given their States good administrations. The Democratic convention at Baltimore nominated a brilliant and commendable ticket, and adopted an excellent platform. Have the Democrats therefore earned the right to win the election in November, and have the Republicans advertised their need of rebuke and defeat? There would seem only one answer to that question. The Democrats, led by the ticket of Wilson and Marshall, would seem to merit success, and would also seem entitled to expect it with a good deal of confidence. If, indeed, there

had been such acquiescence in the nomination of Taft and Sherman that the Roosevelt movement had been abandoned there could have been only one outcome. Under those circumstances, as between Wilson and Taft, it is not easy to figure out where Taft could have expected to win a single electoral vote in the entire country. If it were merely a matter of Governor Woodrow Wilson as a Presidential candidate, the thing might just as well be made unanimous.

*More
Permanent
Issues*

But a great deal more than that is involved. There is a Congress to be elected this year, and another in 1914. The future of parties must be considered. The Democratic party machinery in a number of great States, as in New York, remains in control of objectionable bosses and machines. The Progressive movement, which in the main represents the energetic self-assertion of Republican voters who wish to rehabilitate their own party, cannot be abandoned merely because the Democrats, through the force of circumstances, have been compelled to nominate a splendid ticket. With the Progressive party thoroughly launched and in the field, we are quite certain to have a progressive-minded President, whether it be Woodrow Wilson or Theodore Roosevelt. Meanwhile, we shall see the process of wholesome improvement going on within the Democratic party, and a sweeping transformation of the Republican party into a modern, popular, valuable organization fit to serve as the political agency of self-respecting men. The whole situation, therefore, is one that invites good cheer and congratulation.

*Woodrow
Wilson
as He Is*

Elsewhere in this number will be found personal sketches of the Democratic candidates. Dr. Woodrow Wilson's father was an Ohio man, a Presbyterian minister, who accepted a pastorate in Virginia shortly before the birth of his distinguished son. Woodrow Wilson thus grew up in the South, but he went to Princeton for his college studies. Several years after leaving Princeton he completed post-graduate studies at the Johns Hopkins University, and entered at once upon his career as a professor of political science. Incidentally, he had studied law and had for a few months hung out his shingle at Atlanta. His studies of practical politics and the art of carrying on national government were more thorough in some respects than those of any other young man of his time. While at Baltimore, in the university, his skill as



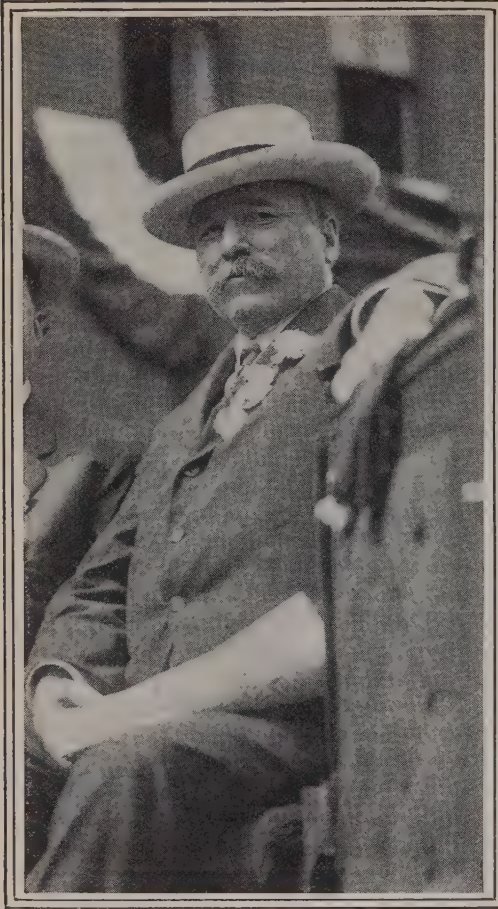
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GOVERNOR WOODROW WILSON (ON THE RIGHT)
GREETING THE VETERAN SENATOR TILLMAN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA

a political speaker and debater was recognized as unequaled among all his contemporaries. To say that he has since pursued the life of an academic recluse is ridiculous. It is as great a mistake to speak of Woodrow Wilson as a mere bookworm and scholar, without practical knowledge, as to speak of Theodore Roosevelt, on the other hand, as a practical politician who must go to William Barnes, Jr., for instruction in constitutional law and history. In fact, Wilson is also man of affairs, and Roosevelt is also a scholar.

*Roosevelt and
Wilson as Pub-
lic Men*

Both Wilson and Roosevelt are remarkably versed in the two kinds of political knowledge. They know about governments through vast historical study and reading, and they know about political matters in their working manifestations. Obviously, Mr. Roosevelt has had very much more practical experience than Dr. Wilson. But they belong to the same class. They would both of them be great public men and leaders in England, or Canada, or France, or Germany, where public life is a career. Woodrow Wilson, as writer and speaker on political matters, has always been before the American public. As administrator, he has carried on the affairs of a great university, a position which in our country trains for governmental administration better than almost any other kind of experience. As Governor of New Jersey, he has shown



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HON. ALTON B. PARKER

(Who was Democratic nominee for the Presidency against Roosevelt in 1904, and was temporary chairman of the recent Democratic convention at Baltimore)

that he can meet the exigencies of practical politics with firmness and upon high ground. He has admirable qualities of personality that would make him a most worthy and welcome occupant of the White House. The American people like to have their political leaders men of learning and culture. One of the reasons why they are fond of Roosevelt is the unceasing industry he has always shown in the pursuit of many kinds of useful and interesting knowledge. Woodrow Wilson is a man with a zeal for what is right in public matters. There is one great test we should learn to apply to every aspirant for public place in this country,—namely, is the man public-minded, or is he private-minded? And this is not so much a quality of character as it is a quality of intellect. Wilson and Roosevelt are essentially public men. They act upon public questions for open, public reasons. Their

minds are trained to work in that fashion. Others who might be named are essentially private-minded. These others have always some personal, private reason for public acts.

*How Wilson
Won at
Baltimore*

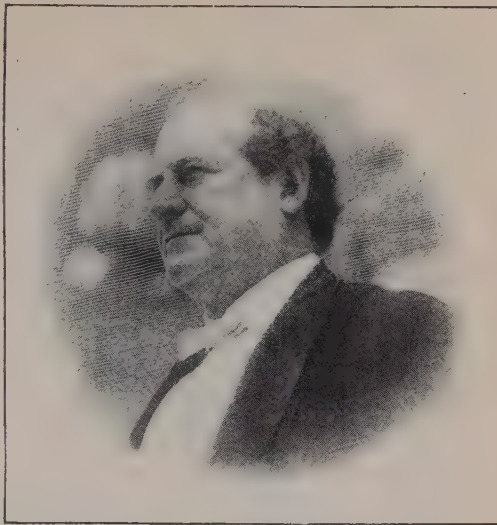
The Baltimore convention began with a sharp fight over the choice of a temporary chairman. Mr. Alton B. Parker, of New York, was opposed by Mr. Bryan on the ground of his being the candidate of Tammany Hall and the Wall Street interests. Mr. Parker was selected, but in almost everything else the great Nebraska orator dominated the convention. Mr. Bryan secured the election of Mr. James of Kentucky as permanent chairman. He denounced the very presence in the convention as delegates of certain well-known financiers, and would have scourged them from the convention with a whip of cords. The Republican situation at Chicago gave Bryan his great opportunity, and he used it with a power and force that surprised even his warmest admirers. Bryan's attitude soon eliminated the more conservative candidates, and the delegations said to be controlled by bosses came over, after a good many ballots, to the support of Champ Clark. But at this juncture Bryan passionately refused to support any man who was acceptable to the New York delegation. Bryan had been regarded as friendly to Champ Clark, and his own Nebraska delegation was instructed to support the Speaker. It is felt by Champ Clark and his friends that Bryan wrongfully intervened at a time when otherwise Clark might have won.

*After
Many
Ballots*

On the very first ballot, Clark had 440½, Wilson 324, Harmon 148, Underwood 117½, not to mention the small number of votes for minor candidates. On the tenth ballot Clark received 556, Wilson 350, Underwood 117½. On that ballot Harmon had been dropped by New York, which had switched over to Clark. The Underwood vote remained very little changed through more than forty ballots. Clark remained in the lead until the 30th, when Wilson passed him, the vote standing 455 to 460. A large movement to Wilson came on the 43rd, when he had 602 against Clark's 329. On the 45th the vote stood: Wilson 633, Clark 306, Underwood 97, Harmon 25, Foss 27. The surprise came on the next ballot, when the entire Underwood strength went over to Wilson. Most of the Clark support did likewise, and on the 46th ballot Wilson was nominated with 990 votes,

Clark retaining 84 and Harmon 12. The result was accepted with good-will by the entire convention. Every one admitted that Governor Wilson personally had pursued a course of the most perfect dignity and propriety.

*Platforms,
—A Topic of
Deferred
Interest* We have pleasure in publishing also in this number of the REVIEW an article by Mr. Shipp that gives a pleasant and attractive picture of Governor Marshall of Indiana in his typical life as a lawyer and in his brief but reputable public career. Governor Marshall was thought by his neighbors to be of Presidential size, and his candidacy in the Baltimore convention held the thirty votes of Indiana steadily through twenty-seven ballots. The Baltimore platform is worthy of analysis and discussion, but we shall defer our discussion of platforms until next month, when it will be possible to compare the document to be adopted by the Roosevelt men and national progressives with the Bryan platform adopted at Baltimore. It will be also worth while to say something in that connection upon the



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HON. WILLIAM J. BRYAN

(The dominating leader of the Democracy in the recent convention)

actual drafting of the platforms and their preliminary history. The initiative in these matters is highly important. Mr. Bryan persuaded the Baltimore convention to adopt the unusual plan of choosing the candidates first and then agreeing upon a platform, in order that the man who was to be chief expounder of the party's views should not find himself at odds with its formal avowals of creed. These matters we shall further discuss next month in analyzing the two leading platforms, as mentioned above, also noting the character of the Barnes platform which (with some modifications) was adopted by the Taft convention.

*Managing
Taft's
Campaign* It will also be possible next month to speak with more detail upon the methods and management of the campaign. Leadership in particular States will probably be more important this year than national direction. The Taft managers met with the President at Washington last month, and although Mr. William Barnes of Albany was the universal choice for real head of the campaign, it was regarded as better policy to put forward the President's secretary, Mr. Charles D. Hilles, as titular chairman of the committee, while keeping real control in the hands of Mr. Barnes and other members of the executive group of the National Committee. Mr. Hilles is not yet known to the country as having been a party leader. His chairmanship of the committee comes by way of his personal relations with



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HON. OLLIE M. JAMES

(Senator-elect from Kentucky, who was permanent chairman of the Baltimore convention)



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MR. CHARLES D. HILLES

(The new chairman of the Taft campaign committee)

President Taft. Until three years ago last April, Mr. Hilles was employed as superintendent of the New York Juvenile Asylum, a private institution located at Dobbs Ferry. Until then, he was in no way connected with political or governmental matters. He had come from Ohio, however, and had been personally acquainted with Mr. Taft. After Mr. Taft's election, Mr. Hilles was given an opportunity to express a preference for some appointive position, and he chose to be an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. When Mr. Norton left the position of secretary to the President to become a banker in New York, Mr. Hilles became his successor. He has developed an undoubted talent for political work, and it is understood that his time has been almost wholly given to the promotion of Mr. Taft's political ambitions, the usual work of the public office he held having been performed by Mr. Rudolph Forster. On July 16 it was announced that Mr. Carmi Thompson, of Ohio, would succeed Mr. Hilles as Secretary to the President. That Mr. Hilles is now to do his political work outside of a public office,—the salary of which is paid by the people of the United States,—is in every respect a gain for the cause of official propriety. Mr. Hilles is a man of vigor, industry, and capacity, and excellent reputation. He ran the preliminary Taft campaign

directly from the White House until Congressman McKinley opened the Taft headquarters bureau in Washington. His fidelity to his chief is of course his particular qualification for the office of chairman of the Republican National Committee.

*Wilson's
"Efficiency"
Management*

The Wilson campaign promises to be conducted in the most open and businesslike way, with full publicity given to campaign contributions, both before election and after. The young lawyer and Princeton graduate, Mr. William F. McCombs, who has for an entire year conducted the preliminary campaign for the nomination of Woodrow Wilson, is to be chairman of the committee that will carry on the fight until November. Mr. McCombs' methods are not those of the old-time "headquarters" manager, with the ludicrous waste of money and effort that has been so common in the past. As for the Roosevelt management, it will for the most part take care of itself spontaneously in the different States where Progressive Republicans are everywhere taking energetic hold of their own local situations. There will, however, of course be a central management of some kind following the Progressive convention to be held at Chicago early this month.



MR. WILLIAM F. MCCOMBS

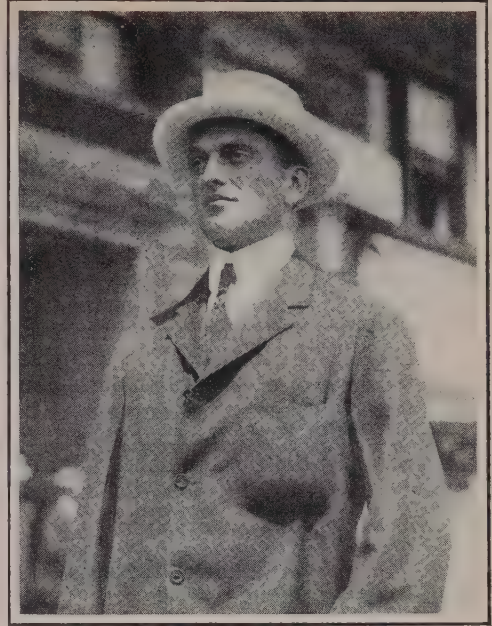
(Who will be chairman of the Wilson National Campaign Committee)

*Trouble
in the
Treasury*

Another in the long series of painful incidents that have marked the course of the Taft administration was the abrupt resignation, early in July, of Dr. A. Piatt Andrew as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. Dr. Andrew, as a professor at Harvard, had acquired reputation as an economist and a student of finance. Senator Aldrich and the Monetary Commission obtained his services, and he is in great part to be credited with the admirable work of that body. There followed his appointment as Director of the Mint, and his later appointment as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury when Mr. Norton went to the White House to become Secretary to the President. Mr. Andrew's withdrawal from the Treasury was accompanied by the publication of frank and extended letters, both to the President and to Secretary MacVeagh, criticizing in the sharpest and most specific way the negligence of the highest officials of the Government as respects business of great consequence to all the people of the United States. It became plain in the course of the controversy that Dr. Andrew's views were fully corroborated by many others whose attempts to serve the people faithfully had been embarrassed by the negligence and inefficiency of their superiors.

*Results of
Politics and
Negligence*

This revelation of conditions in the Treasury Department follows the recent exposure of difficulties and discords of all kinds in the Department of Agriculture. A recent embarrassment in our relations with Brazil was a further illustration of the things that happen to an administration that is almost wholly absorbed in political and personal affairs, and allows the public business to drift. Conditions in the Post-Office Department have in some respects been worse than those in any other, for a good many months past. The lack of efficiency and coördination in the executive business of the Government seems to be traceable to that absence of a number of months on the part of President Taft in the first year of his administration. It was then that the Ballinger troubles had their inception; and the Interior Department cannot recover wholly until the new régime comes in, next March. Frictions in two other departments also date back to that period.



DR. A. PIATT ANDREW
(Who resigned last month as Assistant Secretary
of the Treasury)

*A
Judge's
Impeachment*

Last month the House of Representatives adopted and presented to the Senate articles of impeachment against Judge Robert W. Archbald of

the United States Commerce Court. The gravity of this proceeding on the part of the House may be better appreciated when it is recalled that in our whole national history there have been only eight previous cases in which the Senate has been called upon to act as a court of impeachment. Judge Archbald was appointed a United States Circuit Judge by President Taft in December, 1910, after he had served nearly ten years as a district judge in Pennsylvania. He was designated by the President to serve as a member of the new Commerce Court for a four years' term beginning in February, 1911. The charges on which the impeachment proceedings were based related to business transactions with railroad companies at times when the railroads were litigants before the Commerce Court and before the Interstate Commerce Commission. Judge Archbald was charged, specifically, with seeking to lease a culm bank from the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company and with exerting influence upon the officers of the subsidiary coal company through his position as a member of the Commerce Court. Other charges equally serious and of similar nature are set forth in the thirteen articles of impeachment. There was some demand that the Senate should proceed with the trial at once, but it was urged by several Senators that the matter should be deferred till next session.

*End of the
Lorimer
Case*

As the result of two investigations by its own committees, the United States Senate, on July 13, declared that corrupt methods and practices had been employed in the election of William Lorimer as a Senator from Illinois, and his election was therefore invalid. The vote in the Senate on this proposition was almost two to one,—55 to 28. New evidence had been produced since the vote of March 1, 1911, by which the Senate refused to vacate the seat. It was not a question of Mr. Lorimer's personal guilt or innocence. The question for the Senate to decide was this: Did Mr. Lorimer owe his election to tainted votes in the Illinois Legislature? The Senate did not expel Mr. Lorimer; it simply affirmed its belief that he had never officially held a seat in its chamber, that he had not been a Senator of the United States.

*Uncle Sam's
Money
Matters*

Congress permitted the end of the Government's fiscal year (June 30) to be reached with incomplete provision for the necessary supplies in most of the departments. Nine of the annual appropriation bills,—the agriculture, army, Indian, legislative, Military Academy, naval, pension, post-office, and sundry civil bills,—had failed of passage and a joint resolution extending the appropriations of the last fiscal year through the month of July, 1912, was necessary in order to prevent the dropping of thousands of employees from the federal pay-rolls. Meanwhile, the army bill, passed by both houses, had been vetoed by President Taft on June 17, on the ground that it contained objectionable legislation. All in all, Uncle Sam was on the verge of serious financial embarrassment last month. While not quite "dead broke," as some of the newspapers described his condition, he was hard put to it to "pay the hands." The Senate and House seemed likely to come to agreement as to most of the points of difference involved in the various supply bills, with the possible exception of the naval bill, which had been amended by the Senate so as to carry two battleships. Altogether the Senate's changes had increased the naval appropriations by \$15,000,000. On the whole, Congress has not lacked in diligence, but in view of extraordinary political conditions in the country and unusual complications in the business of Congress itself it is not strange that the routine appropriations have been delayed. As this magazine was being closed for the press it seemed probable that all the unfinished business of the session would be

disposed of in time to make possible adjournment early in the month of August.

*Investigation
of the Express
Business*

The Interstate Commerce Commission has recently completed a most thorough and sweeping investigation of the express business of the country. Thirteen great companies came within the scope of the inquiry. Inasmuch as criticisms and complaints arising in one section were largely similar to those arising in other parts of the country, the problem was dealt with from a national standpoint. The Commission's report contains an interesting mass of information regarding the highly lucrative business that has developed from the "carpet bag expressman" of early days to the modern solid trains of express cars. "Beginning sixty years ago practically with no assets whatsoever other than favorable contracts with one or more railroads, the express companies have been enabled out of their rates and the profitable investment of their operations to pay large dividends on shares representing no investments, and have amassed more than \$150,000,000 worth of property." It also developed that although the companies are all separate legal entities, operating independently and competing for business, they are all more or less intertwined and interlocked by reason of their ownership of large blocks of each other's stock. Much confusion and criticism also arose from the lack of known and definite rates between various given points, resulting either in overcharges or undercharges. As a result of its investigation, the Commission orders a reduction in rates approximating 15 per cent., and particularly affecting small parcels weighing under twelve pounds. A number of radical changes in administrative methods and practices looking to increased efficiency, are also ordered, one of the most important being an instruction to the companies to unite in giving direct through service by the shortest route; in other words, a company must coöperate to give to a shipment a direct through route regardless of the fact that such shipment may have originated with another company.

*The New
Express Rate
System*

On heavy packages of a hundred pounds or more, the companies' charges were not found to be excessive, and their rates in these cases were not materially reduced. In fact, the Commission's new rate is in some cases an increase over that charged by the companies. The new system of fixing rates, evolved after

long study, divides the country into 950 blocks, each about fifty miles square. The rate from any express station in a given block, to any station in another given block, is to be the same. Commissioner Lane, who has devoted three years to the investigation of this express business, is of opinion that the lowering of the charges on small packages will result in opening up a more direct trade between the city household and the farm, benefiting at the same time the express companies by increasing their traffic.

*The
Crops of
1912*

By mid-July the great cereal crops and hay and potatoes have made such progress as to furnish some reliable indications of the agricultural output of the year, if it is assumed that no more than normal deterioration is to take place during the remainder of the harvesting period. On this hypothesis, 1912 will show a heavy excess in value of agricultural output over 1911. The *Wall Street Journal* estimates that six leading crops, corn, wheat, oats, barley, potatoes and hay will alone show, in their aggregate, an excess of \$760,000,000 over the values of last year, and that all the farm produce, except cotton, will, barring abnormal developments, give about one billion dollars more value than last year. The greatest gain is shown in hay, which last year was very short on account of the terrible drought throughout the country. On July 1 last it seemed fair to expect a crop of 63,000,000 tons as against only 43,000,000 last year,—a gain of \$250,000,000 in value. A corn yield for 1912 of 2,811,000,000 bushels was indicated in July,—a gain of about 12 per cent. over 1911. The agricultural statisticians are figuring on a betterment of from 20,000,000 to 50,000,000 bushels of wheat over last year; and 217,000,000 bushels of oats. The price of wheat was, on July 1, 13 cents better than last year, the price of oats six cents less than last year. Potatoes show an increase this year of 59,000,000 bushels, or 20 per cent. more than last year, with the price \$1.10 per bushel, as against \$.90 last year, and barley promises a 20 per cent. better yield with a present price 13 cents higher than last summer.

*A Smaller
Cotton
Crop*

The growing and harvesting conditions have been splendid during the first half of July, or the two weeks following these estimates, and the prospect is decidedly bright for an excellent crop year, even though there

are no "bumper" yields in sight. As to the cotton crop, it seems certain that the acreage planted is somewhat less than last year's, and the condition on July 1 was decidedly below the condition of a year ago, but still about equal to the average of the past ten years. So, although it is early yet to make confident predictions as to the outcome of the cotton crop, it seems likely that it will be much smaller than in 1911. This it can well be without disaster, as last year's acreage and yield were so great that with labor scarce and cotton prices lowering, hundreds of thousands of acres were not picked at all, the cotton being left to rot on the stalks.

*The
Basic
Industries*

The railroads have shown in their recent reports the effect of several untoward developments of the spring months: the great strike in the anthracite coal mines, which brought the shipment of hard coal in April down to 266,625 tons, as against 5,804,915 tons in April, 1911; the strike in the bituminous fields, which was settled without so great a loss of production, and the disastrous overflow of the Mississippi, which seriously affected the earnings of some of the South-western roads. Despite these handicaps the gross earnings of the railroads are showing a small increase over the corresponding periods of last year; 1911 itself was somewhat lean. The net earnings, however, show a decided shrinkage, as might be expected in a situation where wages and materials,—the cost of living for the railroad,—are constantly tending upward in price, while freight rates are being shaded here and there by the activities of State and national commissions. With fixed charges growing at the same time, owing to the high prevailing rates of interest on capital, it cannot be said that the outlook for railroad dividends is extravagantly promising. The volume of gross earnings shows, however, that the country at large is enjoying a fair amount of industrial activity.

*Steel
Output and
Prices*

This is also indicated in the recent records of steel production. The second quarter-year of the Steel Corporation's operations shows shipments of 3,200,000 tons, the largest in ten years. This steel is being sold at very much lower prices than have generally obtained during the corporation's history. The measure of this lowering in price is strikingly given by the *Wall Street Journal's* calculation that if the corporation had

received the average price of its past experience, the earnings for the quarter just reported would be \$20,000,000 more than they actually were. This enormous output of the Steel Corporation comes in spite of the fact, as reported by the American Iron and Steel Association, that the "Trust" is now producing a decidedly smaller percentage of the country's aggregate of iron and steel than in 1902. Some of the comparisons as between 1902 and 1910 illustrate the tendency of the independent steel companies to grow, in the aggregate, faster than the Steel Corporation. In 1902 the "Trust" produced 65.2 per cent. of all the steel ingots and castings; in 1910, 54.3 per cent.; in 1902 67.7 per cent. of the country's total of steel rails, and in 1910, 58.8 per cent.; in 1902, 64.9 per cent. of the total of wire nails, and in 1910 only 55.4 per cent. The only classification in which the Corporation's business is increasing at the expense of the independents is in iron rails, which show 31.2 per cent. for the corporation in 1902, and 37.6 per cent. ten years later.

Harriet
Quimby's
Aeroplane
Disaster

The month of July began badly with those who travel in the air.

On July 1, Miss Harriet Quimby, one of the most daring and popular of American aviators, was killed in a flight at Boston aviation meet, her passenger, Mr. W. A. P. Willard, sharing the same fate. The pair were returning from a trip over Boston Harbor to the Boston Light in a powerful Blériot military aeroplane of the latest model. In making a volplane, a gust of wind caught the tail of the machine, throwing it into a perpendicular position, and the occupants—who evidently had not been strapped into their seats,—fell from a height of a thousand feet into the waters of Dorchester Bay. Miss Quimby was the first woman in America to win an aviator's license and had only a few months ago accomplished the feat of crossing the English Channel. In addition to her achievements as an air pilot, Miss Quimby was also a talented literary worker, being engaged on *Leslie's Weekly* as dramatic critic and writer of special articles. While men to the number of 155 have lost their lives in flying, (54 having been killed in this year alone) Miss Quimby is the fourth woman to meet this fate.

Wreck of Van-
man's Dirigible
"Akron"

The very next day—July 2—at Atlantic City, N. J., Melvin Vaniman's enormous balloon, the *Akron*, was destroyed with its entire crew

of five men. The *Akron* had started out auspiciously on an early morning trial trip, with thousands of people looking on from the beach. A misty haze hung in the air, and the great balloon sailed in a soft wind under perfect control until about half a mile from shore. Soon the clouds scattered, the sun shone out strong and clear, and the balloon shot quickly upward. Suddenly there was a flash of light at the top of the balloon, then a burst of flame, and a great volume of smoke completely covered the craft. The under-structure, containing the crew, became detached and fell, the bag crumpling up and following later. The exact cause of the accident was not learned, but the theory of gas expansion seemed a plausible one. Melvin Vaniman, it will be remembered, accompanied Walter Wellman in his attempt to cross the Atlantic in the balloon *America*. Although that venture failed, no lives were sacrificed. This much-heralded transatlantic dirigible, *Akron*, however, with its many months of patient preparation and tremendous expense, ended in complete disaster before even attempting its transatlantic trip every man of the crew losing his life and the ship being totally wrecked.

Uncle Sam
Victor in
Olympic Games

Last month at Stockholm, the athletes of America for the fifth time scored a decisive triumph in the world's Olympic Games, totalling 128 points against 104 for Sweden, and 66 for Great Britain. Among the events captured by Uncle Sam's boys were the 100-metre run, 800-metre run, 200-metre dash, 110-metre hurdle, running high jump, 16 pound shot, 16 pound shot, both hands, pole vault, running broad jump, 1600-metre relay race. The great Decathlon, an all-around athletic event comprising ten different feats, was won by James Thorpe, an Indian from the Carlisle School, with a total of 8412 points out of a possible 10,000. The classic Marathon, which has always been the feature of the Olympic Games, was won this year by a South African policeman, McArthur. Finland was represented by a wonderful runner, Kohlemainen, who captured three first prizes. The chief bright spot for England in the games was the marvelous spurt by which Jackson forged ahead of America's best runners in the 1500-metre race. New records were made by the athletes in nearly every event. The Olympic Games closed with impressive ceremonies, King Gustav himself crowning the victors and awarding the prizes, assisted by Crown Prince Gustav Adolph and Prince Charles.

*The Canal at
Panama Near
Completion*

The official date for the opening of the Panama Canal has been set for January 1, 1915. The event will be celebrated by the splendid exposition which the city of San Francisco is preparing. The progress of the work of construction on the canal, however, has been so satisfactory that it will be possible, and it is the intention to permit vessels to utilize the waterway just as soon as practicable, which, it now seems likely, will be during the latter half of 1913. The chairman and chief engineer of the Isthmian Canal Commission is of this opinion. Shipping interests will, of course, be fully advised when the exact time has been definitely determined. According to figures on the construction work completed by May 1 last, the amount of excavation actually accomplished on the whole canal is now more than eleven-thirteenths of the total. At that date the construction work on the locks at Gatun, Pedro Miguel and Miraflores had been 82 per cent. completed. But the interest of the American people, as well as of the rest of the world, in the canal has now advanced beyond the stage of the progress of construction to the subjects of fortification and operation. The work of fortifying the big ditch will probably be undertaken as soon as the excavation is complete. Under what conditions is the great waterway at Panama to be opened to the ships of the world? No ship can be barred. But will all have to pay the same toll? Or will it be wise and permissible to favor American shipping in any way?

*The British
Protest Against
"Discrimination"*

This question was brought forcibly to the attention of the civilized world on July 10, when it was known that the British Chargé d'Affaires at Washington (in the absence of Ambassador Bryce) had sent a telegram to Assistant Secretary of State Huntington Wilson requesting that the Panama Canal bill (at the time on the Senate calendar) be held in abeyance until a detailed protest might be submitted through the British Embassy against what were held to be "clauses inimical to the rights and interests of British subjects." There had been considerable discussion both in Congress and in the public press on the question whether American ships passing through the canal should be subject to the same tolls as the ships of other nations, and whether any discrimination was to be made against vessels owned by the great railroad systems of this country and Canada which are known to be indirectly, if not directly,

hostile to the canal because of the competition it would bring about.

*Would the
Bill Injure
Canada?*

The Panama bill providing for the complete regulation of traffic through the canal when completed. (known in the House as the Adamson Bill, from Chairman Adamson, of Georgia, of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee), contained a drastic anti-railway clause which, as amended by the Senate, declared that "no railroad-owned ships should be permitted to pass through the Panama Canal if engaged in the coastwise trade between ports of the United States." This restriction has been contemplated with concern by the Canadian railroad systems, since it would prevent their ships from using the canal unless they plied only between points in their own country on the Atlantic and Pacific. The fruit trade of the British West Indies, likewise, might be expected to suffer severely from such a restriction.

*As to the
Hay-Pauncefote
Treaty*

Although there was no provision for free passage of American ships in the Senate bill when the British request for delay was made, it was the general conviction that, as adopted, the measure would either provide for such exemption from tolls, or that other legislation would arrange for the refunding of money paid, so that in effect American ships would pass through the canal without toll charges. It is against these two points that it is believed the British protest will be lodged. It was expected that the Senate would reach consideration of the Canal Bill some time during the closing days of last month, and Senator Brandegee, of Connecticut, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Inter-Oceanic Canals, who had the bill in charge, acknowledged the British telegram without promising delay in the consideration of the measure. It was stated that the full text of the British representations would be laid before the Senate about the first of the present month. The two points referred to, it had been publicly stated in Great Britain, would mean, in the opinion of the British government, a violation of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, negotiated in 1901 and proclaimed the next year. In this treaty it was agreed specifically that the canal should be open to vessels of all nations on "terms of entire equality," and that there should be "no discrimination in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic or otherwise."



LORD HALDANE BIDDING GOOD-BYE TO MR. CHURCHILL AFTER A
"STRATEGY CONFERENCE" IN THE BRITISH WAR OFFICE

(Since this photograph was taken—late in May—Lord Haldane has left the War Office for the Lord High Chancellorship)

Perhaps a
Case for
The Hague

Since the proclamation of this treaty the land through which the canal passes has become American territory. President Taft and his advisors, moreover, particularly Secretary of War Stimson, after careful investigation, have committed themselves to the openly expressed categorical assertion that "the United States has full right to regulate traffic in the manner provided in the pending bill." There will undoubtedly be a cordial, if not lively, exchange of diplomatic notes when the full text of the British protest is known. It is not anticipated, however, that any real

disagreement will come out of the matter. Great Britain occupies a position of exceptional interest and influence in the matter of the Panama canal, and she will undoubtedly be supported in her representations by Germany and France, and perhaps other European powers. On the other hand as the *Pall Mall Gazette*, of London, puts it: "England recognizes the entire reasonableness of the American contention that, having supplied the capital and the skill to build the canal, Americans have the right to every consideration not conflicting with the treaty obligations of the United States." Any radical difference of opinion which could not be reconciled by diplomacy, would, of course, find pacific and dignified expression at The Hague.

Settling Down
in the
Caribbean

The death of General Evaristo Estenoz, the Cuban rebel leader, in battle on June 27, practically put an end to the insurrection which devastated Eastern Cuba for many weeks, and, as we pointed out last month, threatened to precipitate another American intervention. On July 10 President Gomez asked the Congress to repeal its enactment declaring the Province of Oriente under martial law, and most of the American battleships sailed for home.

The elections in the Republic of Panama passed off in the main quietly, although one American soldier was killed in an altercation with the police in Panama City, accidentally, it is claimed. The returns from the municipal elections which determine the general results show that Dr. Belisario Porras has been elected president of the republic for the next four years. Meanwhile the government of President Madero, who has the support of the great mass of the Mexican people, seems to be putting down the Orozco insurrection, and the news from the rest of Caribbean America is of a quieter sort than for some time past.



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

A STREET SCENE IN THE CITY OF PANAMA

(This shop of Maduro shown in the picture was one of the polling places during the recent presidential election)

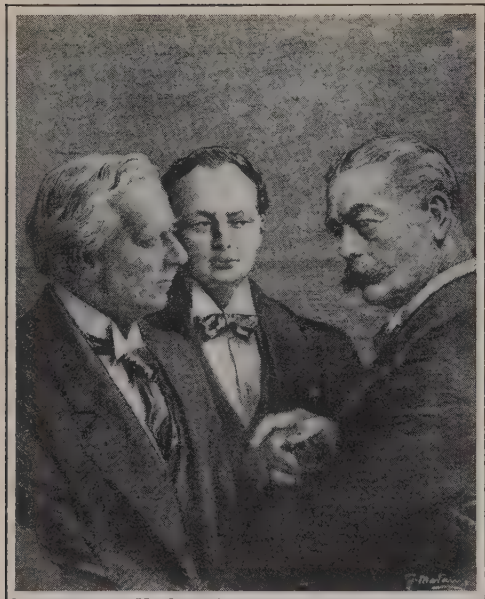
British Home Affairs

In the fourteen bye-elections held in Great Britain during the first half of the present year, the Liberals lost one seat. They had increased votes, however, in the districts retained, and considering the crucial character of the politics that are characterizing Britain's progress at present, the government is generally conceded to have done well. Liberal finance has made an enviable record. Thanks to the budget making ability of Mr. Lloyd-George, all obligations have been met, and there has been a reduction of £78,000,000 of the national debt. Several of the most important problems confronting the government are still unsolved, including the "votes for women" issue and syndicalism. To the latter we refer more in detail in one of our Leading Articles this month. Irish Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment are still wending their laborious way through the House of Commons. The government, moreover, has introduced a new bill to simplify all parliamentary suffrage by abolishing plural voting, doing away with university representation,

and so wording the law that women also may vote. Several important changes have taken place in the Ministry during the past weeks, the most noteworthy being the transfer of Lord Haldane from the head of the War Department to the Lord High Chancellorship to succeed Lord Loreburn. Lord Mersey's report upon the loss of the *Titanic* declares that the speed of the vessel was the direct cause of the accident. It goes on to say that the crew should have been better organized and that the lifeboats should have been "filled to full capacity." It further recommends that all vessels should be equipped with Marconi apparatus with operators always on duty. The regulations of the Board of Trade are declared to be "antiquated and inadequate."

Mediterranean Politics

With the descent of Italy's war-ships upon the North African coast the Mediterranean once more assumed its historic character as the center of Europe's contending ambitions. Ever since the beginning of Rome's supremacy the Middle Sea has been one of the



BRITAIN'S PREMIER, THE HEAD OF HER NAVY AND
HER WATCHDOG IN EGYPT—ASQUITH,
CHURCHILL AND KITCHENER

(From a sketch made by the artist of the *London Sphere*
during the Malta Conference)

chief highroads along which the great powers of the world have pursued their policies of war or alliance. Statesmen have dreamed of making it a French and Italian or an Austrian "lake," as their own nationality might inspire their patriotism. Since the first years of the past century, however, when Britain checked the grandiose schemes of Napoleon by her victories in Egypt and her acquisition of Malta and Cyprus, the Mediterranean has been dominated by British power. Before the breaking out of the Turco-Italian war there seemed no possible challenge of Britain's supremacy. She held Gibraltar on the West, Egypt and Suez on the East, with Malta and Cyprus in between. The *Entente Cordiale* with France connoted the acquiescence of Spain. With Morocco, Algeria and Tunis under French domination, the Austrian navy in embryo, Turkey and Greece impotent on the sea, Egypt in her own hands, and Italy, if not actually an ally, at least friendly, the Mediterranean was indeed well-nigh a British lake.

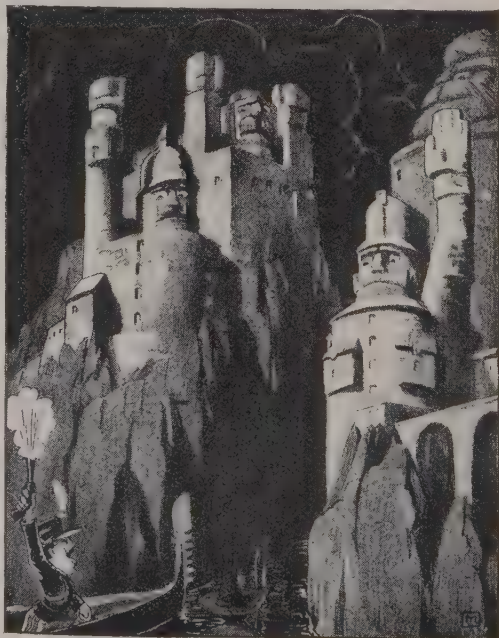
*Upsetting the
Balance in the
Middle Sea*

All this time the advance of German sea power was hastening the day when Britain must choose whether she would withdraw part of her naval force from the Mediterranean in order to be secure against the German threat in the

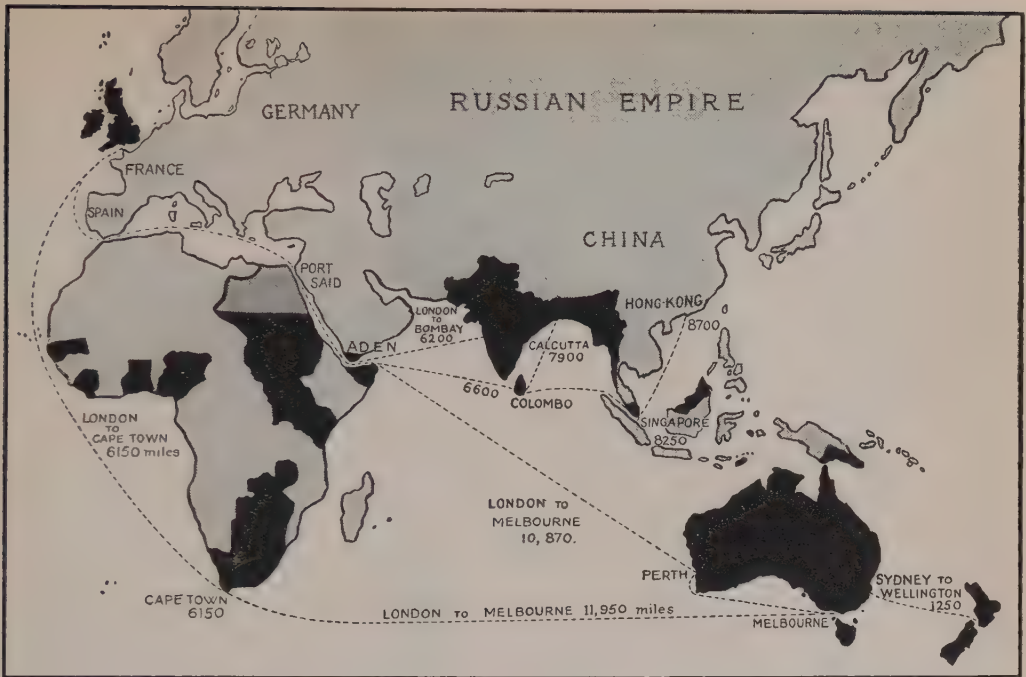
North Sea, or make some shift by which she would assign to another power the maintenance of the balance in her favor in the Middle Sea. Just when the German warship program had brought the Fatherland in its building so uncomfortably close to Britain that some of the graver English reviews were insisting upon "either agreement or strike," the Italians, attacked Tripoli, and the whole balance in the Mediterranean was upset.

*Britain's
Interest
at Stake*

The preservation of the equilibrium of the Mediterranean is the question of the hour in the European foreign offices. On the satisfactory settlement of the problems presented by it depends the peace of the continent. No nation is more vitally concerned in this than Great Britain. Indeed, if a general understanding on this question is one of the immediate aims of European diplomacy, it is one of the vital questions in English foreign policy. During the first week in June, at the suggestion of Lord Kitchener, a conference was held at Malta. Premier Asquith, Mr. Winston Churchill, the First Lord of the British Admiralty, and the British Consul-General at Cairo himself together with a number of prominent generals and admirals discussed all phases of the Mediterranean question. The proceedings were secret, but it is reported that they resulted in the deter-



THE GREAT POWERS OF EUROPE, GUARDIANS OF THE
DARDANELLES, WARN ITALY TO KEEP OFF
From *Kikeriki* (Vienna)



THE STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF THE MEDITERRANEAN ROUTE TO THE SAFETY OF
THE BRITISH EMPIRE

(A glance at this map will show the points in favor of the Mediterranean-Suez route to India and Australia over that round the Cape of Good Hope. The distance from London to India via Suez is approximately the same as from London to Cape Town alone. With the Mediterranean closed to her, or even not under her domination, "an immense traffic would be lost to England, the interior line to India would be gone, Malta and Egypt exposed, the cruisers of the Triple Alliance might get into the Indian Ocean by way of the Suez Canal and interfere with the movement of reinforcements from Australia and Canada and bring down the Empire with a crash")

mination of the British admiralty to withdraw a certain portion of British naval strength from the Mediterranean to add to that in the North Sea; and to transfer to the French navy the task of maintaining the dominance of the *Entente Cordiale* in the Middle Sea.

*The Effect
on the
Empire*

Britain realizes that she must protect her route to India, but so great has the burden of warship building become that she cannot keep pace with German advance in the North Sea unless she retires from the Mediterranean at least some of the naval force she has long maintained there. There has been a good deal of criticism of this move. Admiral Lord Charles Beresford, the well known fighting admiral of the British navy, has been writing to the London newspapers protesting that if the conclusions of the Malta conference be carried out, in a few weeks' time England will have in Mediterranean waters no more than four second-class battleships based not on Malta but on Gibraltar; that in addition the

garrison at Malta is deficient in numbers and guns, and that in fact England has at last abandoned her traditional policy of maintaining naval supremacy on the main road to India. Admiral Mahan has said that if the interior line to India is lost, Malta and Egypt are exposed and the British Empire falls to pieces. The extent of Britain's confidence in France in this matter is realized when we consider the present status of things in southern Europe. Two Mediterranean powers are now at war; the Dardanelles has already been closed; and the Ottoman government has announced its intention of closing it again to the ships of all Europe; Italy has seized many of the islands in the eastern Mediterranean; Crete is in a state of ferment; and an actual state of war extends from Sicily to Aden.

*Efforts to End
the Turco-
Italian War*

The Italian attack on Tripoli and seizure of the Egean Islands threatens to take the preponderance of power in the Mediterranean from France and England and give it to the Triple Alliance. That this is being dimly realized by



A NEW PORTRAIT OF THE POPULAR GERMAN KAISER AND SOME OF HIS FAMILY

(This photograph, taken a few months ago, shows the Kaiser in one of his favorite roles—that of family man. At his side is his only daughter, Princess Victoria Louise, just completing her twentieth year. Beside her is the eldest son of the Crown Prince of the Empire—Prince Wilhelm Frederick, aged six. On the lap of the Empress are two more of the Kaiser's grandsons, sons of the Crown Prince, Ludwig Ferdinand, aged five and Hubertus, aged three. The Kaiser himself is in his fifty-fourth year.)

European chancelleries can be seen by three recent moves on the chessboard of continental diplomacy. These are a radical increase in Austria's army; French sympathy openly expressed for Turkey; and the pro-Italian declarations of Russia's Foreign Minister, Dr. Sassonov. Last month the German Kaiser and the Russian Czar had one of their periodical love feasts in the Baltic. At the little town of Baltischport on the Gulf of Finland near the city of Reval, in the presence of their ministers and generals in full regalia, the German and Russian monarchs discussed the general European situation, particularly the Italian-Turkish war. The

Kaiser's chief concern, it is further alleged, is to assure the neutrality of Russia in the event of an Anglo-German conflict. This, we are told, was discussed at Baltischport.

Last month the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Berchtold, went to Berlin to discuss the question of ending the Mediterranean war and this month it is expected that Premier Poincaré of France will visit St. Petersburg on a similar mission. It is evident that the telegraph and post will not do as mediums for the discussion of matters of this importance. The personal contact of the men who have in charge the peace of Europe seems to be necessary. The recent appropriation by Russia of more than \$600,000,000 for a new Russian navy is considered by the Turks to be a menace to them since it probably means Russian insistence upon the opening of the Straits. Furthermore, there are the ever troublesome Cretan question, the Albanian uprising, only temporarily suppressed, and Bulgarian activity in Macedonia, which was renewed this spring with increasing virulence. Altogether there are more volcanoes in eruption on the horizon of European

politics than for some years past.

*Turkish
Determi-
nation*

France, it is reported, has been for some time sounding the neutral powers as to their probable attitude on a peace conference to settle the war between Italy and Turkey. The semi-official journals of Paris, like the *Temps* and the *Debats*, do not consider that there is much hope of an early settlement. Turkey would undoubtedly insist that the main discussion be upon the status of Tripoli, and Italy would not enter the conference at all if her present possession of that province were put in dispute. The Turks, if we may judge from

their newspapers, are in no mood for any interference. Any attempt to dictate to them would probably lead to a supreme struggle in which, although Turkey would be undoubtedly annihilated in the end, there would be witnessed scenes that would make the world shudder. Europe is fully aware of the Turk's power of resistance. Besides, the Turkish press reminds us, there are the more than 300,000,000 Moslems all over the world who regard the Turkish Sultan as their Caliph and whose fighting ability is held in great respect by all Asiatic powers, particularly France and Great Britain. These countries understand perfectly well that their influence in North Africa would be in danger if any undue pressure were brought to bear upon Turkey. Morocco has already given France as much trouble as the republic can well withstand, and the British position in India and Egypt is far from secure.

*Italy and
Pan-Hellenic
Ambitions*

It was not at all difficult to foresee the effect on the Greek mind of the Italian occupation of Rhodes and the other islands of Turkey in the Egean Sea. The first result was to reawaken certain Hellenic ambitions which otherwise would necessarily have remained dormant, being tinged with not unjustifiable mistrust of Italian intentions. What these are the Italian government is skilfully concealing for the present. At one moment it seems inclined to indulge the Pan-Hellenic ambitions of their inhabitants, mostly Greeks of these islands; on the other hand it lets it be inferred that they are only being held as hostages against the Turkish recognition of the Italian occupation of Tripoli and against a possible demand by Turkey for pecuniary compensation in return for such recognition. There is also a suspicion abroad in a section of the European press that Italy designs establishing her authority throughout the Eastern Mediterranean wherever the escutcheons of Venice and Genoa are found. This would carry her flag to Crete, Cyprus, the islands she now holds, many points of the coast of Asia, and even to Constantinople itself. Against such a course at least three of the Great Powers of Europe would not only protest but act energetically, namely, Russia, France and England. Austria certainly would not view it with favor, to say nothing of the Greeks of the kingdom and the governments of the other Balkan States. But the Pan-Hellenists are hoping that Italy is pulling the Egean chestnuts out of the fire for them, particularly the Egyptian wing of the party which has

sent deputations to Rome and Athens to urge the annexation of the islands to Greece, or at least to unite them in an autonomous State.

*Rome, Athens
and the
Great Powers*

Under what seems certain to prove a delusion, the Greek population of the islands have received the Italians as liberators, forgetful of the historical fact that in 1669 the Greeks of Crete welcomed the Turks as liberators from the tyranny of Venice. The grievance which the islanders have against the new régime in Turkey is that they are called on by it to contribute in person to the common defense of the empire of which they form part. From the time of Selim II. (1566) and Solyman II. (1687) the Sporades group have enjoyed privileges which the Turkish government has not infringed, and the Young Turk Party maintains that the obligation of military service which has been accepted by the other Christian races of the empire cannot be called oppression and is not a ground for grievance. But the ultimate decision as to the future of the occupied islands is not with Athens or Rome or now with Constantinople. It depends on the decision of the European Powers, and to all appearances they seem as regards the islands to lean to the policy of the *status quo ante bellum* and to regard the question of the islands and Tripoli as entirely separate. At the same time it is recognized that the Italian occupation of the Sporades has raised a question difficult to deal with. The Greek Prime Minister, M. Venizelas, refuses to be carried away by the appeals of the Egyptian and insular Pan-Hellenists, and is reported to have informed their deputations that the matter of their memorials to Rome is one that must be left to the Greek government to deal with at the fitting time and opportunity.

*Italy
and the
Straits*

The attempts of Italy to force some power to interfere in her behalf, by first forcing the Dardanelles and then occupying these comparatively undefended Turkish islands of the archipelago, were failures. The first resulted in the defeat of the Italian fleet's attack by the outer forts of the Strait, and damage to the war ships. The second has created another problem which will trouble the European Powers more than Turkey and will add to the dangers of the Eastern Question. It is the political status of the Egean Islands, belonging to Turkey as the vilayet of "Bahri-Sefid," to which we have already alluded. Whatever may be the intentions of the government at Rome, the Italian press does not hesitate to promise

its readers that these islands—at least one or two of the most important ones—will be “annexed” by Italy. The Italian ambition to annex them to Italy is likely to prove as vain as the Pan-Hellenic dream of absorbing them into Greece.

*Attitude of
England and
France*

Great Britain has already made polite but energetic protests to Italy about these islands and considering that Italy has not followed up her threat of occupying the northern islands of Chios and Netelin, it is to be presumed that the Consulta—the Italian foreign office—has thought the matter over. During one of his recent declarations in the House of Commons, Sir Edward Grey gave to understand that Great Britain intends to continue her strict neutrality in the war and that by the Treaty of Cyprus, in 1877, she is obliged to guarantee to Turkey the integrity of her Asiatic provinces. Perhaps still more definite and pronounced are the declarations of Premier Poincaré of France “assuring both belligerents of the strict neutrality of the Republic” and asserting “that her traditional friendship toward Turkey, with the great interests which France as a great Moslem power has in North Africa, cannot allow her government to do anything but observe the strictest neutrality toward both.” The Turkish press considers these declarations as very reassuring, inasmuch as France’s ally and Turkey’s traditional enemy, Russia, has, since the opening of hostilities, shown by her acts and the declarations of her Foreign Minister, Sassonov, that she has some agreement with Italy and is ready at any time to interfere with the object of forcing Turkey to accede to the demands of the Italians.

*What are
Russia's
Designs?*

The eternal question of the opening of the Dardanelles, which Turkey closed for two weeks to the commerce of the world and which affected Russian shipping and commerce greatly, but which were subsequently opened by Turkey’s own free-will and not through foreign pressure; the invasion of Persia by the Muscovite Bear and the presence of large bodies of Russian troops in the Caucasus, the unsuccessful proposal by Russia to convene a peace conference at St. Petersburg, to agree on Tripoli, in the spirit of Italy’s wishes; the recall of her Ambassador Tcharikov from Constantinople, (noted in these pages in May,) a man considered friendly to the Young Turks and opposed to the adventurous

policies of the Czar’s camarilla; the pro-Italian declarations of Foreign Minister Sassonov,—all these have served to create the impression that Russia is desirous of helping Italy at the expense of Turkey and that the Czar’s government, anxious to regain the military and diplomatic prestige lost in Manchuria, would not hesitate to go to war and draw her ally and friends in the West as well as in the Balkans into a general European conflagration in order that the “coup de grace” might be given to Turkey. France, however, is not so anxious to play the game of her ally. The demands of Russia on France through her Ambassador at Paris, M. Iswolsky, who as Foreign Minister was the friend of Italy, have stirred all Europe and France by showing the possibility that the bonds of the Franco-Russian Alliance have become loosened.

*Austria's
Army
Increase*

It has been Austria’s ability—and willingness should the opportunity occur—to exert herself and bring about concerted pressure upon Italy that has been one of the chief factors in the foreign policy of the kingdom of Victor Emmanuel since the beginning of the war. Austria is making steady progress in the direction of a more weighty influence in the military councils of the continent. The military reforms which for more than a year have been the cause of bitter controversy in both Hungary and Austria have been finally settled. All political parties have for a long time been convinced that an increase in the peace effective of the Austro-Hungarian army was a necessity, but the minor nationalities jealously scrutinized the government proposals which seemed to infringe on their rights. That the new army law was carried through peacefully in Austria was due in large measure to the influence of the aged Emperor, but had it met with other delays a serious crisis was inevitable, for the government, on the authority of the “emergency” clause of the national constitution, was determined to put it in force even without the consent of parliament. This military reform is designed to avert the drying up, to use the phrase of the former Minister of War, Baron Schoendich, of the Austro-Hungarian army.

*How
It Helps
Germany*

Its importance may be estimated by comparing the present with the future figures of the armed forces of the two countries. Up to the present time the two States jointly have called up annually 103,100 men for three years’ serv-

ice. The new law prescribes the number of conscripts at 159,500, all for two years' service. The increase is more than double what the new military law in Germany will give the German army. The peace effective of the Austro-Hungarian army which is now 290,000 will be raised to 350,000; and the war effective from 900,000 to 1,500,000. But perhaps the most important reform effected under the new law is that in the military penal code. It is almost unbelievable that the code actually in force is that of the time of Maria Theresa, or to be more exact, of Charles V., in 1519. Summary and oral procedure will take the place of indirect and written process, and in public as in civil law, so as to bring the military courts more into conformity with modern ideas. Heretofore Austro-Hungary has been the only one of the great European powers which kept out of the rivalry in armaments, but recent events and the exigencies of her political and military alliances have forced her into line. Because of this increase in the military establishment of the Dual Monarchy, the value of the Austro-Hungarian alliance to Germany has now become greatly enhanced.

Protecting
British Trade
Routes

It is said that at the Malta conference alluded to above Lord Kitchener called the attention of Premier Asquith and Mr. Churchill to the fact that the Italian attack upon Tripoli had resulted in serious political and commercial conditions in Egypt. Riots of grave proportions have taken place in Cairo and Alexandria, and business conditions have suffered. There was also the recent plot against the lives of the Khedive and Lord Kitchener. The Egyptian nationalists are becoming impatient under the restraints which prevent their joining their Mohammedan brothers in Tripoli against the Italians. On another page this month we quote some English opinions of Kitchener's position and achievements since becoming British Resident-General in Egypt. England's stern, fighting man at Cairo, who has been called her watchdog, standing on the road between Europe and Asia, informed the British statesmen at the Malta conference that he was much concerned about the insecurity of commerce in the

Egean caused by the action of the Italian fleet. The British garrisons in the Egean, at Malta and at Gibraltar have hitherto been based upon the theory that the British possessions in the Mediterranean would make their position invulnerable. Lord Kitchener is believed to have emphatically protested to Premier Asquith and Mr. Churchill against any international combination which would leave the British strategic points in the Mediterranean insufficiently protected and expose her trade routes to India and the East to the attacks of ambitious continental powers. A reference to the map on page 159 will show the significance of Lord Kitchener's point of view.

Convicting
the
Camorra

After a trial lasting almost sixteen months, a unanimous verdict was returned on July 8 in the case against the Camorrists for murder in 1906. Nine of the prisoners were condemned to imprisonment for thirty years for complicity in the murder; sixteen for from six to nine years for instigating the murder and for belonging to a criminal association. It has been an extraordinary trial and the outcome was not fully expected. It may be said that a system and a tradition, as well as a gang of murderers was on trial at Viterbo, the little town a few miles north of the Italian capital. The Camorra, a secret society mainly composed of the poorer criminal classes banded together to evade or defy the law, has, for more than a century, supplied most of the disreputable and able criminals of Italy. It has defied the Italian government; and by its ramifications all over the world, and its "foreign affiliations," known variously as the Black Hand and the Mafia, it has terrified widely scattered portions of the civilized world. It took courage, ability and patience of an unusual order to convict these criminals, and the Italian system of criminal procedure has triumphantly vindicated its vitality and efficiency. The trial at Viterbo brought out testimony which would fill a library. It lasted no longer than many a less important case before an Anglo-Saxon court, but it will be chiefly remembered as the victory of a modern government by law over a survival of organized lawlessness.





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THE SPECIAL COMMISSION WHICH IS ARBITRATING THE WAGE DISPUTE BETWEEN THE LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS AND THE EASTERN RAILROADS

(Top row, from left to right; Daniel Willard, president of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad; Otto M. Eidlitz, former president of the Building Trades Employers' Association; Albert Shaw, editor of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS; Patrick H. Morrissey, representing the locomotive engineers. Lower row, from left to right; Charles R. Van Hise, president of the University of Wisconsin; Oscar S. Straus, former Secretary of Commerce and Labor [Chairman]; Frederick N. Judson, the St. Louis lawyer)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From June 12 to July 15, 1912)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

June 12.—The Senate adopts an amendment to the Legislative, Executive and Judicial appropriation bill, repealing the law creating the Commerce Court.

June 13.—The House accepts the conference report on the Army appropriation bill.

June 15.—The Senate Committee on Territories reports a measure creating a legislative assembly for Alaska.

June 18.—The House passes an amendment to the Sherman anti-trust law which would enable the government, in its prosecution of the coffee combine, to seize 900,000 bags of Brazilian coffee stored in New York.

June 21.—The House passes the Sundry Civil appropriation bill (\$109,577,414).

July 1.—A resolution is passed in both branches, extending through July the appropriations of the last fiscal year.

July 2.—The House again passes the Army appropriation bill, omitting the clause affecting Major-General Wood's tenure of office.

July 3.—The Senate rejects the House bill revising the chemical schedule of the tariff.

July 5.—The Senate passes the Naval appropriation bill, with an amendment providing for the construction of two battleships.

July 6.—The Senate begins its final discussion of the Lorimer case, Mr. Dillingham (Rep., Vt.) defending the majority report of the special committee, which exonerated Mr. Lorimer (Rep., Ill.).

July 10.—The House discusses the Sulzer bill creating a Department of Labor.

July 11.—The Senate receives the protest of Great Britain against the provision of the Panama

Canal bill which permits American ships to use the canal free of tolls; Mr. Lorimer (Rep., Ill.) severely criticizes President Taft, ex-President Roosevelt, and others who have been active in the efforts to unseat him. . . . The House, by vote of 222 to 1, impeaches Judge Archbald of the Commerce Court; the Clayton measure, providing jury trials in cases of indirect contempt of court, is passed.

July 13.—The Senate, at the close of a three-days speech by Mr. Lorimer (Rep., Ill.) in his own defense, declares his election invalid by reason of corrupt methods and practices employed.

July 15.—In the Senate, Mr. Burton (Rep., Ohio) and Mr. Root (Rep., N. Y.) begin the debate upon the Panama Canal bill, urging adherence to the terms of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty in the matter of tolls.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

June 12.—R. H. Thomas, former president of the Clearing House in New York City, testifies before the Congressional "money trust" investigating committee concerning J. P. Morgan's efforts to end the panic of 1907. . . . Theodore Roosevelt announces his conversion to the cause of woman suffrage.

June 13.—The United States Circuit Court, at Wilmington, Del., orders the dissolution of the so-called Powder Trust.

June 14.—The Secretary of Commerce and Labor approves the new regulations requiring lifeboat accommodations for all persons on board ocean liners.

June 15.—Theodore Roosevelt arrives in Chicago, to take personal charge of the contest for the control of the Republican Convention.

June 17.—President Taft vetoes the Army appropriation bill, because of radical legislation embodied therein. . . . In the Maine primaries, Edwin C. Burleigh wins the Republican nomination for United States Senator, and William T. Haines for Governor; Senator Gardner and Governor Plaisted are renominated by the Democrats. . . . The National Packing Company, the so-called Beef Trust, informs the Department of Justice that it will dissolve by August 1.

June 18.—The Republican National Convention begins its sessions at Chicago; Elihu Root is chosen temporary chairman. . . . Harland B. Howe is nominated for Governor by the Vermont Democratic Convention. . . . The Interstate Commerce Commission begins an inquiry into the alleged monopoly in the transportation of anthracite coal.

June 19.—The Taft contesting delegates in the Republican National Convention are, by vote of 564 to 510, permitted to vote upon one another's cases.

June 20.—The New Hampshire Constitutional Convention, in session at Concord, rejects a proposed amendment granting the suffrage to women.

June 21.—Two Taft contesting delegates from a California district are seated in the Republican National Convention, contrary to the State law, Roosevelt having carried the primary. . . . William J. Bryan appeals to prominent Democrats to join him in an effort to prevent the selection of Alton B. Parker as temporary chairman of the Democratic National Convention. . . . The House Judiciary Committee unanimously decides to report articles of impeachment against Judge Robert W. Archbald, of the Commerce Court. . . . The New Hampshire Constitutional Convention adopts an amendment permitting the Legislature to impose a direct tax on the incomes of public-service corporations.

June 22.—William Howard Taft and James Schoolcraft Sherman are renominated for President and Vice-President, respectively, in the Republican National Convention; Theodore Roosevelt, who refused to permit his name to be presented to the convention as constituted, is later nominated as the Presidential candidate of a new Progressive party, at a meeting held in Orchestra Hall, Chicago.

June 25.—The Democratic National Convention begins its sessions at Baltimore; William J. Bryan, as leader of the "progressive" wing, is defeated for the temporary chairmanship by Alton B. Parker.

June 27.—Allen M. Fletcher is nominated for Governor of Vermont at the Republican State Convention. . . . Congressman Louis B. Hanna wins the Republican gubernatorial primary in North Dakota.

June 28.—In the Democratic National Convention, the first ballot for the Presidential nomination results in 440 votes for Champ Clark, 324 for Woodrow Wilson, 148 for Judson Harmon, and 117 for Oscar Underwood; eleven additional ballots are taken without result. . . . The Interstate Commerce Commission suspends proposed increases in excess-baggage charges on railways.

July 1.—President Taft nominates William Marshall Bullitt, of Louisville, to be Solicitor-General of the United States.

July 2.—Governor Woodrow Wilson, of New Jersey, is nominated for President on the 46th ballot in the Democratic National Convention at



HON. GEORGE WINGFIELD, OF NEVADA

(Who has been appointed to succeed the late George S. Nixon in the United States Senate)

Baltimore; Governor Thomas Riley Marshall, of Indiana, is chosen for Vice-President. . . . The Ohio Republican Convention nominates Judge Edmond B. Dillon for Governor and endorses the Taft administration.

July 3.—A. Piatt Andrew resigns as Assistant-Secretary of the Treasury, attacking the efficiency of Secretary MacVeagh. . . . President Taft leaves Washington for his summer home at Beverly, Mass.

July 5.—The Indiana constitution, as drafted and adopted by the State Legislature, is declared unconstitutional by the Indiana Supreme Court.

July 7.—A call is issued at New York City, signed by sixty-three men representing forty States, summoning delegates to a national Progressive convention to meet in Chicago, on August 6, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President.

July 9.—Charles D. Hilles, Secretary to the President, is chosen chairman of the Republican National Committee and will manage the Taft campaign.

July 12.—The National Prohibition Convention, in session at Atlantic City, nominates Eugene W. Chafin for President and Aaron S. Watkins for Vice-President.

July 14.—The Interstate Commerce Commission makes public the results of its investigation into the business of the great express companies,

and orders sweeping reductions in rates and changes in methods.

July 15.—William F. McCombs, of New York, is chosen by the Democratic National Committee to serve as chairman and direct the campaign of Woodrow Wilson for the Presidency.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

June 12-14.—The Cuban government troops, under General Montegudo defeat the insurgents in several engagements near Santiago.

June 13.—Temporary provision is made in France for the free importation of wheat. . . . King George, upon the occasion of his birthday, creates peers of Sir Francis Channing, General Nicholson, and Lord Carrick.

June 17.—The Mexican revolutionists report that they have repulsed an attacking force of federal troops near Bachimba.

June 18.—Six hundred Cuban rebels under General Estenoz set fire to a plantation near Guantanamo; the flames are extinguished by United States marines.

June 19.—A government measure is introduced in the Argentine parliament, providing for a high-power wireless service under state control.

June 25.—Gen. Pascual Orozco, the Mexican revolutionary leader, offers to surrender if amnesty be granted to him and his men. . . . José Ramirez, a former cabinet minister, is assassinated at San Juan del Sur, Nicaragua.

June 27.—The Cuban insurgent leader, Gen. Evaristo Estenoz, is killed in an engagement near Santiago. . . . President Yuan Shih-kai accepts the resignation of Tang Shao-yi as Premier of China.

June 30.—Lu Cheng-Hsiang, Minister of Foreign Affairs, is appointed Premier of China.

July 2.—The Chinese National Assembly passes the first reading of a bill placing the post-office under exclusive Chinese control, entailing the dismissal of 150 foreign employees.

July 3.—The Mexican revolutionists under General Orozco are decisively defeated in a battle south of Chihuahua, leaving 1700 dead and 2900 wounded. . . . The British Board of Trade's inquiry into the cause of the *Titanic* wreck comes to an end.

July 4.—Robert L. Borden, the Canadian Premier, is warmly welcomed on his arrival in London.

July 5.—The Mexican federal troops take possession of the city of Chihuahua, evacuated by the rebels. . . . Press censorship in Mexico is removed, the government believing the revolution to be under control.

July 6.—Rumors of a Royalist uprising in northern Portugal cause the government to send a warship to Oporto. . . . The Norwegian Storthing passes the \$5,000,000 naval budget.

July 8.—The trial of the Camorrist leaders at Viterbo, Italy, comes to an end, having lasted seventeen months; eight of the men are sentenced each to thirty years solitary confinement, and the others to shorter terms.

July 9.—The Portuguese army reserves are called out in the northern districts to suppress the Monarchist uprising. . . . General Garibaldi resigns his command of the Mexican federal volunteers in Sonora.

July 10.—After a discussion lasting nearly a year, the French Chamber of Deputies passes an

electoral reform bill based on proportional representation. . . . Chevket Pasha resigns as Turkish Minister of War. . . . Portuguese Royalists burn the city of Braga. . . . Robert L. Borden, the Canadian Premier, is the guest at a great banquet of the Colonial Institute in London.

July 11.—The commander of the Cuban government troops in Oriente Province declares the rebellion at an end. . . . Amnesty is promised by the commander of the federal troops to all Mexican revolutionists who surrender within thirty days. . . . The Portuguese rebels are severely defeated and retire to the mountains.

July 12.—A 24-hour strike is declared at Zurich as a protest against loose immigration laws in Switzerland.

July 13.—David Lloyd-George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, is assaulted in London by an opponent of his national insurance scheme.

July 14.—Dr. Belisario Porras is elected President of Panama without opposition, the candidate of President Arosemena having withdrawn. . . . Five members of the Chinese cabinet resign, including the Minister of Finance.

July 15.—The National Insurance Act goes into effect in Great Britain; 30,000 dock laborers at Liverpool and Birkenhead refuse to pay the tax, and go on strike.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

June 12.—A strong force of Turks and Arabs is repulsed with heavy losses from the Italian position at Homs, Tripoli. . . . Chief Willis L. Moore, of the United States Weather Bureau, outlines in London a plan for the creation of an international weather and storm bureau.

June 13.—The visiting German battleship squadron ends its stay at the port of New-York.

June 20.—Representatives of the six-power group of bankers reach an agreement at Paris in the matter of the proposed \$300,000,000 loan to the new Chinese republic.

June 25.—China rejects the terms of the proposed international loan.

June 28.—The Italian forces in Tripoli report an engagement with Turks and Arabs at Sidi Said, in which 200 of the latter are killed.

July 3.—Costa Rica requests the United States Government to lend her the services of Colonel Goethals and his Panama Canal staff, to devise plans for constructing harbors and forts on its Pacific coast.

July 4.—The German Emperor and the Czar of Russia meet at Baltic Port, Russia.

July 9.—The Italian forces in Tripoli report another victory over Arabs and Turks, at Misratah.

July 10.—At the request of the American consul at Hermosillo, Mexico, the War Department sends rifles and ammunition to protect Americans there.

July 11.—Great Britain protests against the provision in the Panama Canal bill, before the United States Senate, which would permit American ships to use the canal free of tolls.

July 13.—Great Britain further protests to the United States against the provision in the Panama Canal bill which bars railroad-owned ships from the Canal.



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THE SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS OF THE BALTIMORE CONVENTION

(From left to right: Thomas J. Walsh, William Jennings Bryan, Governor Foss of Massachusetts, Senator O'Gorman of New York, and Senator Pomerene of Ohio)

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

June 12.—A monument to Alexander III is unveiled by the Czar at Moscow.

June 14.—Three men are killed in conflicts between striking laborers and deputy sheriff at Perth Amboy, N. J. . . . A record price for cattle, \$8 a hundred, is reached at Chicago.

June 16.—More than thirty-five persons lose their lives in wind storms which sweep over Missouri, Ohio, Indiana, and western Pennsylvania.

June 17.—The London dock strike comes to an end, the workmen's ballot being against its continuance. . . . London's annual international horse show is opened at Olympia.

June 19.—President and Mrs. Taft observe the twenty-sixth anniversary of their marriage.

June 21.—An earthquake in Costa Rica causes a snow storm in tropical weather.

June 23.—Porto Rican health officials report the recent death of seven persons from bubonic plague. . . . The business section of Canning, Nova Scotia, is destroyed by fire. . . . The collapse of a dock on Grand Island throws more than 200 persons into the Niagara River, a score of them being drowned.

June 24.—The sentences of imprisonment passed upon Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell, and Frank Morrison, for contempt of court, are reaffirmed by the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, the British suffragettes, are released from prison after serving approximately one month of their nine-months' sentences. . . . Hundreds of houses are destroyed by fire at Chicoutimi, Quebec, the loss amounting to \$2,500,000.

June 27.—It is learned that the British Government has arranged for the construction of five high-power wireless stations, at a cost of \$3,000,000 to establish a complete around-the-world service. . . . United States army surgeons are sent to Porto Rico to check the bubonic plague.

June 28.—The Zeppelin dirigible balloon *Schwaben I* is destroyed by an explosion at Düsseldorf. . . . A successful women-suffrage parade is held in Baltimore.

June 29.—Rev. Stephen Newman, D.D., is chosen president of Howard University.

June 30.—The city of Regina, capital of Saskatchewan Province, Canada, is struck by a tornado; more than fifty lives are lost and property damaged to the extent of several million dollars.

July 1.—Harriet Quimby, the woman aviator, loses control of her machine at the Boston aviation meet, and, with W. A. P. Willard, a passenger, is killed. . . . The spread of the foot-and-mouth disease in Ireland causes a rigid quarantine in northern England and the close of cattle markets.

July 2.—The dirigible balloon *Akron* explodes during a flight at Atlantic City, killing its builder, Melvin Vaniman, and the four other members of its crew. . . . The cornerstone of the new School of Journalism, at Columbia University, is laid by Mrs. Joseph Pulitzer.

July 3.—A series of recommendations concerning the use of wireless at sea is adopted at the closing session of the International Radio-Telegraph Conference in London.

July 4.—Thirty-nine persons are killed and sixty injured, when an express train crashes into a stalled passenger train on the Delaware, Lacka-

wanna & Western Railroad near Corning, N. Y. . . . New flags, with two additional stars for the States of Arizona and New Mexico, are raised on all government buildings.

July 5.—Twenty-six persons are killed and thirty injured in a rear-end collision between a passenger car and a freight train on the Ligonier Valley Railroad, at Wilpen, Pa.

July 6.—The fifth revival of the Olympic Games is formally opened by King Gustav in the stadium at Stockholm. . . . At the meeting of the National Education Association, at Chicago, unsatisfactory reports of the condition of rural schools are made.

July 7.—The American athletes at the Olympic Games win the pentathlon and all three places in the 100-meter dash.

July 8.—In the Olympic Games, America wins the high jump and all three places in the 800-metre race.

July 9.—Explosions in the Cadeby Colliery, at Coniseborough, England, cause the death of thirty miners and fifty members of a rescuing party. . . . A fleet of 315 British warships is assembled for maneuvers off Spithead. . . . William Dudley Foulke is reelected president of the National Municipal League at the meeting in Los Angeles.

July 10.—E. T. Fairchild, of Topeka, Kansas, is elected president of the National Education Association. . . . Twenty-one deaths from bubonic plague in Porto Rico have been reported to date.

July 13.—The American athletes at Stockholm win the standing high jump, the 400-metre run, and the 3000-metre team race. . . . The Paris police department adopts a scheme for traffic regulation suggested by William Phelps Eno, the American authority.

July 14.—Thirteen passengers are killed and twenty injured in a rear-end collision on the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad near Chicago. . . . The Marathon race, a feature of the Olympic Games, is won by K. K. McArthur, of South Africa.

July 15.—The special arbitration commission which is to adjudicate the wage dispute between the locomotive engineers and the Eastern railroads, meets in its first session at Manhattan Beach, New York. . . . On the closing day of the Olympic Games, James Thorpe, the Carlisle Indian, wins the Decathlon, or all-around championship contest.

OBITUARY

June 12.—Frederic Passy, the noted French economist and peace advocate, 91. . . . Howard Malcolm Dow, the well-known organist, 75. . . . Harry George Burgess, the illustrator, 44.

June 13.—Bernard Carter, a prominent Maryland lawyer, 78.

June 15.—William Watson Goodwin, professor emeritus of Greek literature at Harvard University, 81.

June 16.—Henri Jean Baptiste Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, director of the Institute of France and a noted author, 70. . . . Thomas P. Anschutz, a prominent Philadelphia artist, 61.

June 17.—Major Eli H. Janney, inventor of a car coupler in general use on steam railroads, 79. . . . Hugh McDowell, of Pennsylvania, a delegate to the first national Republican convention, 97.

June 18.—John Henry Holmes, formerly editor and publisher of the Boston *Herald*, 69.

June 20.—General Edward Stuyvesant Bragg, commander of the "Iron Brigade" in the Civil War and later a Congressman from Wisconsin and minister to Mexico, 85. . . . General Michael Kerwin, a former police commissioner of New York, 75.

June 21.—Adam Monroe Byrd, formerly Representative from Mississippi, 62.

June 22.—Henry B. Cleaves, a former Governor of Maine, 72. . . . Uriah S. Jackson, Sergeant-at-Arms of the House of Representatives, 66. . . . Benjamin F. Brown, an expert in life insurance statistics, 70. . . . Nelson Taylor, the book publisher, 61.

June 24.—Field Marshal Sir George Stuart White, noted for his defense of Ladysmith against the Boers, 76. . . . Ex-Congressman David M. DeWitt, of New York, 75.

June 25.—Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, the noted artist, 76 (see frontispiece). . . . Julia Richman, a well-known district superintendent of public schools in New York City, 56.

June 26.—Anthony Higgins, formerly United States Senator from Delaware, 71.

June 27.—Brig. Gen. George G. Greenough, U. S. A., retired, 68.

June 28.—George B. Cluett, the collar manufacturer. . . . Frank Furness, a prominent Pennsylvania architect.

June 29.—Dr. Edward Brooks, for many years superintendent of public schools in Philadelphia, 82.

July 1.—Henry Arden, an authority on patent law. . . . Dr. M. G. Milovanovich, Prime Minister of Servia.

July 2.—George B. Swift, a former mayor of Chicago, 66. . . . Rev. Dr. James Russell Miller, the noted Philadelphia pastor and editor of Presbyterian publications, 72. . . . John A. Pettigrew, superintendent of parks in Boston, 68.

July 3.—Major Gen. Robert F. Hoke, a noted Confederate officer, 75.

July 5.—George R. Malby, Representative from the Twenty-Sixth New York district, 54. . . . Dora Greenwell McChesney, author of fiction based on the English civil wars, 41.

July 6.—Amory A. Lawrence, a prominent cotton manufacturer of Boston, 64.

July 7.—Mrs. Sarah S. Platt Decker, the noted woman-suffrage leader.

July 8.—Hugh J. Chisholm, a pioneer wood-pulp manufacturer, 64. . . . Robert Wiedemann Barrett Browning, son of Robert and Elizabeth Browning and himself a well-known artist, 63. . . . Bryan Callaghan, mayor of San Antonio, Texas, for fourteen terms, 60.

July 9.—Col. W. C. Connelly, Jr., a well-known Associated Press correspondent, 56.

July 11.—Jonathan Haralson, formerly Associate Justice of the Alabama Supreme Court, 81.

July 12.—Orville Briggs Stacy, for many years professor of natural sciences and mathematics at the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, 80. . . . Stewart S. Neff, an authority on engineering and transportation, 54.

July 13.—Gen. Henry M. Duffield, a veteran of the Civil and Spanish wars, 70.

July 15.—Henry Fink, a prominent railroad director, 81. . . . Rev. Dr. Thomas Hume, a noted Southern educator, 76.

CARTOONS OF THE CAMPAIGN



Copyright by John T. McCutcheon

"AN INSPIRING CEREMONY"
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)

THE Republican National Convention at Chicago furnished the subject for many thousands of newspaper cartoons, the great majority of them having for their main idea the forcing through of a particular program by those in charge of the convention. Mr. McCutcheon, of the *Chicago Tribune*, in the cartoon above, likens the Coliseum proceedings to a wedding ceremony, the nomination bride being unwillingly forced to take a man she does not love. To the "guests" who

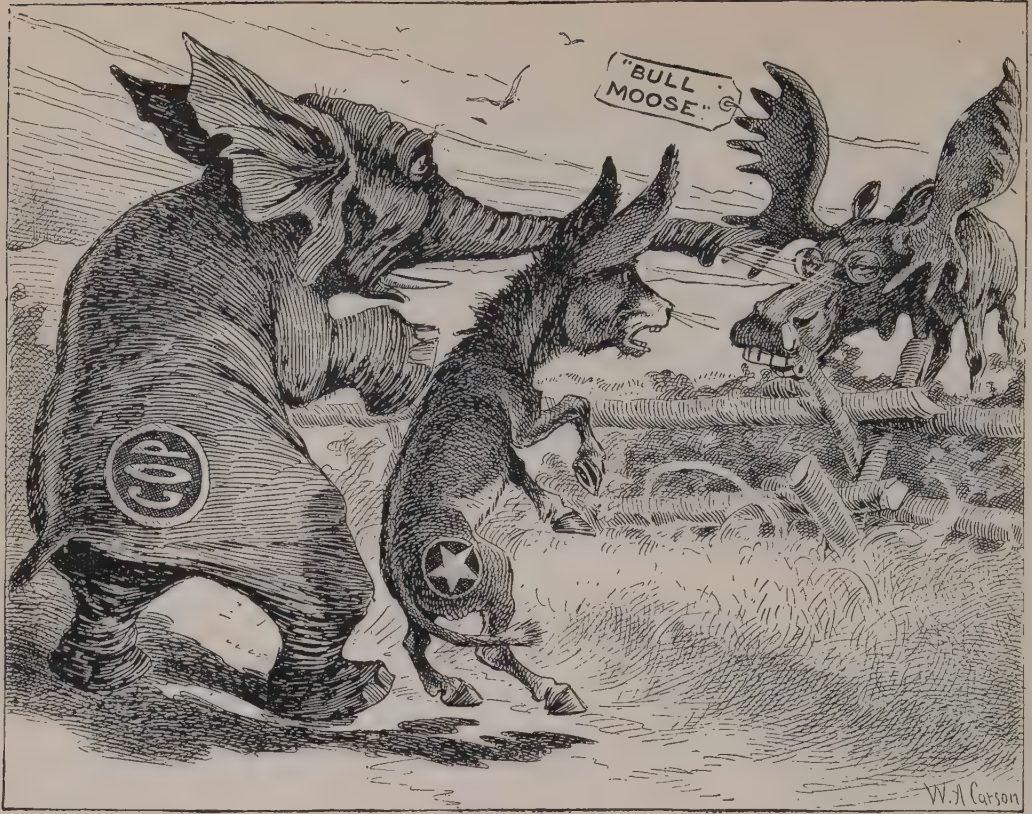
looked on at Chicago, as well as to the country at large, the wedding—to use McCutcheon's words—was most ironically "an inspiring ceremony." Robert Carter of the *Boston Journal*, pictures the National Committee as gentlemen of the Bill Sikes stripe, boosting Oliver Twist Taft into the nomination window, while Morris of the *Spokesman-Review*, compares the nomination to an egg of dubious flavor, a statement from the White House to the contrary notwithstanding!



OLIVER TWIST AND THE BILL SIKES COMMITTEEMEN
From the *Journal* (Boston)



THE BAD EGG SERVED UP TO THE PRESIDENT
From the *Spokesman-Review* (Spokane)

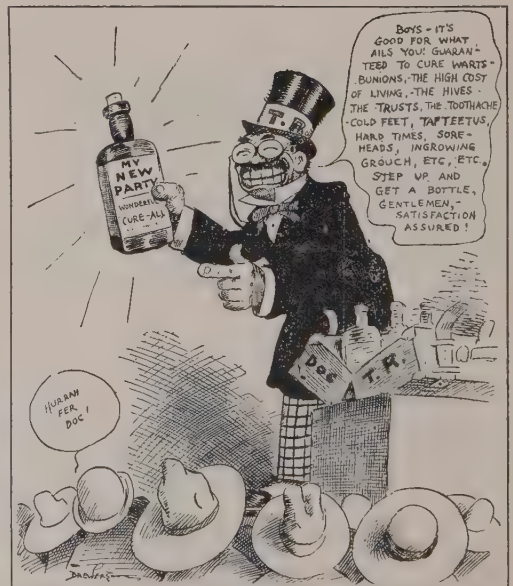


THE APPEARANCE OF THE NEW PARTY IN THE POLITICAL FIELD
From the *Saturday Globe* (Utica)

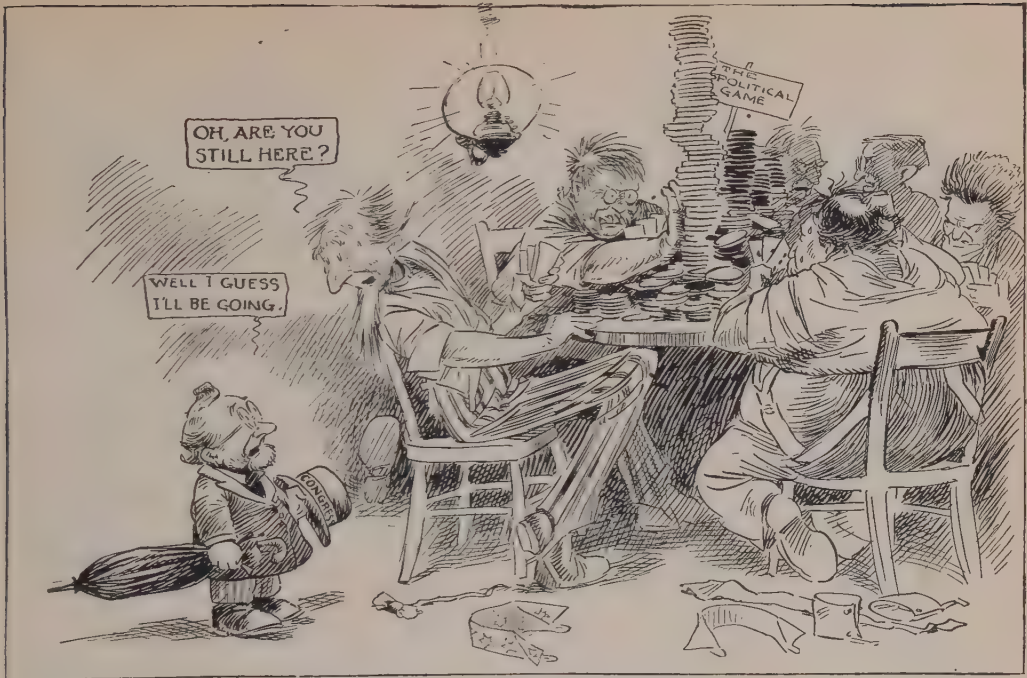
The new party of course brings with it its favorite expression of Colonel Roosevelt's, symbol, the "Bull Moose," adapted from a "I feel as strong as a bull noose."



THE NEW BABY
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)



THE MEDICINE MAN
From the *Journal* (Atlanta)

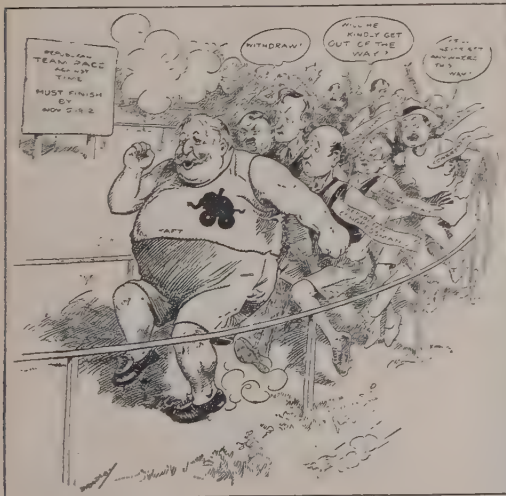


SPEED THE PARTING GUEST—CONGRESS

From the *Pioneer Press* (St. Paul)

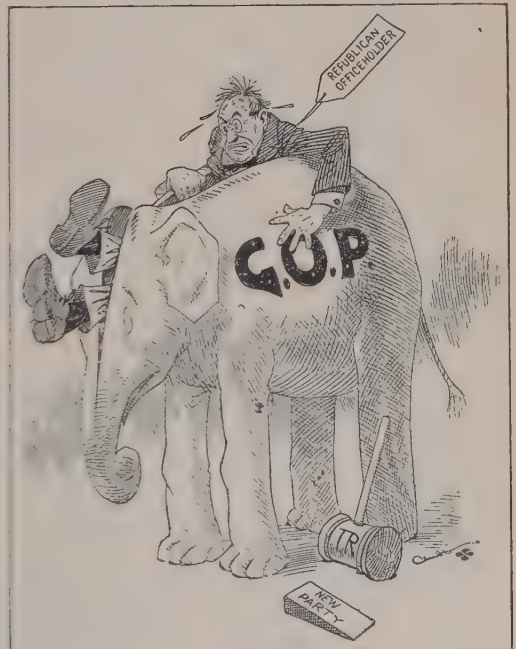
While primary campaigns and conventions absorbed public attention, Congress has kept steadily to its duty at the National Capital, although it will now doubtless soon take its well-earned rest. The Republican Congressional candidates who are dissatisfied with Taft as a "pacemaker," and fearful of their chances, were largely responsible for the talk last month of petitioning him to withdraw.

The officeholder is similarly in gloomy spirit, for with the party split, he is uncertain with which side to cast his lot.



DISSATISFACTION WITH THE PACEMAKER
(As the race looks to certain nervous runners)

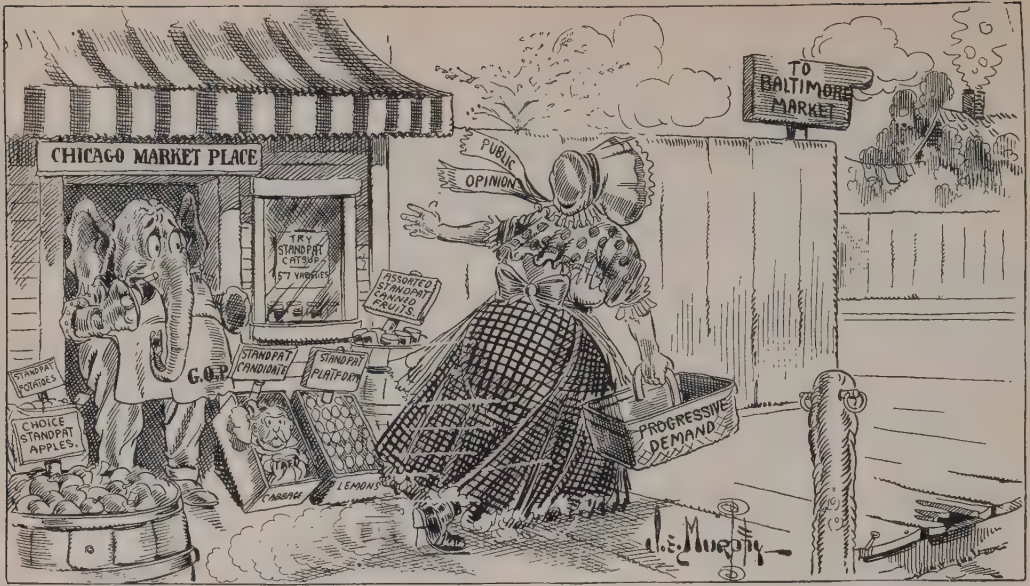
From the *Daily News* (Chicago)



TRAPPED

(The Republican officeholder embarrassed by the split in his party)

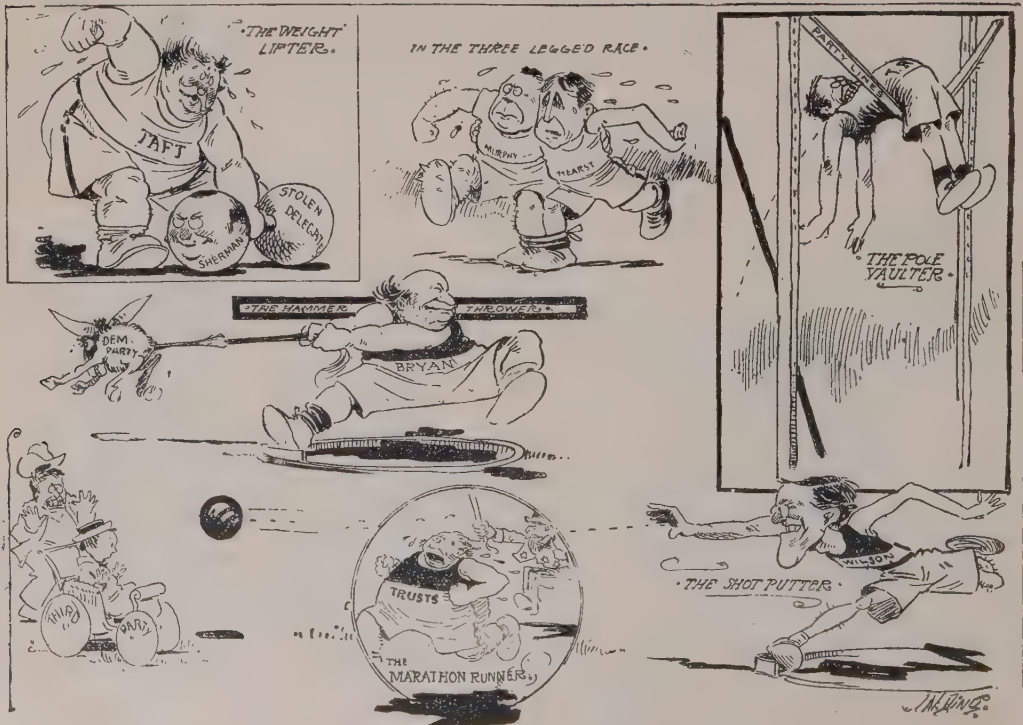
From the *Herald* (Rochester)



BUSINESS IS GOING TO BE DULL IN CERTAIN QUARTERS!

From the *Journal* (Portland, Ore.)

Strenuous efforts will no doubt be made by the G. O. P. storekeeper to hold the nation's trade, but those who stocked the store will have only themselves to blame if the public goes elsewhere for the kind of goods it wants. You cannot expect to satisfy "progressive" purchasers if you load up your shelves with "standpat" wares.



OUR OWN POLITICAL OLYMPICS

From the *Globe* (New York)



THE OLD SHOWMAN AND THE TIGER
From the *Herald* (New York)



"WHOEVER PASSES HERE MUST FIRST SALUTE THIS
BANNER!"

From the *Leader* (Cleveland)

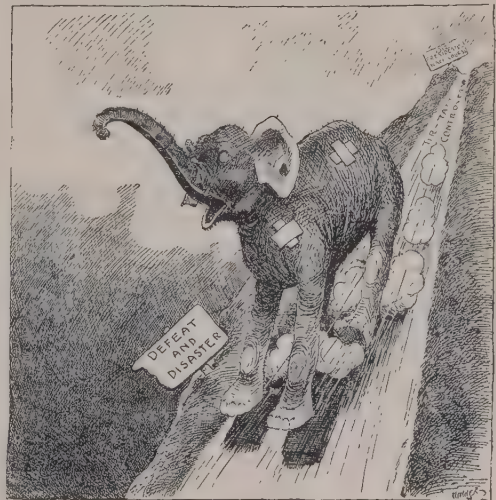
It was a heroic battle the "old Showman" Bryan offered to the "Tiger" at the Baltimore Convention when he boldly taunted the Tammany delegates with being wax figures, and denounced with thunderous eloquence the efforts of "the interests" to control the convention. With no organization behind him, and with no official influence, Bryan, like a

lone crusader,—a veritable Richard of the Lion Heart and the mighty battle ax—hurled his tremendous strokes at the heads of the assembled delegates, till the enemies of progressive principles bent before his powerful blows.



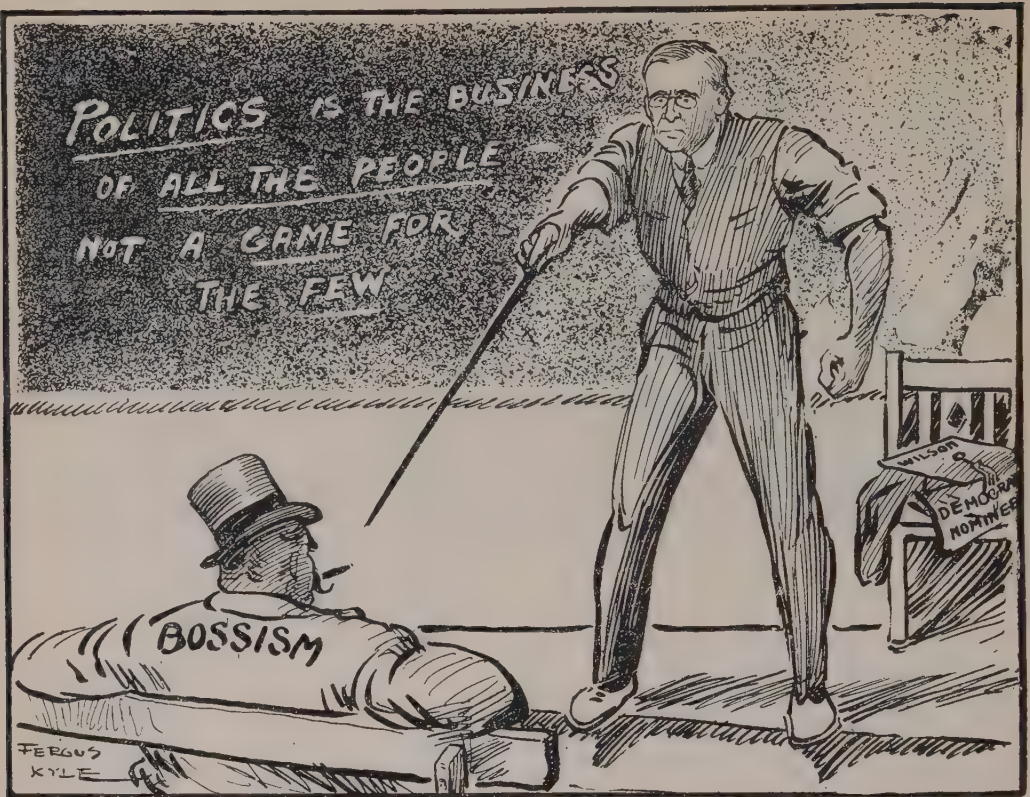
MISS DEMOCRACY: "NOW IF I CAN JUST HOLD THEM
TOGETHER!"

From the *Journal* (Sioux City)



THE RACE COURSE IS ALSO A TOBOGGAN

From the *Post* (Pittsburgh)



THE PROFESSOR: "WE'LL TAKE THIS LESSON AGAIN TO-MORROW, AND THE NEXT DAY—AND THE DAY AFTER THAT"

From the *Globe* (Toronto)

Woodrow Wilson—"the schoolmaster in politics"—has a splendid lesson on his black-board, but a rather unpromising pupil.



THE NEW JERSEY MOSQUITO—WILL HE STING ONE OR BOTH?

From the *Pioneer Press* (St. Paul)



WILSON—THAT'S ALL!

From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis)



THE PRESIDENTIAL STRUGGLE

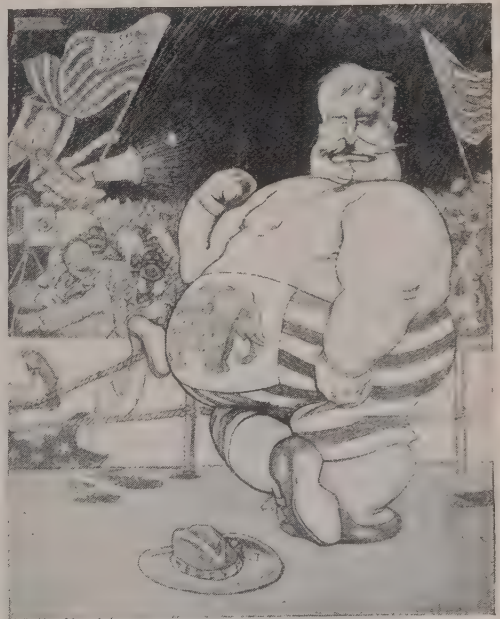
The contestants breaking down their prestige in the course of the struggle
From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam)

On this page and the one immediately following are presented some cartoons from national political situation. Many of the foreign periodicals. These are interesting as foreign cartoonists liken the Presidential



A "FOUR-ROUND" FIGHT

This four-paneled cartoon also views the primary contest for the Presidential nomination as a prizefight, showing the blows given back and forth, ending in a victory for Roosevelt
From *Der Wahre Jacob* (Stuttgart)



THE TAFT-ROOSEVELT MATCH

("Big Bill" an easy victor,—knockout in the first round—the "Hat" still in the ring)
From *Kladderatsch* (Berlin)



PLATFORM AMENITIES

PRESIDENT TAFT (Conductor of the White House Express): "You can't go on this train."

COLONEL ROOSEVELT: "Well, if I can't, you sha'n't!"
From *Punch* (London)

struggle to a prize-fight, due doubtless to the athletic vigor of Colonel Roosevelt and to some of the pugilistic expressions that have been used in the course of the contest. The cartoon from London *Punch* pictures the contest as a railroad platform struggle between the conductor of the train (Taft) and a would-be passenger (Roosevelt). To represent the Presidency as "the White House Express" is not inappropriate, but to put Taft in the position of conductor apparently assigns to him the authoritative right to



ROOSEVELT AS THE "EMPEROR" OF AMERICA

"Yes, my dear Napoleon, we two are good Republicans!"
From *Jugend* (Munich)



"MADE IN AMERICA"

In the opinion of *Jugend*, Taft's election will never take place. Long before that can happen Roosevelt will have reduced his opponent to canned corned beef.

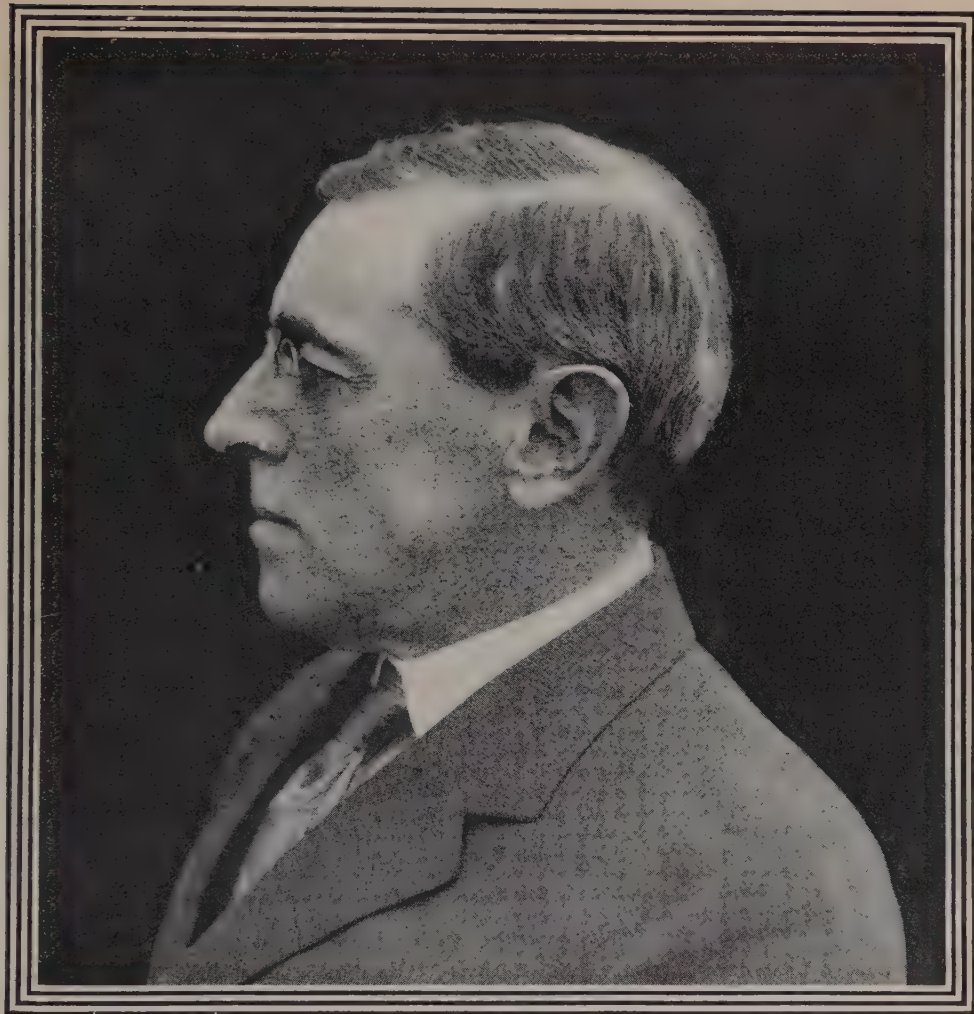
From *Jugend* (Munich)

board the train, whereas, in the present contest, he is simply on a level with every other candidate, all having to wait until the people present one of them with the proper "ticket."



THE PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES

Taft a plump tidbit for Teddy
From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)



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GOVERNOR WOODROW WILSON OF NEW JERSEY, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S NOMINEE
FOR PRESIDENT

(Governor Wilson was born at Staunton, Va., on December 28, 1856; he was president of Princeton University from August 1, 1902, to October 20, 1910; his term as Governor of New Jersey began on January 17, 1911, and will expire on January 14, 1914)

WOODROW WILSON,—A CHARACTER SKETCH

BY HENRY JONES FORD

(Professor of Politics in Princeton University)

THE most salient characteristic of Woodrow Wilson is a love of fun. This is what most impressed me when I first got to know him over a dozen years ago, and that early impression has been often renewed since. When our acquaintance began I was an editor and had a notion that college dons were persons of starchy behavior, so I was surprised, although pleased, by the eagerness with which he seized upon the humorous aspect of any situation. It was at the meeting of a learned society that brought together a number of university men and I had prepared myself for something of a didactic ordeal. But as



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THE WILSON FAMILY AT SEA GIRT, N. J.

(From left to right: Miss Eleanor Randolph Wilson, Miss Jessie Woodrow Wilson, Miss Margaret Woodrow Wilson, Mrs. Wilson, Governor Wilson)

soon as the regular exercises were over, Wilson started out to tell stories, relate anecdotes, and carry on a discursive conversation that for candor, logic, and incisiveness made me think of Johnson's table talk, when the great Cham was in a genial mood and talked English instead of Latin. I noticed that although his talk was manifestly an improvisation, his thoughts came with their clothes on. There was a balance to his periods revealing an instinctive sense of form, and his diction was terse and idiomatic. This spontaneity of utterance is habitual. His dignity is allowed to take care of itself, which it is abundantly able to do, as it is always present, although he does not seem to be aware of it.

A LOVER OF LIMERICKS AND STORIES

This love of fun crops out on every occasion. When he was nominated for Governor

of New Jersey the family experienced a shock from the downpour of publicity upon their home. The ladies winced under it before they learned that it is one of the things that goes in the day's work for the family of a man who is nominated to high office. But until they were hardened to it it was not always quite pleasant to read in the papers remarks upon the way in which Mr. Wilson's nose fits his face and his ears are adjusted to his head. But he himself got hold of a Limerick that seemed to him to express his position exactly, and he recited it with glee:

As a beauty I am not a star;
There are others more handsome by far.
But my face,—I don't mind it,
For I am behind it;
The people in front get the jar.

Whatever his experience may be he instinctively sees the funny side of things, and he returns from every excursion with a fund of amusement for the home circle just as a bee

brings honey to the hive. It is a very merry home circle. There seem to be no secrets there. The Governor speaks frankly and unreservedly upon any matter that may come up. His table talk takes a wide range. He is omnivorous in his reading and expansive in his mental curiosity. Intellectual narrowness is his great aversion. I have heard him describe the class of scholars who dwarf themselves by confinement to one subject as "ignorant specialists." Of Governor Wilson it may be said that whatever concerns humanity interests him, so at one sitting at his table one may hear talk of Kipling's latest poem, of Chesterton's most recent paradox, of football prospects, events in the religious world, the latest Limerick, the political myths by which people are imposed upon as regards the nature of our Constitution, the trend of contemporaneous philosophy, personal anecdotes, and interspersed throughout a lot of apposite stories.

Woodrow Wilson is not a story-teller in the usual sense of the term. He does not save up and give out funny stories just because they are funny, but his stories come up in his talk by way of illustration, and they possess logical pertinence. The newspaper correspondents at Sea Girt elicited a characteristic specimen at the time when there was much action at Baltimore without apparent progress. He compared his position to that of a man in an automobile who inquired how far it was to his destination and was told: "Twenty miles away." After riding on for some time he asked again and was again told: "Twenty miles." On he went again for a while, and on making fresh inquiry was again told that he was twenty miles away. "Well," he said, "at any rate I am not losing ground."

AN EXPERIENCE DRAMATIZED

He has a gift for dramatic narrative and can describe a scene in a way that brings it vividly before one. His propensity for humorous observation preserved him from tedium in the many formal proceedings in which he was called to take part because of his official position. They could not be so dull or so slow but that he could find something interesting or suggestive. He seems to be little or not at all exposed to boredom, and arrives fresh and buoyant at the end of what to most people would be a wearying experience. So far from being tired of it all, he may rehearse its humorous phases with dramatic gusto when he gets back to the hearthstone.



MRS. WOODROW WILSON
(Mrs. Wilson was Miss Louise Axson, of Savannah, Ga.)

I happened to be present when he gave an account of some public exercises in which he had taken part not long before. A presentation was to be made to some notable who was so crowded by the committee on the stage that he sat with his feet drawn tight to his chair and his high hat pressed close to his stomach under his clasped hands. The orator making the presentation speech was right in front, almost in physical contact, but as he pitched his voice so as to reach the audience the opening words—"Honored sir!"—came in a loud shout. The recipient of the attention was so startled that he made a jump that crushed in his hat like a concertina. The shout that Wilson himself gave in imitation of the strenuous orator rang through the house in a way that brought down some of the family to see what was the matter and to join in the fun.

This openness of conduct belongs to Woodrow Wilson by inheritance. Older members of the Princeton faculty who knew his father say he had the same freedom of spirit. A profound theologian, he was fond of jest and anecdote, was expansive in his sympathies and varied in his interests. In temperament Woodrow Wilson is said to resemble

his father closely. It is probably owing to this phase of his character that it does not seem to his friends that he takes a good picture. They are accustomed to seeing him with a twinkle in his eye, and with lines of good humor curving about his mouth and radiating from the corners of his eyes. But it takes contact with people to produce these manifestations. The face that the camera gets is that which has been modeled by Scotch-Irish ancestry and theological lineage, expressing gravity, seriousness, and determination. In the ordinary bearing of the man these qualities are latent but are not conspicuous as they are in his picture.

MUST A STATESMAN BE OWL-LIKE?

His humor is not broad, but dry and clean. His mind is not squeamish, but it is pure. His conversation is remarkable for intellectual copiousness. His mind is rich in ideas and he spends them freely in his talk. He says what he thinks without fear of consequences. These traits may not be such as are now ordinarily associated with political eminence, but that is because American political conditions are now peculiar. The statesmen who made the Constitution and set up the government used to talk copiously and write voluminously. The notion that a statesman should be as silently wise as an owl and as gravely meditative as a cow has come in only since government by private arrangement has been substituted for government by public discussion.

WILSON'S LITERARY DISCIPLINE

He has extraordinary capacity for getting through work without strain or fret. This competency, while founded upon natural ability, is largely the product of intellectual discipline. When he adopted the career of a college professor, he deliberately set himself to work to train and improve his literary powers. He had already performed a rare literary exploit. His work on "Congressional Government," which has already become a political classic, was written as a doctor's thesis,—a class of composition which, however meritorious in other respects, rarely possesses literary distinction. Professor Bryce's "Holy Roman Empire" and Professor Wilson's "Congressional Government" are the only academic dissertations which in our time have achieved a place in general literature. As a college professor, Woodrow Wilson set himself assiduously to literary composition, working at it as a regular task,

whether he felt like it or not. The result was the appearance of a series of essays and treatises of permanent value. Incidentally he has brought his faculties under such control that they are always at his command, ready for obedient service at any time in any place. He has long had the reputation among publishers of a writer whose copy might be counted on to arrive at the very time for which it had been promised. That is not a common virtue among authors, as any editor will testify.

A POPULAR LECTURER

As a lecturer, he has experienced a development such as is not uncommon although rarely carried out with such completeness as in his case. At the beginning of his career as a college professor, he used to get up his lectures elaborately in their accumulations of fact and citations of authority. His well-known treatise on government, "The State," was made from the syllabi of lectures prepared by him. But as his mastery over the subject increased, he gradually modified his method until his lectures became rather a source of enlightenment than a means of imparting information. He holds that information without insight is of little value, and of late years his method has been to put a printed syllabus in the hands of his students and make his lectures an elucidation of the theme. The introduction of the preceptorial system at Princeton may be said to be an incident of his own mental development. That system makes the pupil a fellow student of the professor who guides the pupil's reading in the subject and who illuminates it from his own knowledge and experience. This method of treatment made Mr. Wilson's lectures intensely interesting to the students. He had his subject down under his feet so he could tramp all over it. He was not thinking of it; he was thinking of his students, that he might pour light into their minds until they could see for themselves.

The bored, apathetic look which is the regular thing among students undergoing the ordeal of confinement in a lecture room for an hour, vanished from Professor Wilson's classrooms. He addressed himself to their minds as a skilful lawyer does to the minds of jurors, explaining and illustrating points until he could see from their faces that they had grasped the subject. He would not leave any branch of his theme until he could perceive evidence of their comprehension, and if necessary would go over points again, restating, explaining, and illustrating until he



THE THREE DAUGHTERS OF GOVERNOR AND MRS. WILSON,—JESSIE WOODROW, MARGARET WOODROW, AND ELEANOR RANDOLPH

had made everything clear. The enjoyment that the students got from his lectures was very marked. A student remarked to me once that if a fellow cut one of Wilson's lectures he would be cheating himself.

QUALITIES AS A PUBLIC SPEAKER

His ability as a public speaker, now so marked, has also been greatly developed since the beginning of his career. At first he prepared himself carefully as regards his diction, and the framework of his speeches was rather formal. He had some natural diffidence to overcome, and, curiously enough, notwithstanding the extraordinary facility which he now possesses, a trace of it still remains. By practice his ability has been so developed that he now transcends that of an ordinary speaker as much as the agility of an athlete exceeds that of an ordinary man. But to this day he still feels a nervous tension in beginning that produces a feeling of "gone-ness" in the pit of the stomach. It disappears the moment he hears the sound of his voice. Then he loses all sense of personal consciousness in the exercise of his powers, so that the speech goes on almost as in a state of automatism.

All who have known him through a period of years note a progressive improvement as the result of industrious practice. He was always ready to speak before any of the students' organizations and would take pains to speak well. The St. Paul's Society and the Philadelphian Society are religious associations at Princeton whose members he has frequently addressed. There are various socie-

ties among the students devoted to literary, artistic, or political interests and his kindness and readiness in responding to their calls made him beloved. Year after year he was voted the favorite professor. His voice, always good, of late years has acquired a peculiar vibrant quality that carries its tones without strain or effort. He speaks very distinctly, and although his voice does not appear to be raised above a conversational pitch, it is heard without difficulty, whether in a great auditorium or in the open air. When he has to make an important speech, he prepares himself carefully as to matter and ideas, but he can safely trust himself to the occasion for his diction, which is unfailing in literary distinction. He has read so extensively and thought so deeply that he always has something to say, and he never has to fall back upon commonplaces. No man ever possessed in a more eminent degree the faculty of thinking on his feet.

A very striking example of his readiness was given toward the close of the primary campaign in Princeton. It was the day of Colonel Roosevelt's visit to Princeton, where he spoke to the students from the balcony of the Nassau Inn. Later in the same evening, the college boys and a number of the townsmen marched down to the Governor's residence. The Governor had come home that evening very tired, and I happened to know that he could have had no opportunity for special preparation. But as the cheers went up, he made his appearance in the doorway of his house, and started to make an offhand address. The crowd was immediately hushed to stillness and listened with quiet intentness.



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THE "LITTLE WHITE HOUSE," GOVERNOR WILSON'S SUMMER HOME AT SEA GIRT, N. J.

(It was here that the Governor received the news of his nomination at Baltimore)

It is a pity that no stenographers were present to take down that address, for it was one of the most masterly I have ever heard. It was not a party harangue; it went into matters deeper than that. Its mental horizon took the world movement in its sweep, and not alone American trials and difficulties. He put the issues of the times in their historic setting as a phase in the efforts of humanity to rise to higher planes of being. He held that the supreme test of the value of any institution is how it affects the value of life. After presenting the ideals that dignify the strife of politics, he pressed the question home whether there was not here something that appealed to every true man, something to work for that should inspire devotion and arouse energy. All this without any partisan appeal. The position which he took seemed too high for that; the scope of his vision was too broad for any sort of particularism. The remarkable thing about that speech to me was that it seemed to arouse feelings too deep for expression. He talked on simply, sincerely, earnestly, while the audience listened in a silence unbroken until he had finished. Then the cheers broke out. When primary day came the vote for Wilson in the students' districts was greater than that for Taft and Roosevelt put together.

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

In biographical matter now appearing about the Governor much is said of his athletic pursuits while an undergraduate, but it is safe to say that while they interested

him they never absorbed him. He is fond of out-of-door exercise of any kind, finding in that a healthful change from the occupations of his study. Some years ago he was very fond of bicycling, but of late years golf is his favorite game, just because of its distinctly out-of-door character. He puts in a good deal of time playing golf during his summer vacation, which he used to spend at Lyme, Connecticut. When at Princeton and he can find the time, he likes to play a round on the golf links there. In his personal habits he is abstemious. He neither smokes nor

drinks, and he does not serve wine on his table, although he provides cigars for guests who do smoke. Although spare in figure, he has a wiry strength, conserved by his lifelong habits of temperance in all things and replenished by a fine faculty for taking his rest. He is a good sleeper, and nothing that can happen seems able to agitate his mind or cause wakefulness. This makes him a good traveler. He can turn in and get his night's rest as usual as he flies across the country in a sleeping car.

From the freedom and variety of his conversation one would get the idea that his mind is very open to new impressions. This is the case, and yet at the same time his plans in all matters of importance are the outcome of a process of incubation. He is open to advice and likes to talk things over, but his conclusions are his own, and once formed they are firmly held. It is useless ever to approach him with any argument based upon his personal advantage or convenience. It must go to the merits of the case to receive his consideration. Tenacity of purpose is a very strong trait of his character. When he has determined upon any policy, he adheres to it with constancy and perseverance, no matter what obstacles may be encountered. His spirits are remarkably equable, neither elated by success nor discouraged by failure. He is very easy and democratic in his manners, meeting all sorts and conditions of men without reserve or precaution. His fellow townsmen instinctively regard him as a member of the community, approachable in any interest of the community by any member

thereof. There are, however, two kinds of people with whom he seems to enter into mental communion most readily. One kind includes just plain, common people, making no pretensions to learning but solid and honest in their intuitions and prejudices; from them he draws inspiration. The other kind includes people of ripe culture and wide information; from them he gets mental exercise through bouts of intellectual discussion.

Whatever he does, whether it be work or play or conversation, he does with a whole heart. He never dawdles. He is always eager, alert, animated, whether writing, lecturing, speaking, chatting or playing. Milton's famous passage about those who "scorn delights and live laborious days" is not applicable to him. He gets through a great amount of work, but his thinking machine is so well adjusted and runs so smoothly that its operation seems a functional satisfaction rather than labor. The quatrain that Robert Louis Stevenson put up in his study would be quite in place in Woodrow Wilson's study too:

This is the study where a smiling God
Sees day by day the path of duty trod.
My work He praises and He seems to say
The day is brief; be diligent in play.

ADMINISTRATIVE ABILITY

During his campaign for Governor it suited his political opponents to describe him as a man who had led a cloistered life so that he was unfamiliar with affairs and was wanting in administrative ability. Such a notion seemed very grotesque to those who knew Woodrow Wilson. It altogether misconceived the nature of a university president's work. The post calls for administrative ability of a very high order, and incidentally brings about contacts and acquaintanceships that put one in personal touch with all great national interests, whether business or political. The administrative problems that may engage a university president's attention involve men of exceptional ability and force, so that controversies, if they arise, are more than usually formidable.

Woodrow Wilson possesses in a singularly high degree the great administrative faculty of prompt apprehension of the true nature of a case, so as to disengage it from the irrelevant and adventitious and to guide discussion to sound conclusions. Whatever might be the matter coming up at faculty meetings, whether through a committee report or a



GOVERNOR WILSON WITH COLONEL M. COMBS, THE YOUNG PRINCETON GRADUATE WHO MANAGED HIS PRE-NOMINATION CAMPAIGN AND WILL BE CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

chance motion, his mind seized it at once, stating the case clearly and bringing out all its elements for consideration. At times he took an active part in debate. The speech he made in introducing the preceptorial system has become a faculty tradition as a model of perspicacity and force. His quickness of apprehension was also marked whenever he took part in a conference or was present at a committee meeting. No matter how complicated the subject, his mind seemed to bear effectively upon it at once, cutting into it like a circular saw into a knotty log. His apprehension extends to the points of view of all concerned, and he is particularly happy in removing differences by promoting clearer understanding.

This quickness of grasp and readiness of comprehension have been strikingly displayed during his administration as Governor. I was impressed by it during the height of the struggle in the Baltimore convention when it might have been expected that he would have felt the strain of suspense. On the Friday after the convention met, at a very critical juncture of his candidacy, I had occasion to visit him at Sea Girt on a matter of State business in company with a gentleman who

was interested in the case. No one could have imagined from the Governor's manner that he had anything important on his mind. He applied himself at once to the business, entering into its details with prompt appreciation.

During the legislative session, if he could get into conference with the parties to a controversy, it was remarkable how rapidly he could analyze the situation, present its elements, and suggest the solution. Under the parliamentary system he would undoubtedly have been a great leader, equaling Gladstone or Lloyd-George in capacity for expounding and advocating great public policies. So far as our political system admits of such exertion of personal influence he has been uniformly successful, and that explains the signal achievements of his administration. His dispatch of business is such that business never drives him. He seems always to have time to talk and to act with deliberation, whatever be the exigency, and when he is through he is through. The art of living on twenty-four hours a day was learned by him many years ago, and it stands him in good stead now. No man in public life keeps a cleaner desk or has clearer spaces of time for study and recreation in the intervals of official duty.

HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD RELIGION

The habitual cheerfulness and equanimity of his mind and his love of innocent fun are traits so persistent as to imply permanent moral foundations. It does not require much intimacy to discover of what these consist—namely, a deep religious faith, penetrating the whole nature of the man and informing all his acts. This is the source of that peace of mind which seems to make him immune to worry or trouble. He takes things as they come, makes the best of them, and abides by the event with simple and complete resignation to the will of God.

The idealism that has now entered into philosophy from fuller knowledge of the

implications of the doctrine of evolution was long ago perceived and appropriated by Woodrow Wilson.

I remember once being with him at a gathering in one of the students' clubs at Princeton when the conversation drifted around to religion. We were grouped about a big fireplace and the talk had been of a desultory character, with a jocose element predominating, when some mention was made of Herbert Spencer. Wilson caught the theme on the bound and before he got through with it he had turned Herbert Spencer's philosophy inside out, exposing the inadequacy of materialism and vindicating the Christian creeds as symbols quite as valid as any known to science. His attitude on such matters is ardent and positive, very different from the negative position sometimes assumed by college professors, whose attitude toward religion might be described as respect for a venerable social institution rather than sincere belief in its truth. Scholars of this kind are among those whom Woodrow Wilson is in the habit of classing as "ignorant specialists." Although a member of the Presbyterian Church by birthright, and regular in his attendance, he does not talk on such subjects along denominational lines; but he is quick to assert his Christianity and to claim for its dogmas a perfectly secure basis in logic and philosophy. One of the reasons why he enjoys Chesterton's essays is the cleverness with which that writer exposes the narrowness and obtuseness of scepticism.

No man since the days of Jefferson and Madison has been presented as a candidate for the Presidential office who has had such a profound knowledge of our political origins and constitutional history as Woodrow Wilson. Instead of holding that the Constitution needs to be changed to fit the times, Woodrow Wilson holds that the need of the times is to get back to the Constitution. The Constitution is choked by political growths from external influences, and its efficacy will appear when those are cleared away.



THOMAS R. MARSHALL, OF INDIANA

THE STORY OF HIS RISE FROM COUNTRY LAWYER TO GOVERNOR,
THEN TO VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

BY THOMAS R. SHIPP

FROM the standpoint of real happiness, it seems too bad to take a country lawyer out of his comfortable home in a county-seat town in Indiana and thrust him into the gruelling, social whirl of Washington. But that is just what the Democrats propose to do with Thomas Riley Marshall, Governor of Indiana, whom they nominated, at Baltimore, for Vice-President. For, if there ever was an example of that fine type of good citizen which is found in the county-seat cities in Indiana, it is the running mate of Woodrow Wilson.

"I have had no career," said the Governor to one of his interviewers who met him as he stepped off the street-car in front of the modest house he rents in North Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis, "and the story of my life is a short one."

The Governor was right, and wrong. An outline of his political life could well be set in a "stickful" of type—perhaps in less than that; but his real story, could it be told by one who could bring out the lights and shadows in the life of the country lawyer, would make a book. But the story would be a simple one—not crowded with ambition, or struggle, or strenuousness; it would be a story of a man's daily walk among the men and women who know him well. It would not be spectacular; there would be no gaudy coloring, no blare of trumpets; indeed, nothing extraordinary. There would be the shade of the soft maples, as George Ade says; there would be the law office over the dry-goods store in the brick block on the corner, the county court house in the public square, and, above all, his comfortable home with its veranda and "bay" windows, the shade trees out in front and the board walk back to the barn.

It is in such an atmosphere that "Tom" Marshall grew up. He went to Wabash College at Crawfordsville, came back home, studied law at Ft. Wayne, hung out his shingle, became, first one of the leading lawyers of his home town and, later, a man whose legal fame had spread throughout other

county seats, with their court houses in the middle of their public squares, the shade of their soft maples, and their comfortable homes.

To paraphrase Burns, it is "from scenes like these" the Hoosier Governor springs, he who is "loved at home, revered abroad," and who, if the Democrats should win the favor of the people this fall, would hold second place within the gift of the electorate of the United States. But whether Thomas R. Marshall becomes Vice-President or not; whether, if not, he should desire to become a Senator of the United States, or whether,—which is as good a bet as any,—he should decide to go back to Columbia City and the court house and his comfortable home, he will still be "Tom" Marshall, good neighbor, good story teller, good lawyer, good citizen, and good friend. And "Tom Marshall is a mighty nice little man," as an old lady who knew him well said, when she heard he was nominated.

Marshall's first rise to fame as a candidate for Governor was as unexpected to himself as to the people of Indiana. He had never before sought public office, except once when he wanted to be prosecuting attorney, back in 1880, and was defeated. He had gone ahead trying his law cases, and spending his summers at Petoskey, Mich. However, for two years,—1896 and 1898—he was chairman



"THE BRICK BLOCK" ON THE CORNER
(Governor Marshall's law office at Columbia City)

of the Democratic party in his Congressional district and in recognition of his services was rewarded with the reputation, "faithful party worker," which, in Indiana, has been a stepping-stone more than once to high public office.

"Jim" Robinson, the Democratic Congressman from the Twelfth District, had been in office so long that nearly everybody felt he was there "for keeps," but "Newt" Gilbert, now Newton W. Gilbert, acting Governor of the Philippines, came out and beat Jim. Two years later, the Democrats were looking over the field for a "crackerjack" candidate to beat Gilbert. They went to "Tom" Marshall. He turned them down but observed, incidentally, that he might run for Governor some day. When gubernatorial politics began to liven up in the summer of 1908, Marshall went up to Petoskey on his annual vacation as usual, and while he was away the Ft. Wayne *Journal-Gazette* came out with a two-column editorial declaration for Marshall for Governor.

"When I came back, I found I was a candidate," the Governor himself smilingly expresses it.

From that time, the Marshall boom grew until it swept the State, and, January 1, 1909, he became chief executive of Indiana. When he became a candidate, Marshall was not generally known through the Hoosier commonwealth, a fact that was, perhaps, in his favor, since other men who had been in the public eye had, as usual, been doing and saying things that could be used against them. When the people began to ask who Marshall was, they found, in the first place, that he was a grand nephew of John Marshall, the illustrious Chief Justice; that his father of revolutionary stock, was a physician in Wa-

bash County, Indiana, and that his mother was a Miss Martha Patterson, a direct descendant of Charles Carroll, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Pretty good start, the Hoosiers thought, so far as family was concerned.

When they began to look into Marshall's own life, as Hoosiers have a way of doing, they found that he had lived in the State since he was born, at North Manchester, Indiana, March 14, 1854, that he went to the

common schools, the same as any other boy, attended Wabash College, where he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in '73; came back home, took up the study of law, in the office of Judge Walter Olds, Ft. Wayne, and was admitted to the bar, at Columbia City, on his twenty-first birthday. He is yet leading partner in the firm of Marshall, McNagny & Clugston of that city. As heretofore related, he had not done much in a public way before he became Governor. He had, of course, accepted the duties



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MRS. THOMAS R. MARSHALL

and responsibilities that usually fall to a man of his prominence in the community. He had been a member of the city school board and was elected a trustee of Wabash College; he was a Presbyterian and taught a class in Sunday school—a thing he does yet—and he was a thirty-third-degree Mason. That was his "life and works." But those who were more interested in the man politically found that he had always been liberal in contributing to the campaigns of others, not only in speeches but in other substantial ways. In fact, generosity is a "Tom" Marshall trait. He never said much about it, but it is related of him that, when the schools began in September, he used to go down where the children passed and pick out a boy or girl here and there



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GOVERNOR THOMAS R. MARSHALL, OF INDIANA, DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE FOR
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

whose clothing was poor and scant, or who appeared as though it would be a hardship for their parents to purchase books. Somehow, it is related, these children a little later appeared with books and with clothing as good as the other average children. "Just one of Tom Marshall's notions," his neighbors said. Marshall has no children of his

own, but is a great lover of children and of young men, and it is reported that more than one ambitious but poor young chap who is now on the road to success, owes his college education to Mr. Marshall's generosity.

Marshall's local fame as a lawyer took him into other counties. When he addressed a jury, the court room was packed. His tender

and sympathetic nature often cropped out in his arguments. For instance, the story goes, he once was prosecuting a murderer for a crime that had been particularly brutal. Everybody expected him to demand of the jury that it bring in a verdict of death, but when it came to that part of his argument he hesitated and then asked the jury to put the man into the state prison for life. Since he has been Governor, he has exercised the pardoning power, and on the day this is written he gave freedom to three men and paroled seventeen others.

It was on one of his trips to an adjacent county seat that Mr. Marshall met the woman who is now his wife. It was in the clerk's office of Steuben County, where he went first to try law cases, that he met a most attractive young woman, Miss Lois Kinsey, daughter of the county clerk, who held a place in her father's office. Mr. Marshall tried a number of cases in Steuben County, and it was finally discovered that the *real*

"case" was in the clerk's office. So, to make a long story short, Mr. Marshall and Miss Kinsey became engaged and, to put an additional touch of romance to the engagement, Miss Kinsey herself made out the marriage license—but the Governor insists that it was not a "complimentary" one. He says he paid for it.

Mrs. Marshall, a woman of very attractive personality, is, her friends say, with all the honors that have come to her husband, the same "Mrs. Tom Marshall" that she was in Columbia City. In Indianapolis, the State capital, where the Governor must have his residence, Mrs. Marshall presides over a home that is out of the ordinary in homelike atmosphere. The visitor feels at once that it is a real home and guesses that Mrs. Marshall cares more for her home than she does for the more brilliant but less real life of society. Yet, as first lady of Indiana, she has conducted her social affairs in such an

able manner that no one who knows her well doubts her ability to meet the larger social responsibilities which would devolve on her as the Vice-President's wife. The Marshall home is a home of books, yet it is not "bookish." It is a home where, as one man said, "You feel like you would like to sit down and stay for supper."

If Governor Marshall should become Vice-President, the newspaper and magazine men would have difficulty in finding anything very spectacular about him. The Governor is not athletic in build. He is about 5 feet 8 inches tall, and weighs about 140 pounds. He is well groomed. He does not ride; he does not shoot; he does not play golf or any other athletic games; he does not know how to row a boat. But he does like a good game of baseball and he can tell you a good deal about "the team." He gets his main enjoyment out of reading and the field of his reading is wide. After he



GOVERNOR MARSHALL AND HIS WIFE AT THEIR HOME
IN COLUMBIA CITY



GOVERNOR MARSHALL AT HIS COLUMBIA CITY HOME

(From a photograph taken especially for the Review of Reviews after his nomination in Baltimore)

has had a long grind of duties in the Governor's office, he reads light books—detective stories and thrilling adventures—books which Dr. Woodrow Wilson would undoubtedly condemn as very trashy. Shortly before the nomination, a friend says he saw the Governor deeply engrossed in a volume entitled, "The Missing Finger."

Meredith Nicholson, the author, who is one of Governor Marshall's neighbors in Indianapolis, says "Tom Marshall is the best story teller in the United States." He has a large and varied fund of incidents which he

relates in a way that has given him a great reputation.

Governor Marshall is a man of ideas. Since he has been Governor, he has taken a stand on public questions which may be summed up as follows: He is opposed to a protective tariff and is likewise opposed to ship subsidy; he is against a federal inheritance tax, on the ground that it would interfere with the taxing power of the several States; he is for the election of Senators by the direct vote of the people; he is a firm believer in local self-government; he favors employer's liability law and, locally, has



THE GOVERNOR AND ONE OF HIS INTIMATES

taken a firm stand against book-making on Indiana race tracks. He was the author of the—in Indiana—famous "Tom Marshall Constitution," a proposed new Constitution for the State, which was knocked out by the decision of the Indiana Supreme Court on the day this sketch is written. It is said that the Supreme Court was ready to hand down this decision days before, but, anticipating Governor Marshall's nomination for Vice-

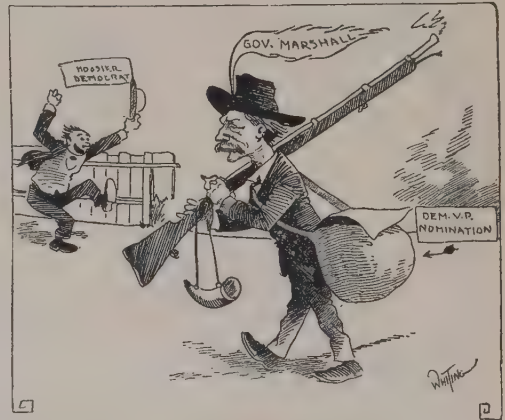
President, was courteous enough to hold it back until after the first flush of celebration was over of his victory.

Mr. Marshall bears his new honors modestly. The night of his nomination, a newspaper man went to his house at a very late hour and rang the front door bell.

The Governor was asleep and, even when awakened, he showed no sign of answering. Mrs. Marshall suggested that it might be news from Baltimore.

"Let 'em ring," was the Governor's sleepy answer.

But after a period, in which the reporter kept on ringing, more and more vigorously, the Governor, with some reluctance, appeared, clad in his pajamas, and thus learned of his nomination.



BAGGED BY A HOOSIER

From the *Tribune* (South Bend, Ind.)



GOVERNOR MARSHALL'S HOUSE IN COLUMBIA CITY, INDIANA

THE NOMINATING CONVENTIONS OF 1912

AT Chicago in June, 1912: Ten thousand determined Americans, ranged in two hostile camps, yet assembled under one roof; the opposing clans still known by a common party name, although for the one "Republicanism" has a wholly different meaning from that which it bears for the other; in external features, in outward form and semblance, a National Republican Convention,—the fifteenth quadrennial gathering of the series which began in 1856 with the nomination of Frémont; in spite of the clash of opinion and



VICTOR ROSEWATER

the collision of conflicting wills, a body bent to the very last on preserving the old American fetish of party regularity; yet quickly finding its differences irreconcilable and finally concluding its business without an attempt to secure harmonious action, naming its candidates with no hint of hope for success in the election, and dissolving amid portents of dissension such as no party in American politics has faced since 1860.

At Baltimore one week later: Fifteen thousand Democrats rallying under the standard and cheering the words of Thomas Jefferson; inspired with the first clear promise of victory in twenty years, yet divided in counsel, distrusting their own leaders. The old, cynical prediction that the party can always be trusted to throw away its opportunity seems likely to be verified again. Here, as at Chicago, the bosses and the interests are active; instead of two candidates a half-dozen are presented, and the one who has the greatest strength at the start gradually loses votes because the support of his candidacy is brought undersuspicion. Representatives of "predatory wealth" are attacked by name in the convention. Both the bosses and the in-

JOHN MAYNARD HARLAN
THE MAN WITH THE BRASS
LUNGS.



terests behind them are openly defied on the convention floor; riot is threatened, but in the end calm deliberation prevails and after forty-six ballots a Presidential nomination is made that wins at once a more general approval, within and without the party, than has been accorded to any Democratic nomination since the Civil War. The Baltimore Convention of 1912 takes its place in history beside the Baltimore conventions of the antebellum period. It marks an era.

It was indeed an historic fortnight. From it may be dated, in years to come, a realignment in American party politics. The Republicans at Chicago and the Democrats at Baltimore, consciously or unconsciously, were forming new groups for political action and developing new types of leadership. Neither of the two great parties can remain the same in make-up and ideals that it was before the conventions of 1912.

Furthermore, the nominating convention itself, as a party institution, cannot hereafter play the part in our political life that it has played for nearly a century. It is everywhere recognized that the elaborate convention system,—the handiwork of generations of adept politicians,—is threatened with annihilation. Within a year the Presidential preference primary in a dozen States has upset local bosses, smashed party machinery, and taught large bodies of voters the value of direct expression in the choice of candidates. The old methods are looked upon as outworn and unfitted for modern use. Again and again it had been declared that the national conventions of 1912 would be the last of their kind.

Considered merely as a spectacle, the Chicago convention well repaid those who journeyed from the far corners of the nation to witness it; but most of the spectators,—who constituted four-fifths of the Coliseum's pop-



ELIHU ROOT THE CHAMPION
HAMMER THROWER
TOOK A STAND DIRECTLY
BEHIND THE GAVEL



SERENO E. PAYNE
FROM N.Y.

from all preceding "Chicago conventions."

Everyone noted the youthful appearance of the Chicago delegates. Few of them, it is safe to assume, had personal recollections of national politics antedating the Blaine-Cleveland campaign of 1884. It is probable that to many of the candidates Blaine himself had become as shadowy a figure as Henry Clay or Thomas H. Benton. It was a new generation of Republicans that gathered at Chicago. Where were the old soldiers, so numerous in former days? So few were they that the occasional G. A. R. button almost caused a start of surprise.

Not only was the Republican delegate a young man; he bore the marks of prosperity. You would guess that in his home town he kept an automobile and played golf at the country club. Undaunted even by Chicago hotel rates, some of the delegates were accompanied by their womenkind, and clearer indication of a good bank balance could not be desired.

Leaving out of account those soldiers of fortune of various complexions from the

SO'S BILL FLINN OF PENN.
WHO IS ALWAYS LOOKING
FOR A FIGHT. HE WANTS
TR. TO FORM A NEW PARTY



Southern States who have been the bane of every Republican convention since the Civil War, the "professional" delegate, the man who gets his living from politics, was not much in evidence. In some of the State delegations he was conspicuous for his absence. It was good to see large bodies of

delegates who were obviously animated by a higher ideal of public service than the old spoils-hunting motive. It was a Republican President, a generation ago, who declared that "He serves his party best who serves his

country best"; but the politicians never took the saying seriously. One felt at Chicago that a good many young Republicans who are fighting in the ranks are ready to accept that maxim as something more than an academic precept. They are ready to put country above party.

The visitor from Mars would have detected this new spirit of public service in the Chicago convention, even if he had not heard the word "Progressive," or known the meaning of the term in our politics. He would have found young men from many States demanding new leadership. He would have learned, too, why the demand was so insistent; for he would have seen the convention controlled by men who were adroit manipulators, rather than leaders,—men who "played the game" according to the rules of a past generation and gloried in "standing pat."

This was not the first time that a National Committee had organized a convention and used it for the accomplishment of its own purposes; it was not the first time that delegates had been seated by tactics that were denounced from the floor as unfair. Men have always resorted to practices in politics that in any other relation in life would be condemned as unethical. What distinguished the convention of 1912 from all its predecessors was the strong calcium light that was thrown on the whole procedure. The public

has had a look behind the scenes and it now knows how a convention can be organized, under the "rules of the game," in the interest of a certain candidacy. It is all simple enough. The National Committee makes up the temporary roll of delegates. In all cases of contested seats those contestants who favor the candidacy in question are placed on the roll; all others are excluded. When it



JAMES WATSON OF
INDIANA, WHO HELPED
GOV. HAYES START
THE BIG NOISE



JOHN
R. HENNING
- 1912 -

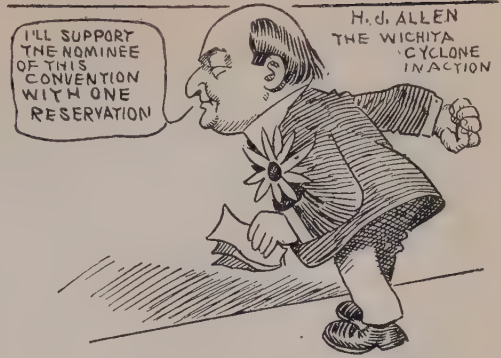
comes to the actual organization of the convention the seated delegates, however questionable may be their titles to seats, all have votes. It might be assumed by the inexperienced that in the ultimate decision on these contested seats only those delegates should vote whose titles were uncontested. This might be a reasonable rule in ordinary affairs, but in politics it is not "practical." It might lead to the loss of enough seats to imperil the candidacy that has the National Committee's support. The rule, therefore, is: Seat your own men and then vote them; they may be relied on to vote in their own interest. This was the rule followed at Chicago and it worked.

From the time that the vote was taken on the temporary chairmanship, the roll being called as made up by the National Committee and all contests being ignored,—it was clear that nothing short of a complete reorganization of the convention would prevent the renomination of President Taft. Senator



Root, selected by the National Committee for temporary chairman, received 588 votes and Governor McGovern, of Wisconsin, 522. This slender majority was secured through the votes of delegations from Democratic States, where the Republican organization, in the words of Chairman Rosewater, "is chiefly a paper organization, maintained by federal office-holders and

those who aspire to federal office, together with a few negro Republicans, who are not permitted to cast a ballot in the election." The great Republican States of Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, California helped to make up the minority vote. The representatives of these Progressive Republican States, which had only recently spoken so emphatically through the primaries, were outvoted in the convention by a combination of Southern delegates, delegates from territories and possessions having no electoral vote, and delegates whose right to seats in the convention was in dispute. This result was brought about under cover of precedent and rule. The National Committee showed the party how it could commit suicide decently and in order.



Hours running into days were spent in dumb-show pretense of dealing with contested seats. The whole rigmarole amounted to this: The Committee on Credentials (owing its existence to "tainted" votes) reports that the members of a certain State delegation as named by the National Committee are rightfully entitled to seats and should be placed on the permanent roll of the convention. A minority of the Credentials Committee is permitted to make a brief statement setting forth charges of fraud or unfair dealing in the seating of certain of the members, or all of them, and showing that other persons are rightfully entitled to the seats in question. On motion of Floor Leader Watson this minority report is laid on the table; the majority report is then adopted and the convention takes a recess to enable the Credentials Committee to prepare a report on contests in another State; when that is ready the same ceremony is reenacted. The majority report always favors the "ins"; the "outs" have only the dubious satisfaction of getting their cases presented in reports that are laid on the table before the ink is dry. Usually all this is done by *viva voce* vote. When a roll-call is demanded the division varies only slightly from that on the temporary chairmanship. The "outs" never get much nearer their seats than Governor McGovern did to the chair. The process grows monotonous.

Two Taft men, the story runs, were discussing the attitude of a well-known National Committeeman a fortnight before the convention.





SENT W. MURRY CRANE
DALTON MASS.

"How does he stand?" asked one.

"Oh, I guess he's switched to Roosevelt!"

"What makes you think that?"

"Well, I heard him talking about deciding the contests for delegates on their merits, and a lot of blamed treachery like that."

The "steam-roller" method, they call it, and this political juggernaut rode so ruthlessly and brazenly over all opposi-

tion to the plans of the majority of the National Committee that it undoubtedly killed its own chances for future usefulness. During all the sessions of the National Committee in deciding contests and also the sessions of the convention itself, the cry of "steam-roller" rang from one end of the country to the other, and millions of American voters became convinced that scandalous outrages were being committed. For four days the convention proceeded under the lead of the temporary chairman, a functionary who ordinarily remains in the limelight just long enough to be introduced and make his customary "keynote" address. And when the tumultuous preliminaries were finally settled—which in this convention were the most important portion of the entire proceedings,—the same gentleman who presided with such adroitness and ability, yet withal such commanding dignity, was chosen to remain in the chair as permanent presiding officer. No doubt it was a politic stroke to keep a firm hand at the helm until the National Committee ship had made port in absolute safety!

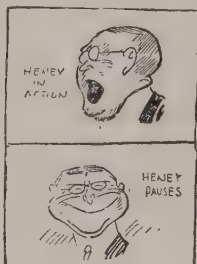
Those who have attended political conventions will recall the hair-trigger tendency of the assembled delegates and spectators to cheer at every mention of the name of the candidate favored by those in charge of all the arrangements. Yet mark the marvel of this Chicago convention. With the National Committee, which favored the President, in complete charge of the convention, having a majority of the delegates seated in the hall, with the bulk of the admission tickets at their

disposal to fill the galleries with their friends and friends of their cause, with the faithful band of musicians ever ready at their bidding, and an army of stalwart policemen to put down rival demonstrations, with conditions so strongly favoring one particular candidate, it was nevertheless easily apparent that that same candidate seemed to have been completely forgotten in the strain and stress of the parliamentary struggle for the control of the convention, for days went by before the mention of his name evoked even the mildest applause. Whereas the candidate against whom the entire convention had been organized was constantly cheered with an enthusiasm of the kind that simply could not be bottled up, but insisted on breaking out on the slightest provocation in the most tremendous outbursts. Two of these outbursts in fact attained the magnitude of "timed" demonstrations that swept the hall and blanched the faces of the anti-Roosevelt crew that manned the platform.

After all the contests had been "decided" and the steam-roller had done its perfect work, it remained for such delegates as were dissatisfied with the outcome to refrain from further participation in the acts of the convention, and nearly one-third of the total membership of the body availed itself of this privilege. In the roll-call on the report of the resolutions committee 347 delegates were recorded as present and declining to vote,—an unheard-of situation in a national convention.

On the National Committee's unpurged roll, which had now become the permanent roll of the convention, there were enough Taft delegates to insure the adoption of the platform and the renomination of Taft and Sherman.

At Chicago everybody was for or against the forces of blind traditionalism and privilege that ruled the Republican National Committee. The line-up was distinct, the issue unclouded. No time need be lost in trying to find out how this or that



man stood. There was a sharp line of cleavage between Progressives and Standpatters. Pre-convention contests had resolved many doubts. At Baltimore, on the other hand, the



ALTON B. PARKER
THE CENTER OF
THE EXCITEMENT

lines of demarcation were far from clear. Speaking of candidates, it seemed to be "everybody's race," in the vernacular of politics. When opposition to a particular candidate was developed it was quite as likely to be due to suspicion of the motives of those supporting the candidacy as to any alleged shortcomings of the candidate himself, and oddly enough two opposing "interests" might be found

backing the same man for the nomination. No set of men at Baltimore exercised such masterly control as the Republican National Committee exercised at Chicago; neither did any individual at Chicago exert a personal influence half so potent as that exerted in the Democratic convention by William Jennings Bryan. In short, Baltimore was a microcosm of democracy (the kind with the little "d" as well as the capitalized article).

The fact that this was generally considered by Democrats as "a Democratic year," so far from reducing the complexities of the situation, seemed to have precisely the contrary effect. More candidates were in the field than usual and greater zeal was manifested on behalf



ROGER
SULLIVAN

of each. In the old stock phrase of American politics, "sentiment had not crystallized" when the delegates came together in the big Baltimore armory. The crystallization process occupied a full week, cost not a little bad temper, and more than once the crystals

threatened to melt into nothingness; but in

the end the result was far more satisfactory to the mass of Democratic and independent voters throughout the country than the earlier sessions of the convention had led anyone to expect. Mr. Bryan failed in the fight on the temporary chairmanship, but he forced the convention to declare against Wall Street domination, and he defied Murphy and Tammany Hall with an audacity that won the admiration of the country. As a delegate on the convention floor, voicing the progressive sentiment of



COL. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN
WHO SAYS HE'S THE
ORIGINAL HARMONY MAN

his party, Mr. Bryan rose to greater heights of leadership than he had attained in either of his three candidacies for the Presidency.

The Baltimore convention did more work at night than in the daytime,—in contrast with the procedure at Chicago, where only one night session was held by the Republicans, at the very close of the convention. At Baltimore some of the dramatic moments occurred during the evening hours, —notably Mr. Bryan's attack on the money-changers.

To nominate Woodrow Wilson, forty-six ballots were required,—a number exceeded in only two national conventions in our history. It had been believed that the two-thirds rule would defeat Wilson's nomination. In the event it was Champ Clark, not Wilson, who became the victim of the two-thirds rule. Had it been abrogated, Clark would be the Dem-

ocratic nominee to-day, for he was the first to receive a majority of the votes of the convention. Wilson, on the other hand, profited from the rule. At the same time his candidacy gained strength from the overthrow of the unit rule, an undemocratic device that has curiously survived in Democratic conventions from a bygone age.



O. J. JAMES
REPUBLICAN
CHIEF



CHARLES F. MURPHY
Who headed the New York
delegation



THOMAS TAGGART
THE INDIANA
LIVE WIRE



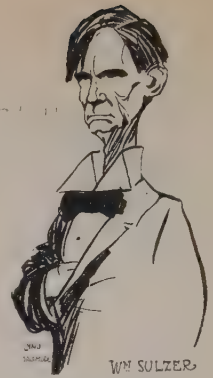
SEN O'GORMAN
OF N.Y. WOULDN'T
HIND A CHAIR

The prolonged deadlock not only tested the will power of the delegates, both singly and in groups; but it afforded an opportunity for the country to be heard from. There is no doubt that the numerous telegrams received by the delegates in the course of



SENATOR
KERN

eagerly adopted as a means of relief from boss domination. Democrats, on the other hand, were comparatively free from the more odious forms of bossism in States where they had long constituted the minority party, and they were slow to make use of the primary as a substitute for the delegate system to which they had always been accustomed. So far as the Democratic Presidential nomination for 1912 was concerned, the preferential primaries had

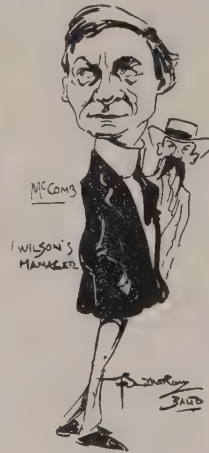


SEN. SULZER

the balloting profoundly influenced the result. It will never be charged that the Baltimore convention was a "cut-and-dried" affair or that it was boss-ruled. It was a turbulent gathering, but its turbulence was the accompaniment of democracy working its will and expressing its thought. The convention was simply a great Democratic mass meeting and the greatest of living Democrats could not master it save by direct appeal to the hearts and intellects of the individual delegates.



SEN. BANKHEAD
MANAGER OF THE
UNDERWOOD BOON



WILSON'S
MANAGER



SENATOR
STINSON
(GOING FOR
DOG BONES)

At Baltimore one heard less than at Chicago about the disappearance of the convention as a factor in our nominating machinery. At Baltimore it was felt that this convention, at any rate, had real work to do and was as necessary as ever in the party economy. It is probably a fact that the rank and file of Democrats

seems to be a national movement to do away with the convention system. It may well be that the convention of 1912 at Baltimore will prove to be the last one of the old type; but it was a typical nominating convention, exhibiting the merits and the defects of a time-honored institution. As such it goes down to history

For the clever little sketches accompanying this article, we are indebted to the *Tribune*, *Record-Herald*, and *Inter Ocean*, of Chicago; the *News*, the *Sun*, and the *Evening Sun*, of Baltimore; the *Tribune*, the *Herald*, the *World*, the *American*, and the *Evening Telegram*, of New York; the *Brooklyn Eagle*, the *Cleveland Leader*, and the *Philadelphia North American*

A NEW PARTY: DO THE PEOPLE WANT IT?

BY ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

(Professor of Government at Harvard University and delegate-at-large from Massachusetts to the National Republican Convention at Chicago)

IN 1900 politics was in what the people of that ancient epoch thought a very satisfactory condition. William McKinley was reëlected President by the Republican party on one of those respectable platforms that do not bring the blush of shame to the cheek of innocence. Both houses of Congress and most of the Northern States, together with many great municipalities, were safely Republican. The absorbing political issues were the Philippine Islands, a permanent standard of currency, and the curbing of the Interstate Commerce Commission through judicial construction. Both parties used the time-honored political methods of select primaries, local and State conventions, and a national convention, the whole thing piloted by a few popular leaders of whom the most renowned were Matthew Quay, Thomas C. Platt and Richard Croker. Except for Mr. Bryan and a few of his followers, the great principle flourished that government must protect vested interests; and that those interests must see that government did that duty.

STATE OF THINGS IN 1912

Looking only at the surface facts one might suppose that we are still in the year 1900. President Taft has received a renomination by the convention of his party. Woodrow Wilson has been nominated on a Progressive platform which our forbears of 1900 would think socialistic. There are Republican and Democratic politicians, conventions, newspaper organs and mutual ill opinions. Both parties "point with pride"; both parties "view with apprehension."

In fact, the political conditions of 1912 are as different from those of 1900 as were those of 1900 from those of 1868. In the first place the lower House of Congress is strongly Democratic, and the Senate threatens with the next set of elections to become distinctly Democratic. States as important to Republican success as Maine, Massa-

chusetts, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, and Indiana have Democratic governors. The two national platforms are full of new issues faintly heard twelve years ago. The American people are officially called upon



THE NEW BABY
From the News (Dallas)

to demand justice on such questions as the cost of living; extravagance in the federal government; supervision of express companies, telegraphs and telephones; rural bank credits; good roads; injunctions in labor disputes; public water-ways; parcels post; tolls on the Panama Canal, and conservation.

Political literature has been enlarged also by a new set of phrases on political and party methods: newspapers and public orators abound in catch words which would not have been recognized twelve years ago. Both parties unite or differ on the source and publicity of campaign contributions; on the Presidential preference primary; on the organization of national conventions; on one term for the Presidency; on legislation for the protection of the ballot, the polls, and the primary.

NOWADAY POLITICS

The first essential to an understanding of the confused political conditions of to-day is to recognize that we face new issues both as to what the people want their governments to do and how those governments shall be organized so as to reflect what the people want to do. In 1901 Theodore Roosevelt became the great Republican leader. He belonged to a younger generation of public men, and was almost the only man in his party to perceive that to continue before the public mind as the "Party of the Interests" would sooner or later ruin the Republican party. He therefore set himself to take account of what the people wanted in legislation and administration. They wanted rigorous restriction of the railroads, and he compelled a Republican Congress, much against its will, to pass the necessary measures. His mind was attuned to the rising belief that the bounties of nature ought to be used or reserved for the common benefit; and that spells Conservation. Retiring in 1908, when everybody knew that he had only to say the word if he wished a third term, he threw his influence to William H. Taft.

It does not aid any political cause to set President Taft down as a time server or a tool; he is an upright and honest administrator who doubtless sincerely desires the welfare of the people, but he made a fatal mistake in signing the Payne-Aldrich Tariff in 1909, and throughout his administration has been influenced by the old-fashioned politicians, the Aldriches and Cranes and Penroses who are constitutionally incapable of recognizing that the world does move. Mr. Taft and his friends, therefore, in the public mind, went into the recent Republican Convention as representatives of a system which is passing away.

The Democratic party,—partly because in opposition where it must propose new principles, partly because of a closer touch with its own voters, partly because of the immense personal energy of William J. Bryan has put itself forward as the representative of a new popular spirit; and in the Baltimore Convention, by means of an enthusiasm combined with a startling amount of whip-cracking it shows nearer a united front than at any time since the Civil War.

Both parties must realize, however, that the country has got away from the hypnotism of the names Republican and Democratic; that more and more the American people look upon government as a means of getting

what they want; and that a majority of the voters of this country will vote for that candidate who will give them such a government.

Precisely what do the people in general want? Clearly, the following things:

(1) Legislation in aid of the many instead of legislation in aid of the few.

(2) Furthermore, a restriction of the privileges heretofore allowed to the few in the way of combinations and monopolies.

(3) To that end, and not to the glorification of one or another party, or leader, the control of governorships, State legislatures, Congress, and the Presidency.

(4) Hence also control of the political and party machinery which otherwise would indefinitely prevent their getting control of the governments.

(5) Therefore, new methods protected by law for the choice of party committees, delegates, and conventions.

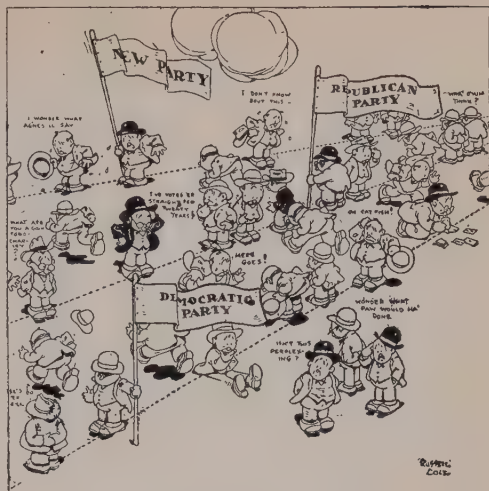
(6) Political leaders infused with the above principles and able to concentrate public opinion upon measures of reform.

BREAK-UP OF OLD PARTIES

How far does the Democratic party answer to these new conditions. It is undeniable that Mr. Bryan was the first national figure to realize this difficulty, though thrice defeated for the Presidency; in the present campaign he has been accepted as the leading Democrat, and has written the party platform. A numerous wing of the Democratic party looks with amazement upon these principles which in many respects go beyond the usual point of view of the Southern States, and are terrifying to New England, New York, and Pennsylvania Democrats. Mr. Bryan did his best to read Tammany out of the Democratic party; but there was never a successful miracle play without the devil; and Tammany is bound to be Democratic because it has nowhere else to go.

How far does the Republican party understand and utilize the political doctrines held by a great majority of the American voters in the year 1912? Apparently the regular standpat leaders have not heard about them; at least they put forward Mr. Taft for a second term. When in March Theodore Roosevelt stepped forward, on the ground that the new doctrines were not likely to be accepted under their régime they treated him as an apostate, and when the convention met it was clearly proven that a large majority of the Republican voters who had had the opportunity or the desire to express a prefer-

The standpat element therefore assumed control of the convention through a complex of obsolete and outworn political practices. The National Committee, chosen in 1908, had the traditional right to pass on the contests the new system of Presidential primaries under State laws (and in a few cases under direction of the local or State committees, the so-called "soap-box primaries") could not be found indexed in the rules of the committee; and therefore they undertook in several cases to ignore the resulting action. For fifty years local and State conventions of all parties had often been manipulated by throwing out delegates who were going to vote what the leaders thought the wrong way; and to the convention seemed the obvious method of dealing with a candidate who had thrown his heavy hammer farthest, but had swung it around his head twice instead of the usual three times. Mr. Penrose, Mr. Barnes, Mr. Stevenson of Colorado, and other patriots were sure that Theodore Roosevelt was a bad man; and in their experience the easiest way to get rid of a bad man was to count him out.



There are men a-flopping who never flopped before
From the *Register and Leader* (Des Moines)

The Roosevelt delegates felt that they were not only representing their own constituents but also the large majority of Republican primary votes; that they were trying to save the Republican party from its destroyers. In that work they were throughout cheered and invigorated by the splendid spirit of their candidate and leaders. When they read such trash as has been circulated by the *Kansas City Journal* to the effect that Roosevelt was both drunk and crazy during the whole convention, they are a solid body of living witnesses to the truth that he was never in his life more completely master of himself and his surroundings. They saw him and heard him over and over again, cool, sagacious and a torrent of energy—his last speech on the night of the nomination of Taft the culmination of the series, and tremulous in its appeal to the principle of the square deal.



THE CALL
From the *World* (New York)

THE NEW PARTY

The result was a breach in the party. If it were merely a question of a candidate, some of the infuriated Republicans would perhaps cool down; but the real issue is not simply Theodore Roosevelt, but Theodore Roosevelt as the representative of principles held by a majority of his own party, and necessary for the salvation of that party. We have the whimsical spectacle of a great national party organization with a technical majority in the convention, nominating its candidate, making the platform, appealing to the people, and yet positively representing

a minority of its own voters. It is absolutely true that, notwithstanding the seating of not less than fifty delegates who ought to have gone to Roosevelt, the Taft men had only twenty-one above the majority in a convention which included near two hundred delegates from Southern States and the Territories which will not under any circumstances cast a single electoral vote for the Republican party in the approaching campaign.

The Republican party is in fact split; it remains to split it in organization. Nothing can be clearer than that a great number of Roosevelt Republicans will not vote for Taft on any terms and that he is therefore foredoomed to a humiliating defeat. In fact it would need a good mathematician to figure

going into a third party; or continuing their fight for control of their own party.

To support Mr. Taft for the Presidency would be a denial of their own position, and admission that the Republican National Convention of 1912 was a game in which the rules were made, interpreted, and applied by a minority. If Mr. Taft had been nominated by an unquestioned majority he stood a good chance to be beaten; as a minority candidate, he is already beaten, and all the political world knows it.

To organize as a body of Progressive Republicans, but of Republicans still, would preserve two assets of immense value. The first is the name, the achievements, and the great history of the Republican party, into which most of the Republican voters were born. That party has an organization throughout the country: wherever, as is the case in most of the Republican States, the Roosevelt voters are in the majority, that organization is theirs if they insist upon it. The second principle is that the Republican party is the natural Progressive party, if its will is followed. The leaders who so hug themselves over the capture of the convention do not form or express the opinions or the platform of their own party. They can be set aside, as they have been set aside in Pennsylvania. Ground can be taken for another series of battles within the party, in city, State, and nation, till the Republican party is recognized as really Republican.

The third possible course is the creation of a third party—which can differ substantially from a Progressive wing of the Republican party only so far as it draws in Progressive Democrats. The Democratic party is visibly divided; but the faction which is out of harmony with candidate and platform is not the faction most affectionate toward Theodore Roosevelt and most attached to a progressive policy.

All calculations are, however, disturbed by personal elements, of which by far the most significant is Theodore Roosevelt, who has the incorrigible habit of attaching multitudes of voters to himself. It is like Stevenson's remark about the moment when a young man fixes his attention upon a young woman, "and somehow she was just the thing he wanted." The one fact that the stand-patters and regulars and organizers and credentials committees cannot seem to get into their heads is that millions of American voters find Theodore Roosevelt "just the thing they wanted."



THE MODERN PAUL REVERE
From the Jersey Journal (Jersey City)

out fifty Taft electoral votes out of five hundred and fifteen.

Then what is to be done by the Republican voters who have been brought up in the party and have no wish but to remain Republicans, provided their party will stand for what they consider Republican principles? Nothing short of the withdrawal of Mr. Taft and the surrender of the party machinery would keep them loyal to the present standard.

Three possibilities open up before the millions of Republican voters who helped to choose the Roosevelt delegates (seated and unseated) or who would have voted their way if they had had the chance: giving in;

THE GROWING AMERICAN BUREAUCRACY

BY JONATHAN BOURNE, JR.

(United States Senator from Oregon)

THE steadily increasing power of bureaucracy and the constant drift away from the original idea that the legislative branch of government shall express the will of the people in the form of law, present problems of grave importance for the consideration of the American people. I am not one of those who fear or oppose a change merely because it is change. I have no reverence for institutions merely because they are old. I do regard with apprehension, however, changes that take place without a full understanding of what those changes are, the manner in which they are accomplished, and their scope and effect. I believe the tendency which I have mentioned is away from truly representative government as typified by the popular government fundamentals. It is a drift toward government by men and not by law—a subordination of the rights and liberties of the people to the judgment or whims of individuals.

If it be thought by some that I am over-persistent in asserting my belief that there is need for aggressive and continuous effort for the protection of truly representative government, I answer by quoting the truth, now universally recognized, that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Neither Presidential control of legislation through misuse of patronage nor steady encroachment of bureaucratic power can prevail except by lack of publicity. I have no fear that the rights and liberties of the people of this country will be curtailed, provided the facts are known and the people have opportunity to protect their rights under law. The danger is that the affairs of government may be left to drift along the lines of least resistance and, as a consequence, individual selfishness and ambition for power may prevail over popular sovereignty. What is everybody's business is nobody's business; hence the ease with which the general welfare suffers for the benefit of individual interest.

Believing that the people of the United States are not aware of the tendency toward bureaucracy, I deem it worth while to submit a few of my own observations con-

cerning the practical operations of our government. These observations have covered the period of my five years' service in the United States Senate, during which time I have been at the national capital not only during the sessions of Congress but generally during the recess as well. I have taken the view that since the people elect a Senator to represent them here, it is his duty to serve them here and that he cannot serve them most effectively if his study of the practical problems of government is limited to that portion of the year when Congress is in session.

Preliminary to a more detailed discussion of the development of bureaucracy I desire to review briefly the plan of our governmental organization, not because it is unknown to the American people but because in the study of this subject it should be brought prominently to attention and kept clearly in mind.

The constitution divides the government into three branches,—the legislative, which is charged with the duty of making laws, the executive, charged with the duty of enforcing the laws, and the judicial, which is charged with the duty of deciding cases arising under the Constitution, laws, or treaties. It was believed that the line of demarcation between the three branches was clear and distinct. This creation of three branches was designed to guard against the evils of monarchy. It was the desire of the people, as expressed in their Constitution, that laws should be made by Senators and Representatives chosen from the several States. There was no intention that laws should be both made and administered by one branch of government.

VETO AND LEGISLATIVE POWERS EXERCISED BY THE COURTS

In order to guard against possible unwise action on the part of the legislative branch, the framers of the Constitution provided that the President should have a veto power upon any act of Congress, the exercise of which power would prevent an act from becoming effective unless again passed with a two-thirds majority in each house. This safeguard was deemed sufficient. No one

understood that the Constitution vested the judicial branch with a veto power. No such veto power was claimed or exercised by the supreme court until many years after the Constitution had been in force. Finally, however, this power was asserted and exercised, and is now exercised, with the approval of many people and over the protest of many others.

The courts have not only asserted and exercised the veto power, but have also exercised a legislative power. We had a clear illustration of this in the recent decision of the Supreme Court under the provisions of the Sherman Act prohibiting combinations in restraint of trade. After declaring that to give a certain construction to that act would be to exercise legislative power by reading into the statute something which Congress had repeatedly refused to place there, the court ignored its previous declarations and expressly read into the statute a word that materially changed its meaning. This was clearly the exercise of legislative power. It was the establishment of a precedent which meets some approval and much disapproval. If that course on the part of the Supreme Court shall be acquiesced in by the people of the country, it will be followed in future cases until, by common consent, we shall have amended the Constitution in effect by conferring upon the court a somewhat limited, but nevertheless actual, legislative as well as veto power.

These encroachments of the judicial upon the powers of the legislative branch of government have been open and public and the people are in a position to judge whether they approve or disapprove. They can form their own opinions of the effect of conferring upon judges who are appointed for life the power to veto acts of Congress. They can understand that if the courts assert and secure the right to change a statute to suit themselves and also the right to declare a statute unconstitutional, they may later amend an act of Congress and then declare it unconstitutional as amended and because of the amendment. While highly improbable yet it is possible that if the two powers exist they might sometime be jointly exercised. Experience has shown that society should be protected against possible as well as probable menace.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS TAKING OVER LEGISLATIVE POWERS

But there have been some changes in our governmental system that have been slowly

taking place, that are not generally known to the American people, and the full significance of which is not understood. To a few of these changes I now direct attention.

There has been a constantly growing tendency to confer legislative power upon the administrative departments either by granting them wide discretion in the exercise of authority or by authorizing them to adopt and enforce rules and regulations. The appetite for power is a natural one. It is one of the forces controlling human action which must be kept in mind when determining governmental policies. History is full of demonstrations of the truth of the assertion that governing power increases its scope through its own activities until misuse necessitates destruction of the power. In every city, county, and State, in the nation at large, and even in the field of international affairs, we see constant evidence of the ever-growing desire of men in authority to increase their power.

The old theory that that government is best which governs least finds little favor with those in authority. Every public servant aspires to be a master of his fellow men. He reaches out for more authority—assumes it if he dares and asks that it be conferred upon him if he dares not assume it. This tendency has grown until we have officers in our cities who supervise almost every human activity and each officer, as a rule, is urging that greater supervisory power be given. In our federal government we have department heads and bureau chiefs, each wanting more power, more money, more scope, more latitude.

My remarks on this subject are not intended as a protest against legislation protecting the welfare of all against the carelessness or maliciousness of a few, but as a protest against delegating to executive officers the power to legislate either through the promulgation of rules and regulations or through the exercise of discretionary power.

In my opinion every law for the regulation of individual activity should be comprehensive in scope and explicit in terms so that every man may point to the plain language of the statute which assures him a right or imposes upon him a duty. That which exists only in the mind of some supervisory official is uncertain and changing. The uncertainty and changeableness are due to the whims or prejudices or favoritism of the officer. Inequality and injustice are the result. Equality and justice are attained only by placing in plain language on the statute books the extent of right and the limitation of liberty.

WIDE DISCRETION GRANTED TO OFFICIALS

As I have already indicated, there is a desire on the part of executive and administrative officers that laws for the regulation of our citizens be very general in terms, merely defining the subject matter and leaving to the administrative officers the power to promulgate the specific rules and regulations. Recommendations by the executive departments too frequently contain the suggestion that the law enacted permit the executive to act "in his discretion." In my opinion this sort of legislation is not only contrary to the intent of the Constitution, but is extremely unwise.

The power of bureaucracy over the business and affairs of citizens is felt in nearly every walk of life, yet the importance of this phase of government does not impress the average individual because he personally feels the strong hand of authority only in isolated instances. The head of a large commercial enterprise controlling a large proportion of the total business of the industry in which he is engaged, realizes that whether his business is or is not an unreasonable combination in restraint of trade depends upon the judgment of some one in the Department of Justice and he restlessly awaits the uncertain exercise of the power of determination.

The settler who is building a home on the frontier and who must go to a forest reserve for his fuel or fence posts or home-made shingles endeavors to please the forest ranger and comply with the rules and regulations but he never knows definitely whether he has done so or not, if the exigencies of the situation make it necessary for him to act without the personal supervision of the ranger.

The homesteader who finds it hard to make a living for his family during the period of improvement of his land and who borrows money therefor or leaves temporarily in order to earn money elsewhere for the purpose, rests under constant apprehension that the secret report of the special agent, which he or his representative is not permitted to read, will place an unjust interpretation upon his borrowing money or his temporary absence. The captain of industry and the frontier settler realize the power of bureaucracy over their own separate interests, but neither knows the manner in which the other is affected.

The citizens of a great State are denied a due proportion of the reclamation funds because the bureau heads have expended an undue proportion elsewhere and the funds are therefore not available for expenditure in the

State from whose land-sales the funds were derived.

We have had illustrations of the delegation of discretionary authority amounting practically to legislative power in the case of the pure food laws where it has been shown that the administrative officers had the power to make an act lawful at one time and unlawful at another. Manufacturers of foods are in doubt as to what they can or cannot do without danger of punishment.

We have seen in the administration of the affairs of the postal service one magazine sent by mail and another sent by freight without any definite law or rule or regulation which clearly defines the terms and conditions upon which the discrimination is based. The publisher is not certain that his magazine will continue in the mail trains and such uncertainty is a constant business hazard. The extent of his right rests upon the judgment of some bureau clerk in the department. His rights and privileges change whenever the judgment of the clerk changes.

ILLUSTRATION: THE WIRELESS TELEGRAPH BILLS

A timely and striking illustration of the tendency to delegate legislative power was seen in the bills for the regulation of wireless telegraphy, recently before the Senate. The wrecking of the *Titanic* made these bills of particular interest. Most of the bills proposed that Congress enact a law for the licensing of wireless operators but left to the President or the Department of Commerce and Labor the power to promulgate the rules and regulations under which the wireless operations could be conducted. This would be, in effect, delegation of the legislative power to the administrative departments. It would be evasion of the Constitution. By passing such an act Congress would vest the Department of Commerce and Labor with the power to make a law, interpret that law, and enforce it, thus combining the three functions, legislative, executive, and judicial, in one bureau. That would be the perfection of bureaucracy.

The wireless telegraph bills were referred to the Senate Committee on Commerce and in their place a substitute bill was reported, prescribing as definitely as practicable the rights which can be exercised and the limitations which must be observed in the operation of wireless telegraph apparatus. My views of the proper scope of legislation of this character were expressed in the report submitted to the Senate in connection with the

substitute bill, and those views apply to all legislation of similar character, placing restrictions upon individual activity. I shall therefore quote the following paragraphs from the report:

This (substitute) bill differs radically in its method of regulation from the earlier measures and establishes a principle which it is believed can be followed with advantage to all concerned in legislation on other subjects. At all events the committee is determined that legislation for the regulation of radio communication at the outset shall be based upon what its members believe to be sound principle. The former bills delegated to the President of the United States in the first instance and subsequently to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor the power to make regulations governing radio communication which should have the force of law. That amounted practically, at least in the judgment of some members of this committee, to the surrender by Congress of its powers and the bestowal of legislative power to all intents and purposes upon administrative officers. This feature of former bills, for which there has been too frequently precedent in legislation, not only admitted of the arbitrary exercise of power but left those who should be subject to its exercise entirely in the dark as to what they could or could not do without thwarting the purpose of Congress. The committee is not unmindful of the fact that in the case of *Buttfield v. Stranahan* (192 U. S., 496) the Supreme Court held:

Congress legislated on the subject as far as was reasonably practicable, and from the necessities of the case was compelled to leave to executive officials the duty of bringing about the result pointed out by the statute.

There is always danger, however, that this decision may be invoked either for the purpose of seeking opportunity to exercise power unrestricted by the will and purpose of Congress or that it may be invoked in behalf of hasty legislation. It is easy for administrative officers who are too indolent to frame for the consideration of Congress a statement of the precise purposes which they have in view, or who are not sufficiently informed as to the methods by which those purposes may be attained, to ask Congress to bestow upon them the general power of regulation. Congress is asked to act upon the spur of the moment while administrative officers reserve to themselves indefinite time in which to obtain the knowledge for intelligent action under the grant of arbitrary power. It is perhaps worth the consideration of the Senate that when the British Parliament bestows such general powers of regulation the bestowal is frequently accompanied by the statutory requirement that such regulations must be laid before Parliament for a reasonable time before taking effect.

THE PRESIDENT'S VAST POWERS

Adoption and continuance of the policy of delegating to administrative departments the power to promulgate rules and regulations having the force of law, amounts to abdication by Congress of the position assigned it in our governmental system. To a large extent we already have a bureaucracy, with

intermittent dictatorship, the President being dictator and the extent of his power depending on the personal equation of the individual occupying the office. If the individual be a man of great experience, broad ideas, high ideals, and deep-seated convictions, his influence (in the general balance struck at the end of his administration) may be for the benefit of the general welfare of the nation, but if the President happens to be a man of little experience in the many problems of government and society, or lacking in ideas, ideals, or convictions, the injury he can work upon the welfare of ninety millions of people during his administration is incalculable.

Whether the individual be a man possessing or lacking ideals and convictions, he is at best but an echo on many problems of government because of the inability of any one man to grasp, analyze and decide upon the details of the multitude of questions that arise. When a President has been elected he appoints a cabinet nearly all of whose members may have had little if any experience with governmental administrative work. The President naturally relies upon the advice of the department heads in matters regarding the operations and functions of their several departments. The new cabinet officer, designated as the head of a department, necessarily depends upon the advice of some bureau head, who, in turn relies upon information and advice from a division chief. The action to be taken by the President depends not only upon his own judgment but upon the accuracy of the information and the soundness of the judgment of division chiefs who are never known to the public.

CONTROL OF INFORMATION BY THE EXECUTIVE

The Constitution makes Congress the legislative branch, but provides that the President shall communicate to Congress information concerning the state of the Union and shall recommend such measures of legislation as he shall deem necessary and expedient. Starting from somewhere below the division chiefs, the information finally gets to Congress, with recommendations more or less the product of the observations, interests and conclusions of these lower officials.

Being in possession of the original sources of information, the bureaus exercise a very large influence over legislation unless Congress determines upon an investigation of facts on its own initiative.

The tendency toward turning over to the

executive branch the control of information upon which legislation must be based, was illustrated in the creation of a tariff board. I believe in a tariff commission as necessary in the collection of data in order that Congress may act advisedly upon a very complicated subject of interest to all the people of the country, but since the Constitution places upon Congress the responsibility for the levying of import duties, I believe that any tariff commission should be selected by Congress, should work under the direction of Congress and report directly to Congress.

If the executive branch of government has the power to appoint the members of the tariff board, it thereby has power to select men whose opinions or prejudices are in accord with one or the other view of the tariff question. The executive branch also has the power to determine which phases of the tariff question shall be taken up for investigation first, and which shall be left until the last, or indefinitely postponed.

There is a presumption that in enacting tariff legislation Congress will be guided very largely by the information secured and submitted by the tariff board. Unless that is true, there is little reason for the existence of such a board. If legislative action is guided by the report of the tariff board, then, in effect, the establishment of an executive commission means that Congress virtually turns over to the executive branch the power and duty of performing legislative functions.

MAKE CONGRESS MORE EFFICIENT

In my opinion, the power of the executive has already passed the limits of wisdom and should be curtailed rather than increased.

How can this be accomplished? First, vitalize Congress. Why? Because Congress with over 500 members should, and must, under popular government more accurately represent the general welfare of the nation than any single individual can possibly do. How? By the general enactment, either nationally or in every State, of primary laws, with efficient corrupt practices acts so that every member of Congress owes his nomination and election to the composite citizen, individual unknown. Thus a member of Congress will readily realize that the possibility of his renomination depends entirely upon his serving the general welfare and not the selfish interest of any dominant individual or factor in any caucus or convention. The sole measure of the retention of the public servant will then be demonstrated efficiency

based upon ethical and intellectual individual development rather than service to some selfish interest.

NOMINATION OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

Another step must be taken before Congress can become independent of the administrative branch. The President must be deprived of the tremendous power of nomination of Federal employees. But the reader says that the Senate's right of rejection of a nomination should be an effective check against the misuse of this power. The constitutional right of the Senate in this direction has become a farce. A President, wishing to use the nominating power to punish or reward members of Congress who disagree with his views, will hold that the constitutional provision "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate" means the whole Senate and does not refer to the Senators in the respective States where the appointees are to serve.

The President, anticipating opposition to some nomination he desires to make for the purpose of building up a Federal machine, can withhold nominations until just before the adjournment of Congress when insufficient time exists for the Senate to investigate the merits of the nomination. A recess appointment is then made. When Congress again convenes, if the Senate neither confirms nor rejects, the President again re-appoints the same individual as soon as Congress adjourns. If the Senate does reject and the nominee rejected is an incumbent of the office, the President can permit him to continue to hold the position under his original appointment, notwithstanding the Senate had rejected his nomination.

Until some plan is evolved by which the President is divested of this power of nominating the Federal office-holders in the several States, just so long will there be subserviency on the part of some members of Congress to the President, because no member of Congress desires to appear before his constituents as *persona non grata* with the nation's chief executive. I expect to introduce a Constitutional amendment at the next session which, if adopted, will furnish the desired remedy.

CONGRESSIONAL COMMISSIONS

This review of the conditions that exist is preliminary to a further suggested remedy by which Congress can be vitalized and have

less reason for leaving to the discretion and whim of administrative departments important measures for the regulation of the business and affairs of our people.

Since ascertainment of facts must precede well-considered action, either legislative or administrative, it follows that Congress cannot be in a position to act advisedly unless its plan of work permits of full consideration of the affairs of government. It has been the policy in the past for Congress to create commissions, appointed by the President, acting under his direction and reporting to him in the first instance, for the investigation of various important subjects upon which legislation is desired. Such commissions conduct their inquiries along the lines that seem best to them and submit to Congress such information and recommendations as they deem advisable.

In my opinion this policy is unwise. Commissions whose province it is to inquire into subjects with a view to legislation should, if practicable, be composed of members of the two houses of Congress, so that when the subject comes up for action, there will be on the floor of each house men who participated in the investigation and who can answer inquiries of any member as to the nature, scope, thoroughness and accuracy of the investigation and its results. In any event, a commission created to secure information upon which legislation will be based should be appointed by and be responsible to the legislative branch of government. If an administrative commission secures and submits to Congress the statement of facts and conditions, then the administrative branch largely controls and directs the legislation.

Moreover, in my opinion, Congress cannot act upon the ordinary governmental business with the full understanding it should have, unless a more efficient method is adopted. The field of governmental activity has become so extensive and the amount of the governmental expenditures has become so great that it is difficult for members of Congress to study and comprehend the problems involved and at the same time conduct the

work of a session. In my opinion the Senators and Representatives at the heads of the large committees should remain in Washington during the greater part of the recesses of Congress and study the more intricate subjects of governmental policy. Then a month or two before Congress convenes the heads of the revenue and appropriation committees of the two houses should meet in joint session and confer with the heads of departments regarding desired or needed appropriations, the reasons therefor, and the manner in which appropriations have been expended in the past.

There is now little, if any, coördination among committees. The same has been true of the administrative departments, with the result that many duplications have been permitted, there has been a lack of standardization and opportunities for economy have been overlooked. The present Economy Commission will doubtless accomplish some desirable results, chiefly temporary in character, but in my opinion the governmental machinery—the largest business enterprise in the world—will not be operated with the best results at the least cost until there is closer coöperation among Congressional committees and with the departments.

At conferences held by committee chairmen with the heads of departments at a time when all are free from the rush and confusion of the session of Congress, the total probable revenues could be determined, the merits of desired appropriations considered, and if it be found that the revenue will not meet the estimated expense, then the proposed items of expense could be analyzed and a determination reached as to which are absolute necessities and which can be postponed for another year or two without militating against governmental operations. If it be found that the estimates cannot be cut down without impairing governmental efficiency, then attention would be directed to the problem of providing the revenue. Thus would be established a coördination not now existing between the legislative and administrative branches of the government.



THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS

THIS is the third instalment of a notable series now appearing in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS. "Big Business and the Citizen" was published in June and July. The articles to follow include "The Laborer," "The Investor," "The Middleman," and "The Captain of Industry." This series will do much to clarify the public mind on the vital questions now before the people of the United States.

The present article does much to clear the atmosphere, now clouded by hysterical denunciation on the one hand, and vigorous denials on the other. Calmly and dispassionately, without exaggeration, Mr. Atwood sets down indisputable facts and draws logical conclusions. While he finds no evidence of formal organization among the masters of capital, he does find (1) that the control of credit is concentrated to an astounding degree, and (2) that those in whose hands this stupendous power rests are not responsible to the public, as are those with similar powers in Europe.

THE BORROWER AND THE "MONEY TRUST"

BY ALBERT W. ATWOOD

FOUR years ago Robert M. La Follette stood up in his place in the United States Senate and announced that one hundred men controlled the money centers of the country. He called them by name and declared that they had the power to create artificially periods of prosperity and panic. Thereupon arose a great laughter. Newspaper wits turned their merriest darts upon him. The *New York Sun* described the Senator's "lion mane" and his tragic look as he read off the list. No one took him seriously.

Yet to-day figures and cold statistics show that more power is lodged with a dozen men than La Follette, four years ahead of his time, dared ascribe to his famous one hundred. No one smiled when last winter Chairman Henry of the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives declared that "more than 75 per cent. of the country's financial resources, banks and bankers, and industrial and railroad corporations are now controlled and dominated by not more than four small groups of capitalists composed of not more than ten or twelve individuals."

Both statements may be disputed and the accuracy of the lists may be questioned. But so momentous and so grave was the impression which the charge of Congressman Henry and others made upon the House of Repre-

sentatives that it delegated to one of its most important standing committees the Gargantuan task of inquiring into the affairs of 30,000 banks to discover whether such a condition does exist. To describe the supposed power a new and significant expression was coined—the "Money Trust."

What is the "Money Trust," and how does it affect the Borrower? A great proportion of all business is made possible by borrowed money, or credit. Credit is the lifeblood of industry. If the power to extend it is so closely concentrated—then we have a state within a state—a power greater than the government itself.

If these things exist they should be known. The people not only should, they must take cognizance of them.

The Most Logical of Trusts

These articles treat of the Trusts and the People. Some trusts are denounced because of their attitude toward their employees. Many trusts are efficient or inefficient because of the way their millions of laborers work. But let us be fair to Big Business. Why not examine its one branch where labor is almost absent, where there is no brawn and all brain?

A bank in New York City gave its employees a Christmas present equal to half their annual salary. The bank had assets of \$100,000,000. A fine example, you say, to other great business concerns! But the bank had only fifty employees. In the entire country there are probably not more than 100,000 persons engaged in banking, either directly or indirectly.

The banker has, relatively speaking, no human factor to consider. And that factor with a concern like the United States Steel Corporation or the Pennsylvania Railroad is mammoth, almost baffling. The banker deals not in the production or distribution of wealth itself (in both of which much labor is needed), but solely in the paper representatives of wealth, money and credit. Thus he can apply far more directly than the manufacturer or railroad manager the economies and efficiencies of Big Business.

Banking—the business of dealing in money and credit—is the most logical of trusts. And in practice it has justified the theory. Where banks have become larger they have become stronger, where coöperation and concentration have gone far, there safety and effectiveness have reached a high pitch, as the facts presented in this article will prove. Banking is the one central business of all—it is the business of businesses. So if it has become more efficient as the trust idea, or at least the principle of concentration, has gained sway, how can we have too much concentration and who is there to complain?

How About the Borrower?

But if there is a Money Trust—what does this mean to the borrower? What of the banks which have been closed overnight, so their directors say, merely because a small committee of men whose acts were subject to no judicial review, disliked the personnel of their officers? What of the railroad whose promoter has asserted, in and out of season, that his efforts to build a great transcontinental railroad were thwarted by the money kings allied with the railroads already in existence? What of the steamship promoter who declares that his efforts to raise capital for a company to operate through the Panama Canal met with a like fate for like reasons? What of the half-veiled charges against the bankers of a great city in connection with efforts to compete with the present shoe machinery trust? What of the allegations, one openly brought forward in a lawsuit, and the other insinuated by government prosecutors,

that two small steel companies failed to raise funds in troublous times because the banks to which they applied stood in awe of the Steel Corporation? What benefit is there to the people in concentrated banking power if these and similar charges are true?

Possibly there is not a scintilla of truth in any of them, or in the less definite insinuations which are whispered about. If the subcommittee of the Committee on Banking and Currency of the House of Representatives, headed by Representative Arsène P. Pujo, which is investigating financial and monetary conditions, succeeds in sifting them to the bottom it will be doing a valued public service. But suspicion of the integrity and fairness of the American system for extending credit is grave enough to make a study of the facts more than worth while.

What Are the Facts in the Case?

In the beginning we are met by the statement that the "money power" is by no means new. "The so-called Money Trust is the same old bogey with which demagogues have frightened the Simple Simons of all ages," says Joseph French Johnson, Dean of the School of Finance of New York University. "Apparently its blood-sucking tentacles are no longer, nor more numerous, than when under the name of Julian, in the second century of the Christian era, it bought the Roman Empire, or than when, under the disguise of a Venetian banker, it financed the Crusades in return for a first mortgage on Christendom."

True, there has always been money power wherever there was money dealing. Money, or the control of it, is always power. Every town and village which boasts of a bank feels the money power. When a village is too small to have a bank, some good old Deacon Jones, who has laid up money and is willing to lend it on good security, is the money power. The best illustration is the average small country town in which the richest man, and also the largest owner of stock in the one bank, is also the owner and operator of the local sawmill or other small manufacturing enterprise. Needless to say, the promoter of a rival sawmill may have difficulty in securing funds from the bank. Is there a village in this country where there is no money power?

But this proves nothing except that power to lend money is power to lend money, and that power is not always unselfish. What this article seeks to discover is how far this power has been concentrated into great units

which are capable of making or breaking enterprises of a national scope.

Even if the bankers have, faithfully and well, handled the trust of extending credit to the limit of their ability, yet when the president of the second bank in size in the country acknowledges himself to be one of about a dozen men in whose hands the power of extending credit is, in the last analysis, concentrated—then it is high time, seriously and fearlessly, to consider the subject. Nor does the statement of this same man that the words "money power" should be used in this connection rather than "money trust," which imply combination, collusion and manipulation, in the least alter the rigorous necessity for turning on the brightest light.

La Follette Only a Pioneer in Pointing out the Leaders

Senator La Follette was the first who tried to name the men into whose hands central banking and financial control is supposed to have fallen. Here are a few of the later attempts, presented with varying degrees of information and reliability and with varying motives:

1. Before the Pujo committee the manager of the New York Clearing House Association testified that what is known as the Clearing House Committee of his association, a sort of executive body consisting of five men, has absolute and autocratic power in the association. This association, it may be added, typifies the banking power of New York and the entire country. These men are Frank A. Vanderlip, James G. Cannon, Walter E. Frew, Richard Delafield, and Otto T. Bannard, all presidents of banks or trust companies. As the clearings of the association exceed one hundred billions of dollars a year it may be seen that this committee is a powerful body. But the personnel of the committee changes yearly, and, while the temporary power of these men is vast, it differs not a whit from that exercised by like committees of like associations in other financial centers of the world.

2. In a railroad rate case involving a subsidiary company of the United States Steel Corporation, and also in the exhibits prepared by the so-called Stanley Committee of Congress which investigated that corporation, statistical data were adduced to show that the directors of the corporation were also officers or directors in more than half the railroads of the country, in banks and other financial institutions with assets of three and a third billion dollars, in street railways,

terminal, express, steamship and telegraph companies capitalized at more than one and a quarter billion dollars, and in industrial corporations with capital of nearly three billion dollars. The directors of the United States Steel Corporation are J. P. Morgan, Henry Phipps, J. P. Morgan, Jr., James A. Farrell, Elbert H. Gary, George W. Perkins, Edmund C. Converse, Alfred Clifford, Samuel Mather, Daniel G. Reid, William E. Corey, George F. Baker, Gardiner M. Lane, Clement A. Griscom, Henry Walters, Robert Winsor, Charles Steele, William H. Moore, Norman B. Ream, Peter A. B. Widener, James H. Reed, Henry C. Frick, and Percival Roberts, Jr.

Now it would be absurd to say that these men actually control all the banks, railroads, and other companies in which they are directors, but nevertheless much of the vast influence and power of the Steel Corporation might with reason be ascribed to the other connections of its directors. The entire board of directors meets rarely and the actual power rests with a small Finance Committee consisting of E. H. Gary, George W. Perkins, Henry C. Frick, George F. Baker, Henry Phipps, Norman B. Ream, J. P. Morgan, Jr., Percival Roberts and Peter A. B. Widener. One of these men, George F. Baker, is a director in companies with a capital of seven and a half billion dollars.

3. Before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce it was asserted last winter by Mr. Bernard F. Baker, a Baltimore capitalist, who formerly owned a majority of the stock of the Atlantic Transport Line of steamers, that he had been blocked in his plans to build a line of steamships to operate through the Panama Canal independently of the transcontinental railroads by certain Wall Street bankers. Later he named J. P. Morgan & Co., Kuhn, Loeb & Co., the National City Bank, Seligman & Co., and Salomon & Co. Mr. Baker's charges were denied by the parties immediately concerned and with the utmost explicitness. But Mr. Baker's list of men or firms capable of blocking his enterprise is of value in that several of the names are the same which in the opinion of others perhaps better fitted to judge are among the more powerful financial groups.

4. Mr. John Moody, for many years a well-known student of statistical and financial subjects, has stated that seven men are the masters of American capital. He names J. P. Morgan, John D. and William Rockefeller, James Stillman, chairman of the National City Bank, George F. Baker, chairman of

the First National Bank, James J. Hill, and Jacob Schiff, head of the firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. All of these names appear in Senator La Follette's list, three are in Mr. Bernard Baker's list, and two of the men named by Mr. Moody are directors of the United States Steel Corporation and members of its Finance Committee.

5. Thomas F. Ryan, himself a financier of the first rank, was asked a few years ago what would happen when the older generation of bankers and financiers should pass away. In answer he prepared a typewritten list of seven young men to whom could safely be entrusted the future conduct of financial affairs. The names on his list were those of J. Pierpont Morgan, Jr. and Henry P. Davison, of J. P. Morgan & Co., Otto H. Kahn and Mortimer L. Schiff, of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., George F. Baker, Jr., son of the chairman of the First National Bank, James A. Stillman, son of the chairman of the National City Bank, and John B. Dennis, of the firm of Blair & Co. In other words Mr. Ryan believes the five banking concerns of Morgan, Kuhn-Loeb, Blair, and the two great national banks will be able to take care of American finance. His list differs but little from that of John Moody, for while he does not include John D. and William Rockefeller and James J. Hill it should be stated that the Rockefellers are closely connected both by business and marriage with James Stillman of the City Bank, and Mr. Hill has long been a close business associate and friend of George F. Baker of the First National Bank, and a business associate of the Morgans.

6. President Reynolds, of the Continental & Commercial National Bank, of Chicago, is quoted as having stated in a recent address that a few banks in the three Central Reserve cities, Chicago, St. Louis and New York, would determine, in case of disturbance, to whom credit should be extended, and that these banks control 85 per cent. of the business in their cities. He went on to say that the money power lies in the hands of a few men and acknowledged himself to be one of them.

7. Samuel Untermyer, special counsel for the Congressional committee which is investigating the so-called Money Trust, has stated that "there are not more than four powerful financial groups," but thus far he has not publicly named them.

8. Comparatively recently American bankers have for the first time taken a real part in world finance. Not only have Central American states been financed and loans

made to South American countries, such as Brazil and Argentina, but Chinese railroad loans, formerly the exclusive prerogative of European bankers, have been shared by American participants. The State Department has done much to forward the efforts of American bankers to mingle in world finance, and enemies of this policy have dubbed it "dollar diplomacy." The bankers who entered this field have been known as the "American Syndicate," and this syndicate consists of J. P. Morgan & Co., Kuhn, Loeb & Co., the First National and the National City banks, of New York.

9. The second bank in point of deposits in New York City is the National Bank of Commerce. Until recently a controlling interest in its stock was owned by two life insurance companies, but this stock had to be sold because of new laws regulating life insurance investments. Last year this block of stock was purchased jointly by men connected with the four banking institutions referred to in the foregoing paragraphs and officers of these four banks have become members of the board of directors and finance committee of the Bank of Commerce.

10. In recent years, and especially since the panic of 1907, the work of "financing," or supplying funds, for the railroads, leading groups of electric railways and other "public utilities," and the leading industrial or manufacturing companies, has fallen more and more into the hands of the same four groups of bankers, together with a few of their associates. In cases where large railroads or manufacturing companies have become insolvent representatives of these groups usually have reorganized them. Where industries previously conducted by individuals or partners have become too great to be owned by a few men, and in recent years their number has rapidly increased, it has been to these four groups of bankers and their immediate associates that the industries have usually gone for funds. These facts are accepted in Wall Street as a matter of course. But in these pages nothing is to be taken for granted.

In January, 1910, the REVIEW OF REVIEWS printed a list of fifteen banks, trust companies and insurance companies, having total assets and resources of \$2,123,058,326 which were then "controlled by, associated with, or influenced by" members of but one of these four banking groups, and at the same time there was printed a list of railroad and industrial companies with capital of \$7,653,961,606 which were then "more or less men-

tioned" as being "accustomed to obtain their funds through" the same group. Practically all of these banks and companies still possess the same affiliations and are now greater in their aggregate capital by many hundreds of millions of dollars.

No one at all familiar with the facts would say that *all* large corporations secure their funds from one or more of the four great groups and their immediate associates. But the number of large corporations of national importance which do secure funds or financial standing and prestige in that way is large enough to add mightily to the power of these groups. It is a well-known fact, for example, that the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. has had an important part to play in the International Harvester Company, the largest manufacturer of agricultural implements in the world. A few months ago the J. I. Case Threshing Machine Company, a large competing concern, required Wall Street financing. It went to J. P. Morgan & Co. Now representatives of that firm and of the First National Bank of New York sit on its board of directors. Members of J. P. Morgan & Co. are directors in the General Electric Co. and in the American Telephone & Telegraph Co., which controls the Western Electric Co. Since the panic of 1907, the firm also has had a representative in the Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co., which had previously been controlled by George Westinghouse personally.

For some time officers of the First National Bank have been interested in the United States Rubber Company, the largest of its kind. Recently the Intercontinental Rubber Company, a large producing concern in Mexico, and the Goodrich-Diamond Co., a big manufacturing concern in Ohio, have come to the front in their respective fields, and the president of a bank closely affiliated with the First National has become a voting trustee of one and a director of the other of these concerns. Until a few years ago the largest cement company was controlled by the late J. Rogers Maxwell. Shortly before his death control was taken over by J. P. Morgan & Co., who are bankers for the United States Steel Corporation which owns the Universal Portland Cement Co., the second in size in the country. Until recently there were only two large manufacturers of locomotives in this country, the American Locomotive Co. and the Baldwin Locomotive Works. The American Co. had long secured funds through a great Wall Street house and its directorate includes bankers in the central

group. But the Baldwin Works were until last year owned by a small partnership of Philadelphia men. Now, however, representatives of J. P. Morgan & Co., and the National City Bank and First National Bank have gone on the Baldwin directorate. When the American Sugar Refining Company was in the government toils a year or two ago it was thought advisable to root out the old Havemeyer directors and put in new men. These include several from the National City Bank. When the largest paper company, the International, needed "new blood" a year ago, men from institutions close to the First National Bank went on the directorate. Possibly it may be objected that officers of these banks are looking for good investments and are acting solely in their individual capacities. But even if that be the case there is steadily proceeding a unification of interests among the few great central banking groups and the country's larger industries.

Why Concentration Has Come About

Here, then, are ten lists of men into whose hands great banking and financial power has been given. (Two lists are without names.) The names are far from identical in every case. At points, prejudice, envy, ignorance, and mere opinion went into their making up. But the discerning reader will find a common factor. Without having the information knocked into his head with a bludgeon he will see that the experience and close observation of those competent to judge as well as clear and incontrovertible facts point to an amazing degree of financial concentration.

The testimony, then, is before us. It has but one meaning thus far—financial power in this country has become concentrated and centralized to a startling degree. Before we see wherein this concentration is evil (if it is evil at all), and where the remedy lies, we must understand what forces have brought it about.

Three great factors are in the main responsible and they are the growth of big banks, the growth of big industries, and the financial laws of the country.

The Development of Banking—a Paradox

The last ten or fifteen years have witnessed a striking increase in banking facilities in this country and in the number of banks. But at the same time the amassing of huge resources in a few large institutions in the

larger cities has gone on faster. In several of the largest cities the number of banks has actually decreased. Here we have a significant paradox—more banks and fewer banks. What does it mean?

Whatever fault may be found with the American banking system, the readiness of our citizens to embark in that field of business cannot be questioned. When the last detailed statistics were gathered by the National Monetary Commission in 1909 there were 22,459 banks in this country and their so-called "banking power" was then close to twenty-one billions of dollars. By this phrase is signified the sum of capital, surplus, profits, deposits and circulating notes. It is probably safe to say that at the present time this "banking power" is approaching twenty-five billions, or one-third of the world's total, and the number of banks is nearly thirty thousand. England, France, and Germany combined cannot boast a greater sum total of banking resources than can the United States, and the number of banks in the three European nations does not aggregate a thousand.

Nor must it be supposed that American banking facilities, while growing rapidly, have not kept pace with the growth in wealth and population. They have actually exceeded the increase in population and the per capita increase in wealth.

No Lack of Banking Facilities

However great the concentration of money power in this country, it cannot truthfully be said that banking facilities are not also increasing. Figures taken from the reports of the National Monetary Commission and other official sources show that the number of banks is mounting up faster than either wealth or population.

Year	Wealth	Wealth per Capita	Number National Banks	Number All Banks	No. Inhab- itants to one Bank
1880.....	\$43,642,000,000	\$850.26	2,076	5,874	8,538
1890.....	65,037,091,000	1,038.57	3,484	7,280	8,602
1900.....	88,511,306,775	1,164.79	3,732	9,376	8,138
1909.....	130,000,000,000 ¹	1,400.00 ¹	6,893	22,459	4,256

¹ Estimated, 1910.

NOTE.—These figures include only commercial banks. In addition there are the Postal Savings Banks, which will soon number 40,000.

Where the Money Has Gone

When one first realizes the extent of this country's banking resources he is properly astonished. But how evenly are these resources distributed? It is commonly known that banking facilities in the Southern and Western sections of the country are small

indeed as compared with the New England, eastern, central and Pacific Coast sections where large cities abound. To illustrate, in 1909, when the total banking power was close to twenty-one billions, more than half was represented by forty-seven cities, and close to one quarter was held by the two hundred banks in New York and Chicago. In other words about one per cent. of the country's banks held close to one quarter of the country's banking power.

Now it is a well-known fact that an individual or corporation with large resources and large business exerts an influence in his particular field far in excess of his actual mathematical percentage of the total resources or business. Thus the dominating position of the big banks is even greater than mere figures indicate. But there is still another fact which centralizes and cements their power. The only banks which are really large are in a few cities, and the larger they are, the more they tend to the very greatest centers of population. Thus toward the end of 1911, there were 183 banking institutions with deposits of \$10,000,000 or more, of which 62 were in New York City. There were thirty-six institutions with deposits of \$25,000,000 or more. Sixteen of these were in New York City and four in Chicago. There were ten with deposits of \$75,000,000 or more, and of these, seven were in New York and two in Chicago. Of the ten largest trust companies six were in New York, three in Chicago, and one in Boston.

These great banks and trust companies are of very recent growth. Twenty years ago the deposits of our largest bank were one-twentieth of what they are to-day. At the first inauguration of President McKinley, which was really not so far back as the Dark Ages, there was no bank in New York with

more than \$30,000,000 of deposits. Now there are six banks each with more than \$100,000,000 of deposits. A trust company in New York City, which had deposits of \$20,000,000 five years ago, now has deposits of \$166,000,000 and its twenty-eight directors sit in boards of other banking institutions with resources of \$1,250,000,000.

Where is the Actual Cash to be Found?

When it comes to actual cash we find the position of the New York and Chicago banks even more dominant. Figures of deposits and resources contain many credit items, and in the last analysis banking depends upon cash. Between one-sixth and one-seventh of the \$3,200,000,000 of the money in circulation in this country (\$500,000,000) lies in the New York banks, and the Chicago banks have, say, \$330,000,000.

There are about 250 banks in New York and Chicago, or less than one per cent. of the country's total number. But this eight-tenths of one per cent. of the banks hold one-third of all the cash in all the banks, or a quarter of all the cash in the entire country. Six banks in New York and Chicago, all more or less affiliated with a few friendly financiers, recently held close to \$300,000,000 cash. In other words two one-hundredths of one per cent. of all the banks in this country hold one-tenth of all the cash in the country.

Consolidation—A Steady Process which is Not Halting

Despite the disproportionate size of New York and Chicago banks their number is steadily decreasing. This is because the process of consolidation proceeds just as steadily. In 1853 there were fifty-three banks in the New York Clearing House Association, and in 1911 there were fifty, although in the meantime the amount of business had increased twenty times. There are now less than 130 banks in New York, or ten less than ten years ago, although in that time cash holdings have doubled and deposits have increased a third. In ten years no less than 103 banks have gone out of existence, generally through absorption into larger institutions. From January to June, 1912, there were no less than eight mergers or absorptions of banking institutions. In 1910, 1911, and thus far in 1912, the process of consolidation in New York has involved \$350,000,000 of deposits and fifteen institutions. In Chicago the same process of consolidation has gone on. One Chicago trust company has absorbed six others in eight years.

New York and Chicago are by no means the only cities in which the obvious tendency is to have fewer but larger banks. Look about at random. Akron, Ohio, where the rubber industry has recently become of more than local importance, has felt the necessity of banks large enough to carry on its trade, and consolidation has resulted. In Detroit,

where the automobile trade has set in motion a great industrial development, the old Detroit National has absorbed the American Exchange National. In Seattle, Nashville, Wilmington, Portland, Philadelphia, Baltimore, San Francisco and Louisville, there have been many recent mergers and absorptions. In Cincinnati one of the largest institutions in the Ohio Valley has been formed by the absorption of the Merchants' National by the First National. As for Boston the desire of her capitalists to make New England more powerful in the business life of the country has led to the recent absorption of the City Trust Company by the Old Colony and the steady growth of three financial institutions, the Shawmut National Bank, the First National Bank, and the Old Colony Trust Company, these three far exceeding all others in size. In March, 1912, the First National Bank of Boston increased its capital from \$2,000,000 to \$5,000,000, and, not to be outdone, the Shawmut National in May, 1912, increased its capital from \$3,500,000 to \$10,000,000.

Ties That Bind

Not only are a few great banks in a few cities coming more and more to dominate the business, but the relations between the banks in cities such as Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston with the mammoth depositories of money in New York are growing closer.

The National City and First National in New York, and the Continental and Commercial and the First National in Chicago, are respectively the leading banks of the country's two centers of population. But note that Chicago's First National is associated with the men in New York's First National, and Chicago's Continental and Commercial is on a similar friendly footing with New York's National City. James J. Hill, Norman B. Ream, and George F. Baker, all capitalists of distinction, are directors of both First Nationals. According to the Chicago tax assessors, Mr. Baker, who is the chairman and largest owner of New York's First National, has 2000 shares of stock in Chicago's First National. J. Ogden Armour is credited with being by far the chief owner of Chicago's Continental and Commercial Bank and he is a director and stockholder of New York's National City. The tax assessors say he owns 9350 shares of the big Chicago bank, and his former treasurer has become a vice-president of the New York institution. It would be possible to cite

other affiliations, but enough has been said to show the closeness of relations which exist.

Turn to Philadelphia, a solid financial center of magnitude. Members of the firm of Drexel & Co., the Philadelphia connection of J. P. Morgan & Co., which latter firm ranks high in the direction of New York banking affairs, occupy many directorates in Philadelphia's larger banks and trust companies. E. T. Stotesbury, who stands next to J. Pierpont Morgan as a partner in J. P. Morgan & Co. itself, is a director in no less than seven prominent Philadelphia banks and trust companies. Thomas De Witt Cuyler, president of a trust company in the Quaker City, and a director in three other large banking institutions there, is a director in six large banks and trust companies in New York.

The Boston banks are, at first sight, less directly affiliated with those of New York, for only a small part of the stock of the National Shawmut is owned outside of New England, and there are no New York bankers on the directorates of either the Shawmut Bank, or Boston's other great financial institutions, the Old Colony Trust Company and the First National. But there are close affiliations none the less. Members of the Boston banking firms of Kidder, Peabody & Co. and Lee, Higginson & Co., which often act with the greater New York groups in the issuance and sale of securities, hold directorates in all of Boston's three big banking institutions.

Moreover, many of the directorates of the Shawmut and First National Banks and the Old Colony Trust Company and of other Boston banks and trust companies are filled by officers and directors of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad, and American Telephone & Telegraph Company, and The General Electric Company, all of which find their financial inspiration largely in the greater New York banking groups. No less than eight General Electric men are directors of the Old Colony Trust Co., six of the Bay State Trust Co., four of the American Trust Co., and two of the Shawmut Bank.

How the Law Has Fostered this Condition

Thus one great cause of the concentration of banking and financial power into a few hands has been the consolidation of banking resources into a few great units and the friendly affiliations of these units. *But these units have not grown big merely because their managers or owners willed it so.* The banking and currency laws of the country have forced money into a few centers. The banks of New

York City employ,—mainly in financial or stock market loans,—about \$600,000,000 which belongs to banks in other parts of the country. Naturally this concentration of money in a few banks "places these banks in a position to control the issuing or granting of credit,"—to use the exact words of the president of one of them—"thereby placing the money power in the hands of a comparatively small number of men."

But this gravitation of money to New York is because the money is idle and is hunting a job, and not because of any process of usurpation, manipulation, or combination. It naturally arises under and by virtue of our National Banking Act. Under this act country banks are permitted to place three-fifths of their legal cash reserve on deposit with banks in forty-seven large cities, and still have it count as part of their reserve. In turn banks in forty-four of the forty-seven large cities may leave half their legal cash reserves on deposit with banks in three cities, New York, Chicago, and St. Louis, and still have it count as part of their reserve. Owing to the constant demand for funds on the New York Stock Exchange there is always a market for idle cash in New York such as exists nowhere else. Banks in New York customarily allow 2 per cent. interest on country bank deposits subject to sudden return call, and, failing any other avenue of profitable short time investment, there is a steady flow of money to New York, not only from the allowable quota of country bank reserves but from any other surplus funds which may happen to be available.

No doubt cash piles up in such cities as Philadelphia, Boston, St. Louis, Chicago and New York for other reasons. Rich men place great sums in the banks for investments, and country merchants remit to city banks for goods received. But the bulk of idle country bank cash which finds employment in New York comes here because of the existing reserve system, and there are several great banks in both New York and Chicago which have few customers other than the thousands of country banks whose "correspondents" they are.

The Corporation and the Bank

Thus banking and financial power is concentrated in a few hands not only by the growth of great banks and by the laws of the country, but also by the legitimate business practices which have grown up under these laws. But the massing of this power in a

few vast, centralized units has been a development of the last ten or fifteen years only. That is, it has been coincident with the development of trusts and combinations. Big Business and Big Banking have gone hand in hand. Each has made the other possible. By law a bank cannot loan more than one-tenth of its capital and surplus to any one customer. But the customers have grown into behemoths. How then could the banks fail to grow.

Before trusts existed and before small railroads were united into large systems the few banking houses of magnitude which existed in Wall Street had engaged in merchant banking, for the industries and railroads had not been large enough to attract their attention. These small industries and railroads were controlled by their owners, and their capital requirements were supplied largely in the localities in which they were situated. But as railroads and industries were consolidated it was found necessary to apply to the larger New York banking firms to supply the funds. These bankers had European connections as well as close affiliations with the big national banks and life insurance companies, and were able not only to furnish the needed capital but also undertook to market the securities of the newly formed combinations.

Thus a few banking houses, of which J. P. Morgan & Company is the chief example, became in a way responsible for these new creations and naturally assumed charge not only of their finances, but to some extent of their other affairs. Thus the headquarters of the trusts and railroads gradually moved to New York. In the treasuries of these companies were vast sums of money to be banked, and it was inevitable that most of it should be placed in New York banks. The average daily balance of the United States Steel Corporation is about \$75,000,000 and the American Tobacco Company has perhaps \$20,000,000. There is also the Standard Oil Company, whose balance is perhaps as large.

These few financial groups, J. P. Morgan & Co., Kuhn, Loeb & Co., and the capitalists identified with the National City Bank and the First National Bank, along with a few others, are primarily in the business of selling securities and loaning money upon them. In fact they may be described as the great security issuing houses. Such influence as their members or directors may exert over railroad and other corporations is largely due to their ability to dispose of securities and to give these securities the stamp of soundness and conservatism. Here it may be added

that men like J. P. Morgan would not be directors in so many corporations if their advice and assistance were not eagerly sought.

In the small village a small group of men own the bank, the coal yard, the ice-plant, the trolley line, the gas plant and the little factories. Every day of the year these men, in their different capacities, have to trade with themselves in the purchase of supplies, etc., for their different companies, one from another. No one thinks of accusing them of double dealing, and yet the situation differs not a whit from the vast system of interlocking bank and corporate directors in New York except in degree and in the fact, which, however, is vital, that the New York system affects the whole commonwealth whereas the business convolutions of Deacon Jones of Jones' Corners do not.

Now it must not be supposed that bankers such as Mr. Morgan and his partners are usually large owners in the companies they influence or even control. Often they do not own 15 per cent. of the stock of the banks they dominate. Often they become directors with but a few shares of qualifying stock. Still more often their influence is exerted merely as financial advisers. Often they nominate the president of a railroad or manufacturing company as Morgan & Co. nominated the president of the Atlas Portland Cement Company. Often the bankers take no part in the direction of companies until these companies have shown incapacity or have had for any reason, business or governmental, to be reorganized, either in form or management. Recent cases which come under one or the other of these heads are the Wabash Railroad, the United States Motors Co., the Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Company, the International Paper Company, the American Tobacco Company and the American Sugar Refining Company.

Harmony the Watchword

There is little evidence to show any actual agreement or even arrangement among the great financial groups. Through interlocking directors and the wide following of smaller firms which each of the big groups has, the whole big banking situation in New York is closely knit together. There is a carefully fostered community of interest even among hostile groups, each group having a director or two, like a financial ambassador, in the other banks. In the past there has been keen rivalry. Historically the Morgan and First National Bank groups have long

been close, and two members of the Morgan firm were taken from the First National Bank. At one time these two groups bitterly fought the other two powerful groups—the Kuhn, Loeb-National City Bank interests. But in recent years harmony has prevailed.

The hardest fight between these two major groups was for control of the Northern Pacific Railway. The destructive possibilities which that conflict opened up convinced those concerned of the futility of fighting any but a common opponent. The panic of 1907 brought them still closer together. The death of E. H. Harriman left far more than one vacant place in high finance to be filled. As the most powerful of bankers the Big Four naturally took Harriman's place. The same was true when Thomas F. Ryan decided to leave Wall Street. Finally the law which compelled life insurance companies to sell their stock holdings made it necessary that some one should buy, and it was logical enough that the bankers who had been affiliated with the life insurance companies should purchase many of these securities.

It must be remembered that the four banking groups are now managed for the most part by young men. These young men are more accustomed to the ways of conciliation than were the late E. H. Harriman, and John D. Rockefeller and J. P. Morgan. The younger men trouble themselves little with the former conflicts of Morgan, Hill, Rockefeller, Schiff, Stillman, Harriman and Ryan. They have forgotten even the accusations and charges which the life insurance scandals made public. Their aim is more impersonal—it is to "develop business," and the surest way to do that is by working harmoniously together.

Money Power Not Distinctly American

Striking as the concentration of banking, money and financial power seems, it is no greater here than abroad, perhaps not so great. In London there are banks with fifty millions of capital, or twice as much as our one largest bank, and deposits of nearly four hundred millions of dollars, or twice as much as our largest bank. Even Canada, with a population less than one-tenth of ours, has a bank as great as our greatest. Relatively its big banks are bigger than ours. Concentration in Canada has gone much farther than here. Six banks in the Dominion hold half its entire banking resources. The autocratic power wielded by the score of great Canadian banks would start a revolution in this country.

Germany and France long ago went through the process of bank consolidation.

Why then do We Hear Few Complaints from Abroad?

Here is a problem to be faced with intellectual honesty. Money power may be a bad thing, but let us not be so dishonest as to declare it a new thing. The New York Clearing House Association may wield power too autocratic, but let it not be overlooked that a similar organization in London, with only one-third as many members, has long exercised as great power without raising any hue and cry of a Money Trust. Also consider Germany. If you have the time and courage to undertake such a task, go through the ponderous volume issued by the National Monetary Commission telling of the actual results of the great bank system in that country. It is a weary task reading the long-winded testimony of Herr Professor Doctor Governor this and that, but it is worth the labor.

We are told that great banks are more amenable to public opinion than smaller scattered institutions, that the government is more ably assisted in its financial operations, that fewer reckless loans are made. Quicker prognostication of crises, whether on the Bourse or in commerce and industry, quicker adoption of preventive measures thereby lessening the effects of crises and facilitation of business by the increased use of checks, are other services rendered by concentrated banking in Germany.

The Inconsistency of the Government

Facts are always stranger than theories. What could be stranger than the fact that a Congressional committee is investigating the alleged Money Trust as manifested in the clearing houses, when the Controller of the Currency, who is part of the same government, is urging banks in cities which have no clearing houses to form them? With one branch of the government "going after" the money power another is doing its utmost to make that power sounder, safer and stronger. Time and again the Controller of the Currency has urged the banks and clearing houses to coöperate more extensively. Because of his urging they have adopted systems of voluntary examinations, which bring them closer together and give greater power to the body as a whole to punish and expel recalcitrant members.

In 1907 when there was far less both of

coöperation and concentration among the banks of this country than there is today, each bank standing weakly isolated and alone, frantically grasped all the cash it could muster. When the panic storm broke banks struggled to call in loans and line their vaults with cash. Business was crippled; industry was squeezed dry of its lifeblood. Last year when Germany was threatened with both war and panic, trouble was averted by the German "Money Trust" which loaned more than \$200,000,000. It takes no expert knowledge of finance or banking to perceive that a few great, strong banks, or many smaller ones (provided they are welded closely together) can meet a storm more calmly than scattered, unconnected institutions.

Where is the Vital Difference?

If concentration is a good thing how can there be too much of it? Here is the answer. *Concentrated power without responsibility may be the worst possible thing.* The other great financial nations have money trusts far exceeding ours, *but each is capped by a vast central bank, more or less a government institution*, and from the necessity of the case operated *not only with a view to the general welfare but more or less openly and publicly.* Indeed each week these banks publicly announce the rate of interest which they will charge. *The American "Money Trust" is strictly private, responsible to no one.* It may act philanthropically if it chooses, but it is governed by nothing but choice. The money kings can, if they wish, exact any price.

R. H. Thomas, former president of the New York Stock Exchange, told the Pujo committee how Wall Street had finally to turn to one man, J. P. Morgan, in the panic of 1907, to save it from complete disaster. He did not know where the relief came from, in what form, nor with what conditions. It just came. Since at that time the entire country was dependent upon Wall Street because its surplus money was there, there is no escaping the fact that the whole financial situation of the country was at the mercy of one man. *A 200 per cent. rate for loans would be inconceivable in one of the European financial centers because the central banks of Europe are the guarantors of the stability of the money market.* The central banks of Europe depend upon no man, selfish or altruistic. They are the public financial regulators of the whole nation.

Has the Money Power been used to crush and squeeze? Let the answer go for the

minute. Suppose that it has not been so used. Nevertheless, its control is in the hands of a few men. *Even if their action be honest and intended for the public interest, they are necessarily most interested in the great undertakings in which we have seen them to be engaged.* By reason of these limitations they must check and limit, if they do not destroy, genuine economic freedom and competition. The evolution of business gave them power. Unwise banking and currency laws gave them power. These men have not conspired to do this thing. Mere self-protection drove them to unite to control the convulsions of panic. The people through their laws provided no means of stopping panics. Somewhere there had to be final power.

Where Should Responsibility Rest?

But the power is far too great for any set of private citizens. Who then shall take it? The European system of central government banks may not be in harmony with American institutions, but a plan has been formulated which is highly suggestive in its remedial features. America needs a strong banking system. There can no longer be any question of that. But it must be a system which will serve commerce at large and not merely a few great units. It must be a system which will create a market for all high-class paper issued by agricultural, commercial and industrial interests, and not merely one which stimulates the markets, speculative and otherwise, for the stocks and bonds of mammoth trusts and railroad consolidations.

A true American banking system cannot attain these ends until it casts off private and secret manipulation of the country's credit and financial resources. We have in America a central money power, but it is improvised, and when it works it strains and creaks and creates suspicion and distrust on every hand. The country bank to-day sends its idle funds to Wall Street, but it does not boast of or publish that fact. How many local business men or depositors know about it? Thus there is harmful privacy with the small as well as with the great banks.

Publicity and Public Confidence

Notwithstanding its defects, the general purpose of the so-called Aldrich Plan to establish a Central Reserve Association is to operate against narrowness, selfishness and provincialism as well as against private

manipulation. This would be done mainly by the creation of a big, broad discount market for the paper of agricultural, commercial and industrial interests. Instead of the banks sending secretly their idle cash to Wall Street where it inevitably is controlled by three or four groups of capitalists, it would be kept at home to be used for local needs; and, furthermore, men would know the money was there and how and at what interest rates it was being employed.

But there are other provisions of the National Reserve Association which make for publicity and increased public confidence. First, it is proposed that the National Reserve Association, the central association in which all the banks will own stock and participate, shall make a weekly and public report containing the principal items in its balance sheet. In addition full reports shall be made to the Controller of the Currency by the association five times a year, coincident with the five reports which the Controller now demands from the national banks. Then, too, each bank shall make a report monthly, or oftener, to the association. This provision extends publicity down to the individual banks.

As for the weekly report which the association itself shall give to the public, there is every reason to expect it to prove a valuable business document, as are the statements of the Bank of England. This in turn will assure it a wider and more careful reading than such a document would ordinarily receive. It is further provided that all reports of national bank examiners shall hereafter be made in duplicate and one confidential copy filed with the National Reserve Association. It is finally provided that at any time the association shall have the right to examine any bank belonging to it.

Plenty of publicity, you may say, but who will direct the association and thus be in a position to use this publicity? On the controlling board there will sit, in addition to bankers, the Secretaries of the Treasury, Agriculture, and Commerce and Labor, and the Controller of the Currency. On the same board will sit representatives of agricultural, commercial and industrial interests, who shall not be officers, nor, while serving, directors of banks, trust companies, insurance com-

panies, or other financial institutions. The supreme officer of the association is to be appointed by the President of the United States.

Under the present laws nearly all the idle cash of nearly all the banks of the country flows into Wall Street. There it is loaned by a few great banks upon stocks and bonds of a few great corporations. Both the banks and the corporations are controlled by a few great groups of private bankers and financiers who have become great not only because of the practices and evolution of business but because they alone have had the power to steer the country through financial disaster. The people have failed to provide any regular, public machinery for that purpose as every European nation has done. Thus *a handful of men, responsible to no one but themselves and God, have become masters of the lifeblood of commerce and industry.* That this power has been more rapidly concentrated into their hands than the people have supposed is the unavoidable conclusion of this article.

From private persons, acting in private, and dominated in the main by private motives there cannot be expected the wisest and broadest direction of the flow of money—the lifeblood of business. These men have not asked for this power. They know it is too great for them. On the whole they have behaved with singular restraint. But only a fool would suppose that the best system for financing the small farmer in Florida or the small tin can manufacturer in Oregon is to turn over the entire money power of the nation to J. P. Morgan and a few other private persons. How under such a system could the great trusts fail to thrive at the expense of the small man?

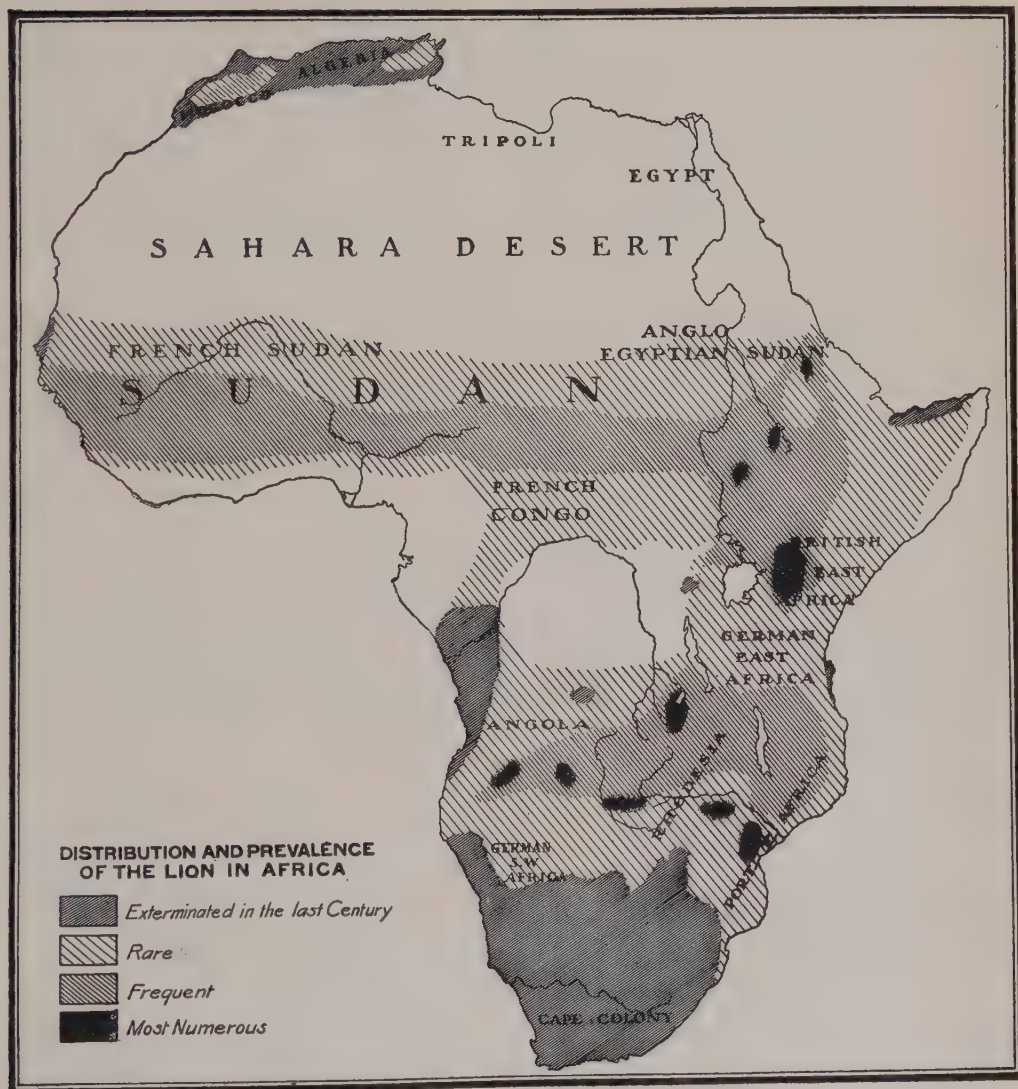
What is the Answer to These Questions?

Has not the time come for broadening out and opening up our system for regulating the flow of money and credit? Has not the time come when these vital functions should be performed, not in secret by four or five men selected by blind forces, but through the machinery of a system known to all, working for all, and deliberately and openly patterned for the public good?



THE DOOM OF THE LION IN AFRICA

BY CYRUS C. ADAMS



THE war on the lion is becoming intense. The prey he prefers lives chiefly in regions where the white man thrives and labors best; so the hand of every white man is against the lion. Within the past century, a great area in South Africa, a third as large as the United States, has been swept clear of him. This history will be repeated. In

the time of Demosthenes, there were lions in Greece and in Asia Minor, but the last perished ages ago. We find in Spain the bones of the lion buried in prehistoric dust. In the same way, the present lion is passing on; and his extermination will be the white man's work.

This instructive map, based largely upon

the exhaustive studies of Dr. M. C. Engell of Copenhagen, shows the present distribution of the lion and great areas where he was once supreme but is seen no longer. The story of the war of the whites upon the lions of South Africa is one of the most striking of all narratives of human struggle against the animal pests of creation.

The Dutch were in South Africa when our Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock. Millions of antelopes in great variety, zebras, giraffes and other food that the lion seeks, lived on those grassy plains; and here the lion was preëminently the king of beasts. The Europeans undertook to herd sheep and cattle in the environs of their coast settlements but the lion disputed their right. He sprang among their flocks and carried off sheep in full view of the shepherds. The garrison at the Cape Town fort and the farmers on the outskirts were stimulated to hunt the lion by a government premium of \$5 for each one slain; but the lions were countless and the whites were few and no serious inroads were made upon the enemy. At last a number of lions made bold one night to invade the fort itself and killed and partly devoured nine head of cattle before they were discovered and driven off. It became a question whether the whites could live in South Africa at all. The government, in 1694, raised the price of a slain lion to \$25. More settlers were flocking in, and the good money made in lion hunting so stimulated pursuit that the coast settlements, and the areas around them, were at last fairly safe.

But as cattle and sheep men pushed into the interior, the work had to be done all over again. Early in the eighteenth century, the premium paid for lions was still \$15 a head. The colonists could not afford this tax and the burden was shared by the home government. Then the British came in and the war was pushed with greater energy than ever. But what a struggle it was over a vast territory with lions in every covert. Up to sixty years ago no herdsman or shepherd ever took his charge afield without an ammunition belt and a gun on his shoulder. About 1850, a lion was killed while enjoying the wonderful sight of Cape Town, spread out below him.

The extermination of the lion in South Africa has been almost wholly the work of the past sixty years. Government agencies were powerfully reinforced by scores of hunters among whom a few mighty Nimrods, such as Selous and others, won fame. No lions now exist in the great region marked on the map. Unfortunately, most of the

beautiful game animals on whom they preyed have also disappeared. They could not have survived the spread of progress, but it's a pity they were slain so ruthlessly.

Twelve hundred miles farther north, in British East Africa, is the greatest center of lion hunting in the world. Here Col. Roosevelt and many other renowned sportsmen have sought and found their quarry. It is a region rich in the big game that the lion most relishes; but it is doubtful if its attractiveness to hunters will long endure because the whole region is needed for white enterprises. Thirty years ago, no one dreamed that Africa contained such a land as this directly under the Equator.

It stands from 5000 to 8000 feet above the sea, most of it a great plain to which white immigration is invited. Last year, the farmers filled a large ship with a cargo of maize and sent it to Europe. Under the overhead sun, they are raising European sheep for wool. They are importing the best European breeds of cattle and crossing them with the best native stock to the great improvement of the meat and milk industries. They have thriving towns and the Uganda Railway gives them an outlet to the sea; and there are two things they do not want—one is lions and the other is the great game which troops in thousands over their grassy plains. On the other hand, the colonial government is trying to save the millions of antelopes, zebras and other grazing animals by limiting the number that can be killed and establishing reservations which hunters are not permitted to enter.

But the ranchman and the small farmer are vehement in their opposition to game protection. They say that where millions of grazing animals fatten on the wide grass lands great numbers of cattle and sheep would thrive; that the government should not protect game in vast regions that can be put to better use. Col. Sir James Sadler, governor of the Colony, told the people, two years ago, that game preservation must not impede development and that changes in the game laws in this particular were under consideration. The colonists look forward to the day when the game reserves will be turned to industrial uses and insist that colonial development demands the extermination of the lion which cannot be tolerated in regions devoted to live stock and farming industries. They believe also that the finish of the lion will come all the earlier through the new methods of hunting by means of dogs which have resulted in the killing of

as many as nine lions at the end of a morning's gallop.

The future of the lion in this paradise of hunters is not brilliant. It bodes him ill that the Uganda Railway passes right across the region where his lairs are most numerous. Railroads and lions are not compatible. One line crosses the center of a great lion haunt in Portuguese East Africa, and the younger animals, dazzled by the headlight, are sometimes killed on the tracks. No wonder that lions are becoming fewer in German East Africa for this foe of man and beast cannot always exist where plantations of sisal hemp, cotton, sugar cane and tobacco are multiplying, where railroads are building from the sea to the northern and western frontiers, where miners are delving and prospectors are ransacking the land for mineral indications, and where the work of covering the whole vast region with official topographic surveys is in progress.

We see a few areas in Portuguese East Africa and Rhodesia where the lion is still numerous. The reason for his prevalence is interesting. The tsetse fly, whose bite is fatal to all domestic animals, flourishes in these areas. The natives will not live where, if they are herders, their cattle cannot exist. White men have scarcely entered these districts, for they want beef and milk which cannot be produced there. But the regions abound with food for the lion and he lives and multiplies unmolested by man. Curiously enough, there is one place in the Sahara desert where the lion is found, seas of sand separating him from the common haunts of his kind. His home is in the large oasis of Air. The anomaly is easily explained. Long ago, more copious rainfall extended the grass lands of the Sudan to the north across a region that is now a sand waste. This is proven by the ruins of dwellings and the graves and implements that are now strewn among the sands. In that brighter era, the lion and some of his food animals crossed the verdant land to Air and have continued to exist in a region where there is grass for the grazers and meat for the lion.

We see a wide band across the Sudan where the lion is still frequent. The northern edge of this band marks the northern limit of the heavy summer rains and consequently of the abundant vegetation that supports large numbers of animals. Parts of this great region are already in process of development by the whites. Most of it, in Nigeria, is a little south of the wide cotton

region, believed to be as large as our own cotton belt, but it covers the horse raising regions of the Central Sudan and includes the highlands of Bauchi where British companies are mining tin. It is now known that this plateau is one of the great future sources of tin supply. More white men are moving into this belt every year and many parts of it are no longer a safe home for the lion.

The animal, as far as we know, has never lived in two distinctive types of African lands. He has never been found in the great equatorial forests and none or very few of the creatures he kills ever enter these drenched and darkened areas. No lions, therefore, are ever seen in Liberia, the Gold Coast or other colonies fronting on the northern shores of the Gulf of Guinea, nor in the vast forest area extending from the upper Congo almost to the Great Lakes and the Nile. It is said of these forests that the value of the fine timber, barks and essences that go to waste every year, is several times as great as that of the whole commerce of Africa to-day. Sometime this wealth will be garnered. The Belgians have now cut a good road clear through the forest where Stanley struggled on for months under a canopy of leaves that kept him in semi-darkness.

The other type of country where the lion is unknown embraces the larger part of the Belgian Congo and the southern part of French Equatorial Africa where the heavy rains and the intensely torrid climate at a comparatively low elevation induce the growth of vegetation too rank and coarse to be proper food for most of the animals on which the lion supports life. A great many native tribes in these regions never heard of the lion. On nearly all of Africa's coasts the lion has either been exterminated or for one or another reason is not found there.

About the dawn of the Christian era, the Roman emperors were accustomed to import many hundreds of lions from Algeria and Tunis for the amusement of their populace. Only a few are now left among the fastnesses of the Atlas Mountains and not over twenty or thirty are killed in a year. The French are just beginning to make a map of the whole of Morocco, and the incidental surveys will at least show the approximate whereabouts of the only important remnant of the lion family in North Africa. We shall see, before many years, that under the dominance of the white race there is no use in Africa for so destructive and useless an animal as the lion.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

A CHINESE CHURCHMAN ON THE CHURCH IN CHINA

A STRIKING commentary on the rapidity with which events have moved in China during the past year is contained in an article, in the *International Review of Missions*, on the immediate task of the church in China, by the Rev. Ch'eng Ching-yi, pastor of a self-supporting church in Peking and president of the Y. M. C. A. in that city. The recent changes in the Middle Kingdom have placed additional responsibilities on the Christian Church in China, he reminds his Western brethren; and he gives some valuable information with regard to what is most needed at the present juncture. It must not be forgotten that a new China does not necessarily mean a better China.

It depends upon the foundation on which the new government will be based. The new form of government needs a new type of men—men of life, of principle, of courage, otherwise the nation will still remain in its feeble and weak condition, and here Christianity is called upon for assistance. Upon the new stage of China's reforms the Christian Church has a large and important part to play, and both her opportunities and responsibilities are unutterably great. How she is prepared to face the situation is the problem to-day.

Mr. Ching-yi considers that the following points are "of importance and should be recognized by the Christian Church, if she is to master the situation and not to fall behind."

1. The evangelization of China depends largely upon the men and women of the soil. The Chinese can understand their fellow-countrymen more thoroughly and more easily than those who are of a foreign nationality; and only by the using of Chinese workers can we meet the cost incidental to having the work efficiently done.

2. The chief occupation of the missionary in the future is to devote more and more his energy and time to training and educating the Christian youth for the ministry and similar works.

3. The Church work as far as possible should be gradually in the hands of Chinese pastors. The task of the missionary is the founding of the Church and not the raising of the structure.

4. The Church of China must be scientifically taught and trained for self-support and self-government. Responsibility and privilege go hand in hand, and cannot be separated. The training is by no means an easy task, especially with those who have been Christians for years, and have not learned the art of working and giving. But what-

ever pains we take now will be repaid with great profit in the days to come.

A strong plea is made for unity in the Christian Church. "There was and is," says the writer,

no necessity for introducing Church divisions to the East. . . . The Christian Chinese can understand little, the non-Christian not at all, why the Christian Church should be thus divided and holding each for its own its particular form of worship, government, and belief, while they all profess to be members of an essentially spiritual religion, and not of mere outward forms. Let the Christian body as a whole do its uttermost to meet the present needs while the opportunity is still available, as the future of the Church depends largely upon what is now done.

Mr. Ching-yi thinks it would be a good thing if all the missionaries were to consult with one another, with the Christian Chinese leaders, and with the various home boards "as to the advisability and practicability of affording united help to the Chinese Christian Church which should be from the beginning, self-supporting and self-governing." Also, the name of the Chinese Church should be known throughout the land as "The Chinese Christian Church," and the separate parts distinguished from each other only by the location which the Church occupies, as, "The Chinese Christian Church of Peking." East and West should mutually help each other, and with one accord work for the common cause—the kingdom of Christ and the salvation of men. There are many for whom the Christian Church can do much in China. There are

the active, well-educated young people in China who are holding the reins of political and social affairs. Many of them are returned students. There are the humiliated Manchu nobles, whose pride and haughtiness have been cast down to the dust. There are—by far the greater part of the people—the ignorant, uneducated class of the man in the street. These, one and all, are waiting, unconsciously perhaps, for help from the Christian Church. The people of China view Christianity from a new standpoint and with a new consciousness. What is the Church going to do?

Upon this question, or rather the answer to it, depends the future position of the Church in China.

THE VISIT OF REPRESENTATIVE ENGLISH-MEN TO RUSSIA

BOTH in England and in Russia there are a number of prominent men, of all shades of opinion, who are convinced that a good understanding between the two countries is a mutual, real and true benefit, and who are assured that the interests of the two nations do not conflict. Persevering, in spite of much opposition from certain quarters, in their efforts to establish friendly relations between the two countries, they succeeded in bringing about a visit in 1909 to London of members of the two Russian Houses of Parliament. In January of this present year a return visit to Russia was made by English Members of Parliament and others, an interesting account of which is contributed to the *Russian Review* by the Hon. Maurice Baring. In the same number are printed individual impressions of the visit over the signatures of Sir Valentine Chirol, The Bishop of Exeter, Lieut-Gen. Sir J. Wolfe Murray, and Sir Albert Spicer, M. P. As was to be expected, the visit did not meet with the approval of some who were not invited to take part in it, and attempts to discredit early accounts of it were made by those who were somewhat chagrined at its success. To offset these disparagements Mr. Baring has given a detailed narrative of the proceedings which shows that the Russian hosts left no stone unturned to render the visit completely successful in every particular. As Mr. Baring says, no one expects to make in a few days an exhaustive study of a country which has 160,000,000 inhabitants. On the other hand, what is important is this:

Firstly, that the English visitors in a short space of time were shown a quite incredible number of interesting and typical things. Secondly, the manifestation of public opinion in Russia with regard to this visit, as expressed in the public speeches, newspapers, and by the crowds in the street, was very remarkable.

The visitors were received by the Emperor and Empress, a special train being provided for their journey to Tsarskoe. The audience, which lasted an hour, was followed by luncheon at the palace. On the following Sunday evening a banquet was given by both Houses of the Legislature, and was notable for the fact that bitter political opponents met at the same table, for the first time, in order to do honor to the Englishmen.

To Mr. Baring's mind,

by far the most striking incident of all the banquets was the speech made by General Röhrberg, one of the Crimean veterans. He proposed the toast of "The British Army," and told the story of the charge of the Light Brigade. He told it quite simply, just the bare facts: how the Cossacks, while trying to remove the captured guns, had been cut to pieces by Lord Cardigan's brigade, who sabred the gunners, and then returned under a deadly fire "as if on parade." The story lost nothing by being undecorated by rhetoric.

All of the visitors seem to have been deeply impressed by the Russian singing. Mr. Baring says:

Every country has a certain number of things which it does well. . . . In the case of the Russians, I should say it was their chorus singing. . . . Those who listened to the two Russian choirs heard the expression of half the Russian soul—that part of it which aspires to the things which are not of this world, its hopes, its soaring dreams, its invincible aspiration, its yearning toward the unseen, its faith in the Eternal Love, its certitude in the love and presence of God, and the existence of an invisible world. Those who heard the soldiers singing in the regiment heard the expression of the other side of the Russian soul—the romance, the earthly longings, the desire, the heart-ache, the sudden gaiety, and the dancing joy, and the long, wistful melancholy which is in the soul of the Russian peasant.

Mr. Baring was in Manchuria as a war correspondent when the English were spoken of as "the red-haired enemy of Russia." The Englishmen who went to Russia came away convinced "that Russia and England ought to be friends because . . . there is a sympathy between the natures of the two countries."

The Bishop of Exeter was "struck with the simple and unstudied faith which revealed itself in their references to religious matters." The whole of his experience of his ecclesiastical hosts, episcopal, clerical, and lay, was an experience of growing warmth of personal feeling. Sir Valentine Chirol was impressed, among many other things, by the fact that Moscow is destined to be the center of huge railway systems. One of his Russian friends remarked to him: "Our Siberian railway will be to Russia what your Canadian Pacific has been to Canada, and over and above it will connect Europe and the Far East as your Canadian Pacific was the first to connect them, but without the serious drawback of an intervening ocean at either end."

THE INCREASED COST OF LIVING

IN view of the proposed international commission to study the causes of the great rise of prices of the necessities of life, the preliminary study of Monsieur Max Turmann in the *Revue Hebdomadaire* (Paris) is timely as an investigation of the causes of the evil. The remedies Monsieur Turmann remarks will require all the labor and erudition of the social scientists of the proposed commission.

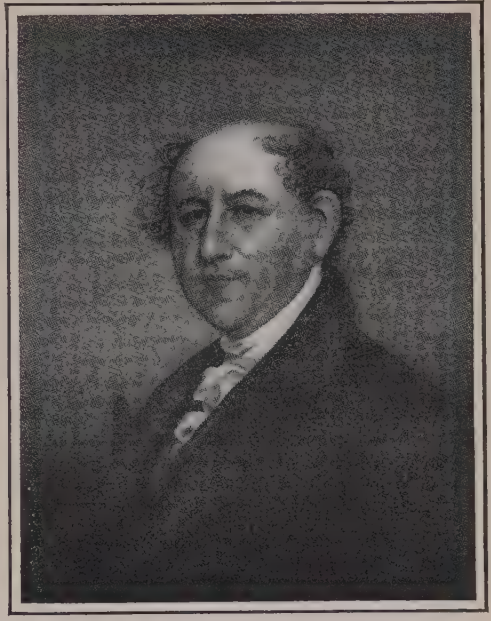
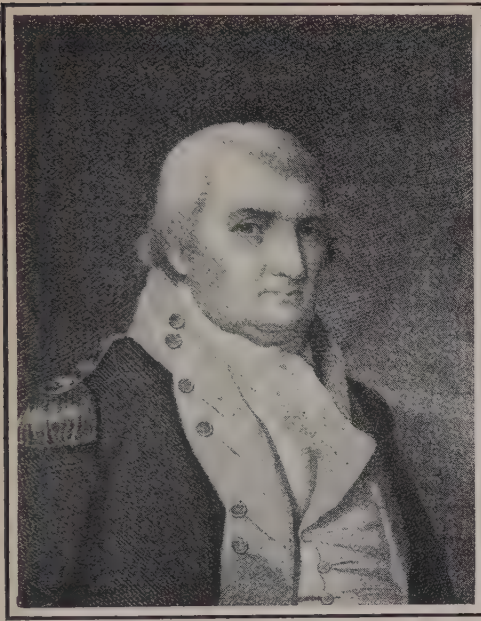
Since 1898 there has been a steady rise of prices in France with the abrupt fluctuations produced by the American crisis of 1907. Recently this rise has taken on an alarming shape from the riots and pillagings of Saint-Quentin, Charleville, Creil, and other industrial centers. But this rise has not been confined to France but spread over Europe and even across the Atlantic. Three or four months ago one of the organs of the International Institute of Agriculture contained a detailed study on the meat crisis in Italy; in September the capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and that of Bohemia were given up two or three days to rioters whose plea was the increased cost of living. In Saxony more than 30,000 persons took part on the 22d of October at Leipsic in a protest meeting against the rise in prices, and finally in the October session, the Reichstag devoted four long sittings to the discussion of interpellations on the same subject. In the England of free trade there has been like complaint. The powerful federation of coöperative companies, the Wholesale Federation of Manchester that buys its food in enormous quantities, has been obliged to raise its prices from 10 to 12 per cent. In Switzerland some weeks ago, the Confederation heard vehement protests, and I may add, in regard to the United States, that one of the reasons that President Taft personally urged so vigorously the adoption of the reciprocity treaty with Canada was that he hoped through this treaty to secure for his country a more abundant and less costly food supply. The accidental and special causes that in 1910 and 1911 restricted agricultural production are extremely varied. There were the floods of 1910 which in many countries damaged the meadow lands. There was the drought of 1911 which burnt up in the center and north of France the second harvest and the gleanings, obliging the farmers to ration their animals and diminishing in a large proportion the dairy returns. The drought reduced as well the vegetable crops of all kinds, and especially of potatoes and beets. From the latter fact arises the rise in sugar, all countries except Russia having insufficient crops. To the weather we must add the pests of the mildew of the grapevine, the rotting of potatoes, the aphthic fever that decimated our cattle repeatedly, the cachexy that destroyed the sheep in great numbers in 1910. From 1902 to 1909 we noted a decrease of more than 630,000 head of cattle and 1,200,000 sheep.

It would be superficial, however, to incline to the optimistic theory that this universal rise of prices is due only to flood, drought and pest. A number of political events have had a marked influence on these changes. The salient fact that we note everywhere is the increase of burdens for the producer. However great an advocate one may be of

a just social policy, one is obliged to admit that the body of the laws called "labor laws" undermine the proprietor's budget and increase the cost of production. It is almost inevitable that the consumer bears the burden of this increase. There is also the increase in salaries which has affected the sale prices. This influence would have been less if, in the majority of industries, the development of machinery had not decreased the number of workmen and even occasionally compensated for the increase of salary of the workmen. To this rise in salaries there have corresponded habits of increased comfort, and even of luxury. The peasant eats more meat in a week than he ate in a month three years ago. Whatever the reason, the result in virtue of the law of demand and supply is that as production on the whole has not augmented in the same proportion, the prices have risen. In many places, too, the growing number of retail merchants increase the cost of living. There where one grocer is sufficient there are three, and as their families must live, the prices must be raised, and again the consumer pays. For several categories of merchandise in great demand, as sugar, alcohol, etc., there have been powerful intermediaries, who, abusing the actual organization of the Stock Exchange and the markets, have monopolized these products more or less and provoked an artificial rise in price.

There is, finally, a cause which is not admitted by all economists, but which seems to me, may be demonstrated both theoretically and actually. This is the more abundant production of gold. One can say in a general way that, other things being equal, the prices of merchandise have a tendency to vary in inverse ratio to the value of the monetary metals. Among the causes of variation of value of money is the degree of rarity of the metals. This rarity of gold has been decreasing above all, since 1905-6. The annual production of gold has increased threefold in the past fifteen years. Quite naturally, gold has consequently less power of purchase, and one needs more to procure the same merchandise. The facts are no less convincing than the theory. At all times, in the history of economics, when there has been a sudden afflux of precious metals, there has been a general rise of prices. From 1770 to 1790 the price of meat rose from 40 to 60 per cent. At the same time, the mass of monetary metal had been considerably increased by the importation of silver from America, under Louis XVI. In the middle of the last century, the price of cereals and meats rose. From 1850-1860, gold from California and Australia swamped the European market. To-day, the South African gold mines produce analogous phenomena. However, as M. Daniel Zolla justly observes, before depreciation, the existing mass of gold had to enlarge enormously, because to-day, the population, commerce, metallic reserves of banks, and all the outlets of the precious metal have so multiplied. To such a complete situation it is very evident that no one could hope to apply a single remedy. And even if one admits the manifold nature of partial solutions, it remains to be proven if these are not simply palliatives rather than real remedies. Indeed, a convincing remedy has not yet been pointed out to me. I fear indeed that the task of the Commissioners of the International Board to be convened in America will be an arduous and disappointing one.

THE ORIGINAL NATIONAL NOMINATING CONVENTION. (1808)



CHARLES C. PINCKNEY AND RUFUS KING, NOMINATED FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT BY A SECRET CONVENTION OF FEDERALISTS HELD IN NEW YORK IN 1808

WITH the present year the national party convention as an agency for nominating the Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates attains the respectable age of fourscore, going back in unbroken line to 1832. But in secret the convention had been employed by the Federalist party twenty-four years earlier. For some time the Federalist convention of 1812 was regarded as the single instance of a national party convention before 1831; but it is pointed out by Mr. S. E. Morison in the *American Historical Review* that new material has recently come to light which tells the story of a secret meeting of Federalist leaders in New York in 1808 that nominated Pinckney and King for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, and served as a model for the convention of 1812. This was the original national nominating convention. This "new material" consists of the Harrison Gray Otis MSS., now in the possession of Mr. Morison.

The adoption of the convention, "the key-stone to modern party machinery," was brought about by a peculiar problem of the Federalist party. To quote Mr. Morison:

On each occasion [1808 and 1812] the policy pursued by the Republicans—in 1808, embargo; in 1812, war with Great Britain—seemed absolutely

destructive to the class and sectional interests represented by the Federalists. It was vitally necessary for them to defeat Madison at any cost. In each year an insurgent Democrat—in both cases a Clinton—entered the Presidential race with more or less of the Federalist policies as his platform. The question before the Federalist party, then, was whether to run their own candidates, or, with much greater chance of winning, to back the insurgent already in the field. Some method was necessary to reach a decision on this point that would be binding on the whole party. One alternative was to adopt the Congressional caucus, the prevailing method of Presidential nomination in the Republican party. But to this there were many objections. The Federalists had already, in 1800, found the caucus ineffective for party harmony. In 1808, moreover, there were too few Federalists at Washington to make a Federalist caucus practicable, and the growing unpopularity of this method, even in the Republican party, was counted on by the Federalists as part of their political capital against Madison. A convention of delegates was the only alternative.

Early in the year (1808) there was a certain amount of correspondence among leading Federalists concerning the Presidential nominations, but "serious consideration of that topic was postponed until after the spring elections in Massachusetts and New York." These elections turned the tide of "corruption so rapidly extending," and the leaders

now began in earnest the work of deciding on the moot question of the Presidential nomination. On June 2, 1808, Charles Willing Hare, a prominent Federalist of Philadelphia, wrote Harrison Gray Otis as follows:

We are desirous here to learn what steps you mean to adopt in Massachusetts, with regard to the election of President. . . . As your legislature is now Federal and in session, it is generally expected that the first movement will be with you. And your advice would have decisive influence with us.

Following the receipt of this letter, the Federalist legislative caucus at Boston appointed a committee of twenty "to correspond with the Federalists in other states on the business of the next election of President and Vice-President."

The committee held a meeting on June 10, when, "after some conversation, it was deemed advisable to propose a meeting of Federalists, from as many States as could be seasonably notified, at New York, the last of this, or the beginning of the next month."

This is the originating proposition for the original nominating convention. This embryo national convention met in New York the third week of August. "Its existence even could not be guessed from Federalist journals, but the coming together of so many noted Federalists did not escape the vigilant eyes of the Democratic press." Pinckney and King were nominated; but it was not till October 18, two or three weeks only before the choice of the electors, that an announcement of the nominations was made in the public press. In the result Pinckney secured

only 47 electoral votes to Madison's 122. Says Mr. Morison:

The student of this period cannot fail to be impressed with the subordinate rôle which Pinckney's name played in the campaign, even in the last three weeks of it, after his nomination was formally announced. Many of the leading Federalist journals, including the *Boston Columbian Centinel*, never even published the nomination. The casual reader of these newspapers would scarcely know whom the Federalists had chosen for their leader, were it not for the frequent contrast of Pinckney's oft-quoted words, "Millions for defense, and not one cent for tribute," with Madison's "France wants money and must have it." The Republican party, on the contrary, made the record and character of Madison one of their leading issues.

Of this first of national party conventions Mr. Morison remarks:

Altogether it was an assembly typical of the Federalist party. A few well-born and congenial gentlemen, who could afford the time and expense of travel, were chosen by their friends to settle in a quiet and leisurely manner the questions that agitated the party. From the body of voters neither authority nor advice was asked, and profound secrecy sheltered the convention's deliberations from vulgar scrutiny. The New York convention of 1808, like all Federalist machinery of the period, was based on the right of the leading men in the party to settle nominations and party business without the slightest coöperation. The voter's advice is not asked, but his implicit obedience is required. He is to vote for candidates nominated he knows not how, because it is thought best by "those who alone from education, fortune, character, and principle are entitled to command."

Herein lay one of the basic principles of the Federalist party, and Mr. Morison is of opinion that it was also the chief cause of its failure.

MODERN EGYPT UNDER ITS NEW PHARAOH

ENGLAND'S highest official in Egypt is known as "Agent and Consul-General"; but with this unassuming title go the authority and the responsibility of a monarch. The present holder of this representative position is a distinguished soldier, of whom *Public Opinion* (London) says:

Lord Kitchener is the new Pharaoh who is ruling Egypt, and so different is he from his ancient predecessor that he strives to free his people from their burdens, and to let them go in peace. How far he has succeeded he shows in his first official report, which has been issued this week, while its writer was engaged in important consultations at Malta with the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, and others.

It is no small merit for any man to follow successfully in office so distinguished a statesman as Lord Cromer proved himself in Egypt; but that Lord Kitchener has done this is conclusively shown by the satisfaction with which the British press generally has received his first report. The *Daily News* (London), for example, says:

Lord Kitchener's report may not have the literary distinction of Lord Cromer's, but the spirit is good. He writes as one who thinks well of the people over whom he has to rule, who can sympathize with their point of view, and can see deep enough into Islam to appreciate its essential democracy resting upon the brotherhood of man. There is the statesman in Lord Kitchener as well

as the soldier, as those who remember his handling of the Boer generals during the peace negotiations will call to mind.

Broadly, last year was not unprosperous in Egypt. The numerous collapses and bankruptcies which caught the Western eye were due to causes antecedent to 1911. The budget showed a surplus of nearly £2,000,000; and customs and railway receipts—excellent indices of prosperity—rose considerably. The cotton crop, after threatening to fail, was saved, and though smaller in quantity brought a heavier price than in previous years. Many important public works are in hand and will be pushed forward. Undoubtedly, on its material side and looked at in the bulk, Egypt compares favorably with many another country.

One notable characteristic of Lord Kitchener's report is that it does not gloss over the unfavorable conditions in the country which he is ruling. We learn, for instance, that the cotton crop, which under the Cromer régime came to be the basis of Egyptian prosperity, is threatened by the worm. To quote the same newspaper:

Probably the root cause of the disease is excess of water. The irrigation schemes executed by Lord Cromer were not altogether well designed, and the land is becoming waterlogged. A commission is investigating the problem, and Lord Kitchener has taken up the work of irrigation with characteristic energy. One may hope that he will reap success. Infant mortality, again, is heavy and increasing. It is a common scourge in Eastern countries, and Egypt, unfortunately, is still very scantily provided with doctors or sanitation. Plague, too, has been more serious, and in one place it took the severest form of all—pneumonia. Cholera, however, always liable to be introduced by the Mecca pilgrims, was kept out.

On the moral side, the progress of Egypt is less satisfactory than on the material side. Says the *Daily News*:

Crime, after temporary lapse, has swept up. Human life is of little account, and men are killed for trifles. Lord Kitchener has little faith in the drastic deportation law, which gave the authorities power to segregate bad characters without trial. Crime, he wisely observes, can be finally checked only by the spread of education and civilized ideas. It is precisely the educational poverty of Egypt which is the darkest blot upon the record of Lord Cromer, who left it far worse than he found it. To Sir Eldon Gorst's credit be it said, that he began, if only tentatively and hesitantly, to make the omission good. It is plain that Lord Kitchener means to carry on the spread of education. At present education is almost wholly in the hands of the provincial councils; but a grant of £100,000 [\$500,000] has been made by the central government. That is only a commencement, but a commencement of this kind is notable enough.

Political conditions in Egypt have manifestly improved. The Glasgow *Herald* considers that on the political side Lord Kitch-



LORD KITCHENER, EGYPT'S "NEW PHARAOH"
(Who recently invited the British Premier to Malta to consider the Mediterranean situation)

ener's report "leaves nothing to be desired." It says further:

In Sir Eldon Gorst's view, the Egyptian Legislative Council and General Assembly were proving failures because they were displaying a tendency to become the mere tools of agitators against the British occupation, and the reason assigned was the widespread belief, alike among natives and Europeans, that the constitutional experiments were sanctioned by the weakness of the imperial government, and that nothing could succeed like agitation. Sir Edward Grey's firm repudiation of this doctrine of surrender was followed by Lord Kitchener's appointment as British Agent and Consul-General, and Lord Kitchener's vindication is the document now published. . . . Notwithstanding the attack on Tripoli by a Christian power, and the proximity of the scene of conflict to the Egyptian frontier, the people have "displayed the most praiseworthy self-restraint," strictly observing the neutrality proclaimed at the outbreak of the war between Italy and Turkey. Then political feeling in other respects—that is to say, in respect of so-called constitutional reform—has evidently shown marked abatement.

The *Daily Chronicle* has nothing but praise for the report, which is "a document of fascinating interest."

It is marked by the impress of a strong, self-confident personality and a keen, practical, clear-seeing intelligence. Lord Kitchener loves Egypt, and is devoted to its welfare. Vivid passages in his report dealing with political and economic con-

ditions, with agriculture, drainage, and education, show the wide range of his interests.

Like the practical man that he is, Lord Kitchener deplores the "bookish" character of such elementary education as is being given to the fellaheen. An instruction that is merely "bookish" leaves, to borrow the words of the Agent-General, "some of the most useful faculties of the mind undeveloped." On the contrary, manual exercises "train the eye to accuracy in observation, the hand to skill in execution, and the mind to a sense of the importance of truthfulness in work."

Lord Kitchener betrays a proper anxiety as to the type of rural school to be evolved. Egypt depends on agriculture for its prosperity. To such a land a rural exodus would be "an economic and social disaster of considerable magnitude." In his

horror of a merely literary education, he advocates a half-time system of education allowing of labor in the fields for the remainder of the day.

But perhaps the most interesting portion of the whole report is that relating to the Sudan, of which Lord Kitchener, who himself did so much to bring peace to the region, writes:

This increased prosperity, which is the result of careful administration, has been so equally divided throughout the entire population that it is not too much to say that there is now hardly a poor man in the Sudan. . . . It is, therefore, not surprising that the people are contented, happy, and loyal.

SYNDICALISM—WHAT IT IS AND WHAT ITS AIMS ARE

IF the man in the street were asked "What is Syndicalism?" the probability is he would reply with the colloquial phrase, "Search me." According to Messrs. Odon Por and F. M. Atkinson, writing in the *English Review*, hardly anyone in the United Kingdom knew so much as the word a few months ago; and to those who knew it, it "represented something vague, extravagant, foreign, aloof," and unlikely to trouble the inhabitants of the British Isles. Now, however, every newspaper announces that "the country is dangerously in the grip of Syndicalism." It is difficult, say the writers mentioned,

tive and propagandist force. During the past fifty years it has leavened the whole lump of social ideas; yet, in spite of the many changes in capitalistic society, the legal relations between the capitalist and the worker have not undergone any vital essential change, which shows that the social environment within which an economic organism operates may be reformed without affecting the economic organism.

Briefly, the creed of the Syndicalists is stated thus: They believe that the best and the simplest way of creating a new social order is by the organizations preparing for taking over their industries and carrying them on for the benefit of what they are now calling the collectivity.

for the man of average plain intelligence to believe that the whole world of labor has adopted a new principle and a new method, and set it in tremendous operation suddenly, without preparation, without discovery, even unconsciously to themselves. It is unreasonable, and it is certainly an erroneous idea. True, we have had a strike of an unprecedented character and magnitude. But a strike, even a general strike, even a universal strike, is not Syndicalism.

Originating in France, the word "Syndicalism" was derived from *syndicat*, the French term for a trade union.

Literally it means "Unionism," but became the term for the revolutionary economic movement which contended that social revolution must come through the direct action of the labor unions. Socialists and Syndicalists alike look forward to the abolition of the present capitalist system, but while Socialists seek to bring it about by political action, by parliamentary measures accumulating reforms, Syndicalists claim that it is an incredible hope that a Socialist party can ever obtain an effective majority in any parliament in any country. Socialism has done a great work as an educa-

Each individual having a trade, each individual being a producer, the speediest and most organic way is to organize him as such and give him a social aim. When the workers have attained the highest technical skill and efficiency, when they are able and ready actually to run their industries, ready with their perfected organization and their skilled professional individuality, they will then take them over. Strikes, general strikes, and other forms of resistance are not the whole of Syndicalism; they are only means toward an end; and, above all, they teach the workers their power or their weakness, they are moulding their intellectual and moral energies, they make them perceive new issues and new human relations, new problems and their solutions.

Reference is made to the post-office strikes in France, the subject being presented from the point of view of the syndicalized post-office workers. We read:

The employees were tired of being directed and dominated by a political department administered by politicians who had no comprehension of the work of the post-office clerk, nor indeed of work in general. They proposed, then, to deal with techni-



SYNDICALISM IN CALIFORNIA—THE POLICE PLAYING THE HOSE ON A "FREE-SPEECH" MEETING AT SAN DIEGO

cal questions themselves, and to eliminate the present political element in administration, which offended their practical sense and their intimate and profound sentiments of right. They struggled for the autonomy and freedom of labor.

As the greatest practical experiment in Syndicalism, the article cites the Industrial Union of the Bottle Blowers of Italy.

In Italy the bottle-making industry now lies between the factories of the Industrial Union and the Bottle Trust. The beginning was in a strike against one glass manufacturer who refused a series of demands from the Bottle Blowers' Union, to which all workers in the bottle industry, whatever their trade, belong. After a year of struggle, the Union made a tremendous effort, raised a fund among its own members, many of them contributing all their money, selling all their belongings, even their beds, and with this fund they set up a factory, in which part of their comrades on strike found work. This factory was an immediate success, and a new furnace was planned to give work to yet more members of the Union on strike or out of employment. Without help from mechanics or masons, the men built the second furnace themselves in forty-seven days, a surprising feat considering that in normal circumstances it would have meant six months' uninterrupted work. All the strikers found work in their own factory, the manufacturer was beaten and was finally absorbed by the Trust, which granted all the demands of the Union for its members, comprising practically all the glass blowers employed in Italy.

But now the coöperative factory became a competitor with the Trust, and the Trust, seeking to crush it before it should become too firmly established, quarreled with the Union, which led to a series of strikes. Nearly every strike meant the

starting of a new coöperative factory, so that the Trust found its commercial activities curtailed and its profits diminished. Then the Trust tried to beat them by underselling, and by persuading the banks to refuse them credit. This method failed, for the better wares and the technical superiority of the coöperative factories gained a decisive victory. Each factory produced a special bottle of such excellent quality that though its prices were higher than those of the Trust, it could dispose of its whole output in advance.

At the present moment the Union has about 3500 members, of whom the Trust employs 1000 and the coöperative factories 2500. There are a very few bottle blowers not in the Union, mostly foreigners. Every member of the Union is a shareholder, even those working in the factories of the Trust.

Syndicalism thrives in Italy. In agriculture, the basic industry, 200,000 acres have passed into the hands of the farm laborers organized into unions and coöperative societies. One of the greatest Syndicalist associations in the world is the Industrial Union of Italian Railwaymen, which has set before it the revolutionary aim, "The Railways for the Railwaymen." Syndicalists endeavor to make their work international. Their theory of social progress is that the world of the future is for the workers, and that to prepare for this future world the workers must organize themselves into professionally conscious unions, individually increasing their technical knowledge and efficiency, collectively fitting themselves for the successful management of their respective industries.

The Advent of the Syndicalist in America

There is a new actor in the drama of social life "in our midst." "He came but yesterday," writes Mr. Louis Levine in the *North American Review*, "but his determined planning and intense action have made already clear that he has a momentous part to play and that the development of the social drama will depend in no small measure upon what he wills and does." The new *dramatis persona* is the Syndicalist. A short time ago he might have been considered as peculiar to France; but now "no one can any longer hold that view. The Syndicalist has invaded 'common-sense' England and has raised his voice in the 'land of the free.' He has become an international figure, and his ideas are of significance to the entire world." There are several reasons why the Syndicalist, the militant workingman, should have originated in France, and should have achieved there his most notable successes. France, before other countries, witnessed those changes in Socialism which were really responsible for the evolution of the Syndicalist. Further,

France was the first country to have a Socialist Minister, M. Millerand, and to reveal the "demoralizing" effects of Parliament on the Socialists. France, besides, is rich in revolutionary traditions which at all times fed the revolutionary feelings of the militant workingmen. Thirdly, the French syndicates began to develop only at the time when Socialism was becoming insufficient for the militant workingmen, and the latter had therefore little difficulty capturing the syndicates. When the General Confederation of Labor (*La Confédération Générale du Travail*) was formed in 1895, it was soon brought under the combined influence of Socialist and Anarchist workingmen, who steered the organization in the direction of revolutionary methods and Syndicalist ideas. . . . The General Confederation has now about 500,000 members. It consists of local and industrial federations, which are in their turn composed of single syndicates, and presents, from the Syndicalists' point of view, the embryo of the future society.

A somewhat different situation exists in England, where a Syndicalist paper, *The Voice of Labor*, was published in 1907. Under Tom Mann, the well-known labor leader, Syndicalism, which had till then been making little progress, went ahead. In November, 1910, at the first conference of English Syndicalists, 60,000 workers were represented, and since then their numbers have increased. The future development of Syndicalism in England will depend upon the ability of the convinced Syndicalists to "bore from within"

and to steer the trade unions away from Socialism in the direction of the new doctrine.

It was at the Lawrence strike that the "specter of Syndicalism" first appeared in America. To quote Mr. Levine:

The American Syndicalists, the Industrial Workers of the World, who directed the strike in Lawrence, have been attracting more and more attention since and have been trying to make Syndicalism a factor in American life. American Syndicalism should not be regarded as an importation from France. Of course, American Syndicalists have been more or less in contact with French Syndicalists, but the movement has grown up on American soil and can be traced back to the Knights of Labor. The latter had already formed a vague idea of industrial organization which is so actively propagated by the Industrial Workers of the World. Craft Unionism, however, carried the day in America after 1886, and achieved marked success in the development of the American Federation of Labor. The idea of Industrial Unionism, nevertheless, never died out, and in recent years has been gaining ground under the influence of favorable economic conditions. Finding support among Socialist workingmen, the idea of Industrial Unionism was combined with the Socialist conception, and a theory resembling French Syndicalism in the most essential points was the result. This theory was made the basis of the program adopted by the I. W. W. in 1905.

The Industrial Workers of the World differ, however, from the French Syndicalists in their attitude toward the General Strike. The former conceive the Social Revolution not as a stoppage from work, but as a "staying at work." There is, however, a growing number of Industrial Workers who defend the idea of the Social General Strike.

The Syndicalists' plans are so far-reaching and involve such momentous social changes, that society as a whole is affected. It has therefore been asked, "What does Syndicalism offer to those classes of society not engaged in manual labor?" The Syndicalists have solved this question by

extending the meaning of labor so as to include all productive work. Teachers, doctors, artists, clerks, and the like have been organized into syndicates and have joined the army of organized workers. The Syndicalists propose to organize in the same way all those who do some useful work for society, or, as they express it, to "syndicalize" society. Their idea is to transform society into a federation of self-governing productive groups working together for the benefit of all with instruments belonging to society as a whole and under the supreme control of the community.

Syndicalists, being ready to absorb any organization that is friendly to them, as well as to fight any opposed to them, must necessarily incur the hostility of reformers and political Socialists, as well as of the conservative elements of society.

PÈRE HYACINTHE AND HIS WORK

THE Dean of Ripon (the Very Rev. W. H. Fremantle) is right when he says in the *Contemporary Review*:

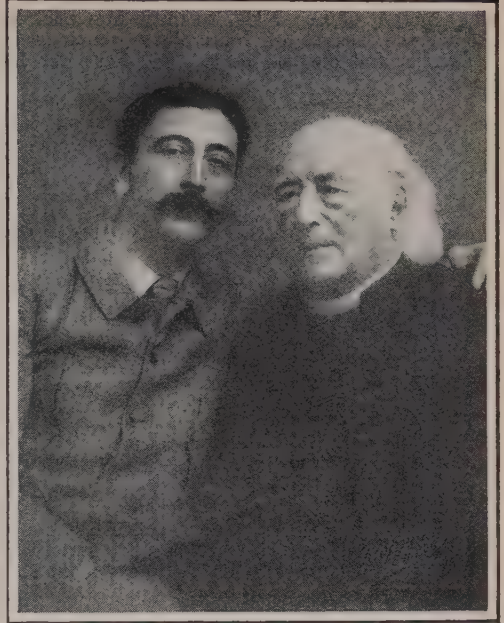
It is important that each generation should value aright the character and career of those who have endeavored to serve them, and especially of those who, in the assertion of truth and justice, have subjected themselves to misrepresentation and ill-treatment. The public memory is short, and few men have the qualities or the leisure to judge rightly of those who have passed away.

He adds: "It therefore seems worth while to attempt to describe clearly the work of one like the subject of this article before it passes into oblivion." The "subject of this article" is Charles Jean Marie Loyson, better known as Père Hyacinthe, of whose English friends Dean Fremantle was one of the nearest and dearest.

To the present generation Père Hyacinthe is but a name. Yet scarcely fifty years ago the whole religious world, and that of Paris in particular, was aflame with the fervor and magnetic eloquence of his sermons, Notre Dame itself being too small to accommodate the thousands that desired to hear him. In 1863 Loyson had made his profession as a monk of the Order of Barefooted Carmelites; in 1864, his gift as a preacher having meanwhile become recognized, he was the Lent preacher at Périgueux; and in the same year he was appointed by Archbishop Darboy to preach the Advent *Conférences* at Notre Dame. What followed is thus described by Dean Fremantle:

This post, which had been rendered famous by the preaching of Lacordaire, was the highest to which a French priest could aspire. Père Hyacinthe's range of interest expanded as he saw some 4000 men of all classes crowding to hear him; and Archbishop Darboy stood by him from first to last. The Advent discourses soon began to be reported not only in the Parisian press, but abroad. It was impossible that such a preacher, with such an audience, should not travel beyond the recognized sphere of clerical oratory, and should confine his teaching to that which would be acceptable to the ordinary churchgoer. Subjects like "Independent Morality," "The Family," or "Civil Society in its Relations with Christianity" gave occasion for controversy, and in 1869 some remarks on "The Three Great Religions of the World"—Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism—which implied that others than Roman Catholics might be acceptable to God, caused uneasiness at the Vatican. The Père was invited to Rome to give explanations of his teaching. He succeeded, however, in quieting these fears.

When the decree of the Council of the Vatican, declaring the dogma of the infalli-



PÈRE HYACINTHE AND HIS SON

bility of the Pope, was promulgated, Hyacinthe, who protested against it, resigned his position in the Carmelite Order and his place as Advent preacher at Notre Dame.

He had no means of support: his sympathizers were few, or mute. He went forth, literally, "not knowing whither he went." It was an act of courage, a protest in favor of truth, of which few examples can be found in the history of the world.

In 1872 Père Hyacinthe married an American lady, the widow of Capt. E. R. Meriman, who became his devoted helper in all of his future work. Dean Fremantle is at pains to show that this marriage was, as regards both the ecclesiastical and the civil ceremony, in strict conformity with the law and with the sanction of the church.

The Dean gives an admirable summary of the convictions and teachings of the Père and of the spheres of his activity, which may be quoted in brief as follows:

1. The subjects of his *Conférences* embraced all the chief topics and events which attracted the attention of serious men.

2. His nature was not one which was easily malleable: the same toughness of conviction which drove him to maintain his protest against the Vatican decrees made it very difficult for him to join any other body of worshipers. He was a Catholic priest who maintained the position into which he

had been baptized and ordained: but he kept up good relations with all bodies of Christians.

3. When, in 1897, an attempt was made, with the sanction of Leo XIII, to draw him back to Rome, the Decree of Infallibility remained as a barrier, and on this subject the Père was inflexible.

4. In the *Testament*, written in his sixty-seventh year, he says: "I have never denied Catholicism, nor answered the anathemas of which I have been the object. I have hoped against hope, though the darkness seems to thicken, and I have to cry with the prophet, 'Watchman, what of the night!' We must hold fast to the Biblical origins of our religion: but their revelation is not the only one. . . . The Christians of the future will reconcile the various elements of human life which seem now to be divided.

Of Père Hyacinthe's personal appearance, the Dean says:

He was rather below the average in stature, but seemed to grow as he spoke and to dominate his audience. His voice, his gesture, his articulation were consummate. . . . He possessed also that electric power which is the mark of the true orator. But that which gained his greatest power was his complete sincerity, which made Mr. Gladstone . . . speak of him as the most loyal soul he had ever known.

Born at Orléans March 10, 1827, he died at Paris February 9, 1912. The concourse

at his grave was unprecedented, and included strict Roman Catholics, Greeks, Protestants, and believers in Mahomet. After cremation the remains were interred by the side of his wife in the cemetery of Père la Chaise.

By request, Dean Fremantle appends to his article some letters received from Père Hyacinthe by him, of which we give one on the death of Madame Loyson, and which translated reads:

Paris, Rue du Bac, Feb. 3, 1910.

My dear Friend:

It is two months to-day since she passed from me, and my prostration physical and moral is almost the same. I did not expect such a blow; for until the end the doctors either deceived me or were themselves deceived.

She died sweetly, without much suffering, and without fear. She was prepared by her life of devotion, and, if I may employ a much-abused word, I would say her life of holiness. . . .

The years that remain to me, however short and sad they may be, must not be unworthy of her and of God, but valiant and fruitful.

If you come to Paris, do not fail to enter my door, always open like my heart for you. In any case think of me before God.

HYACINTHE LOYSON.

P. S. I have received a beautiful letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury.

WILKIE COLLINS: THE ROMANTICIST OF SCIENCE

A HALF-CENTURY ago two of the most popular books in England were "The Woman in White" and "No Name." The former was the book with which Wilkie Collins had leaped into sudden fame, which Thackeray admitted had kept him up all night, and which excited Edward Fitzgerald to the liveliest enthusiasm. Although "Wilkie Collins is not a name to conjure with to-day," and "despite the general neglect and detraction of the novelist," his writings "have won the admiration of such fine judges as Dickens, Thackeray, Charles Reade, Anthony Trollope, Walter Besant, George Meredith, Swinburne, Mr. Thomas Hardy, and Mr. Watts-Dunton." In the June *Bookman* (London) Mr. Arthur Compton-Rickett presents what he terms an "apologia for Collins," which is a well-written and impartial analysis of the works of "a writer of fiction greatly underrated at the present day."

William Wilkie Collins (to give him his full name) was born in London in 1824, where his father, William Collins, R.A., was a painter

of genre. From 1841 to 1846 Wilkie was clerk to a London firm of tea merchants. Later he studied law, and was called to the bar in 1851. While in the London warehouse he wrote a somewhat ponderous historical romance, "Antonina; or the Fall of Rome." In 1855 he met Dickens, with whom he became intimately associated. It was in *All the Year Round*, conducted by Dickens that "The Woman in White" first appeared; and to *Household Words*, also edited by Dickens, Collins contributed many tales including the "After Dark" series. In 1873-74 the novelist visited the United States and gave public readings from his own works. He died in London in 1889.

Mr. Compton-Rickett considers that "until the advent of Wilkie Collins we had no writer of any marked ability who, eschewing the ordinary stage properties of romantic sensationalism, attempted to achieve these particular effects in a setting of contemporary life and manners." He thus describes how Collins came to "romanticize science" in "The Woman in White":

This was the era of Spencer, Darwin, and Buckle, and of the critical, analytical spirit which so profoundly influenced Mid-Victorian literature; when in 1858 Spencer's "Essays" rubbed shoulders with George Eliot's "Scenes of Clerical Life"; and when in 1861 there appeared the second volume of Buckle's "Civilization"—and "Evan Harrington." Meanwhile, in 1860, a story-teller in the other camp seems to have said to himself: "Science then is the magic password of the day: poetry is scientific; the character story is scientific; then I, standing for the story of incident, must make that scientific also—to keep up with the times. Very well, I will show them that you can get *thrills*, as well as analytical psychology, out of Science." And so Wilkie Collins gave us "The Woman in White," which a guileless public swallowed as a straightforward piece of sensational fiction but which was, from one point of view, a nice point in mental pathology placed in a brave romantic setting. Soon afterward he dressed up heredity in fantastic garb in "Armada"; and, finally, put the finishing touch to his reputation by his famous mystery story, "The Moonstone," in which, after all, the entire tale hinges on the irregular action of a narcotic. It is Science, Science all the way.

Discussing the distinctive characteristics of Collins, Mr. Compton-Rickett notes as the first *his technical dexterity as a story-teller*.



WILKIE COLLINS IN HIS OLD AGE



THE FATHER OF THE SENSATIONAL NOVEL

(A cartoon of Wilkie Collins appearing in an old number of the London *Vanity Fair*)

Collins was as careful about the clarity of his stories as was Tennyson of his poems. He would have no scene, no character, that tended to blur the general effect. No novelist was more fastidious about the logical presentment of his tales than he. Despite the intricacy of many of his plots, rarely indeed are there any loose ends or superfluous characters. There are numerous byways, but all lead back into the high road again. The complexities are legion, but they have the orderly disorder of an arabesque, not the confusion of a tangled skein.

Another of Collins's characteristics is *his subtle sense of dramatic effect*. He "excites us not by what he tells us, but by what he does not tell us." The writer of the article in the *Bookman* goes on to say here:

He creates an atmosphere of fateful drama, and then keeps us on the tip-toe of expectancy for the crisis which arrives, in most cases, quite late in the story—and occasionally, never at all. . . . With the ordinary stock in trade of the sensational writer he will have little to do. Murder seldom looms in his stories; of fighting there is next to nothing; hair-breadth escapes interest him but slightly; and out-of-the-way occurrences are few and far between. . . . Eschewing these things on the one hand, and the psychological interest of the character novel on the other, it is surely a signal testimony to his power as a literary artist that he should hold us with such unmistakable enthralment. He is a master of dramatic innuendo; the Sterne of sensationalism. He can thrill you more

by the posting of a letter than most of his school can by a lurid murder.

As a third characteristic Mr. Compton-Rickett cites *the faculty for pictorial suggestion*. With Collins, "scenic effects are no mere background, but an integral part of the story."

Thus the supernatural element in "Armada" revolves round a series of dream pictures; and even a sunset on the Norfolk Broads and the slanting rain of a passing storm are organic elements in the plot. The most dramatic scene in "No Name," where the heroine, Magdalen, meditates suicide, is presented in pictorial form—and peculiarly vivid pictorial form. . . . Whatever the subject, rarely does Collins fail to paint his scene without the telling economy of the genuine artist.

Having achieved a high reputation, "the strain of maintaining it proved too much for the author. Always somewhat of an invalid, his health became worse, and the effort to interest is at times only too obvious." But,

says his critic, "even were we to put aside all the later work and rest Collins's reputation upon some half-dozen of his early books, there is sufficient here to entitle him to a distinguished place among the novelists of the age. Mr. Thomas Hardy wrote of him:

He probably stands first, in England, as a constructor of novels of complicated action, that depend for their interest on the incidents themselves and not on character. Yet while he was writing he was scandalously ridiculed by the same critical papers that twenty years afterward praised second rate imitations of his methods.

Of the personality of the novelist, Mr. Watts-Dunton, who knew him very well, says: "He was the sweetest-tempered literary man I have ever met; without a spark of envy in his nature, and modest to a degree."

Not the least tribute to Collins's powers is to be found in the many imitations that his works have evoked.

ENGLAND'S PRESENT POSITION IN INDIA

IT is interesting to learn from the pen of an intelligent observer what he deems are the fundamental causes of the unrest, the dissatisfaction with English rule prevailing in India. Heinrich Hackmann, pastor of a German congregation in London, who has traveled in that country and other sections of Asia and has written numerous works on subjects relating to the Orient, contributes an enlightening article to the *Preussische Jahrbücher* on this subject, showing that the present temper is not a spasmodic phenomenon but the natural outcome of historic events.

The great anti-British agitation, undoubtedly fraught with danger, is not a recent development, says this writer, only a new phase of an old one. It is, in brief, a collision between the claims of the intelligence of India possessing a Western culture, and the traditional rights and pretensions of the rulers of the country. The roots of the collision may be traced to the time of Lord Bentwick and his reforms. The opportunity of European culture was eagerly seized by many natives, notably the Brahmans; naturally hoping that it would open the way to greater influence and higher standards of living. This aspiration could be for a time moderately gratified, but it was impossible for this state of things to continue. The desire for improvement, fed by hope, increased, as did the

educational institutions. The pretensions to place and influence, as was but natural, grew apace. There was a surplus of trained, or half-trained, elements whose livelihood became very precarious. Thus, with time, there was formed a dangerously large intellectual proletariat where dissatisfaction was the predominant tone. In our journalistic era, this state of feeling soon found wide voice in the press. It is beyond doubt that the papers were a powerful factor in strengthening and disseminating the discontent.

In reality the dissatisfaction was largely a social one. Persons raised by a superior education above their old station, found they were not admitted to one which they deemed adequate.

This social resentment soon grew into a political one which attributed all the blame for this keenly felt discrimination to foreign rule, to the English administration. An open anti-British agitation peculiarly blended with religious beliefs, set in. One must actually see the religious fervor and intensity of the Hindu to fully understand how he can steep absolutely everything with his religion, how his judgment is irresistibly guided by it. Fanaticism is altogether inadequate to express this attitude. It is an ecstasy infused with the highest poetry, which can scarce be withstood. When we consider that the leaders of the movement were mostly Brahmans, the superior religious caste, best suited by religious fire and by culture to rouse the glow of faith and of patriotism, a hatred of foreign

rule, it is not to be wondered at that many, even eminent minds, were drawn into the agitation. The evil was noticeable as far back as 1877 and grew tremendously strong already in the 90's. The murder of two English officials by a Brahman in '97 marked the climax, and, for a time, the turning-point as well. But with the advent of this century, the agitators have resumed their old course, but even more decisively and passionately.

The great watchwords of the party are "Swaraj" and "Swadeshi," the former denoting self-government, the latter, industrial independence. We see thus that the political and economical elements are closely blended in the ideal of the anti-British union. The conception of the practical ends to be achieved varies, of course, with the different reformers, the more moderate elements desiring complete equality with the English in government control; others, that the country be administered by natives alone but should maintain a certain friendly connection with England; while some aspire to complete independence. It appears, moreover, that under the device of the Swaraj, republican and even anarchistic tendencies have crept in.

There have been too violent agitations against Indian princes pronouncedly favorable to the English. Swadashi, the other watchword, is also variously conceived. The wildest interpretation is the support of domestic production within perfectly legitimate limits and a quiet rejection of English and other foreign wares, as far as possible. But



BIPIN CHANDRA PAL, ONE OF THE MOST EMINENT
NATIVE ADVOCATES OF NATIONALISM IN INDIA

many hold that little can be accomplished by such peaceful means, that law and force must be brought to bear against foreign mercantile and industrial influence.



TYPES OF BRITISH INDIAN SUBJECTS
From the Kashmir Giant, 7 ft. 9 in. high, to the Patiala
Midget of 2 ft. 4 in.

The writer cites the views of an intelligent native, an official at the court of a Raja, whom he met. The crucial point in the Indian problem, he thought, lay in the fact that England had given so many natives a higher intellectual culture without imbuing them with a sufficient moral light and strength to guide the faculties of the mind. Another native, an engineer who had laid out streets for the Durbar, with whom the writer conversed, spoke in a somewhat different tone. What particularly stirred him to "unrest" was the economic situation. No matter how perfectly trained an Indian may be, he complained bitterly, his advancement is made difficult. All decisions rested with superior English officials, and they regulated their choice purely by favor, personal relation, and intercession. Nationalism was an inevitable result of conditions such as these.

That the present movement will spread is a thing to be expected, for it is of an elemental nature.

It is the natural elasticity of a nation waking up and impregnated with Western ideas. No wonder that the Young-Indians are looking so intently at Japan and China; the course of events is essentially similar in the three countries. What the further development of the movement will be no one can foresee. The thing to do is to realize clearly the essential factors in the progress of events, to check, correct, soften them. Another

important element is the retention of Mohammedan adhesion. Thus far—a very favorable circumstance for England—they have not only totally abstained from the agitation but have been persecuted by the Indians, which has bound them very closely with the English. At any rate, the possession of the Indian Empire imposes upon England to-day one of the gravest problems that a colonizing people has ever been called upon to solve. England's task in India at the outset was to acquire and to rule; then it had to educate; now it has to find its proper relation to a foreign population of many millions which is gradually attaining its majority or is anxious to do so.

EMILE VERHAEREN, THE BELGIAN POET, PEER OF MAETERLINCK

A VERY brilliant luminary has but lately swum into the ken of those critics who from their lonely watchtowers in the skies scan the literary firmament of Europe. Though so newly discovered by the outside world, however, the Belgian poet Émile Verhaeren is accounted by his countrymen a star of the first magnitude and the peer of Maeterlinck.

Like Maeterlinck, Verhaeren writes entirely in French, though the rich landscapes of Flanders and its history have provided him with sources of inspiration. Like Maeterlinck, again, he has chosen the drama as a vehicle of expression. But though some of his most notable work has been cast in this form, his highest genius is said to be lyrical. It is for this reason, according to the eminent Danish critic George Brandes, and the consequent difficulty of translation, that Verhaeren's fame has remained entirely confined within the bounds of his own country, while his contemporary, Maeterlinck, has long been one of the great world-figures in the domain of letters. Possibly, too, in the opinion of the critics, the somberness of his outlook, his native trend toward the tragic and the terrible may have something to do with this. At any rate he is thus far practically unknown outside of Belgium and France, and it is believed that the present article is the first effort to present to English readers an adequate idea of the scope of the poet's genius and the range of his thought. Unfortunately none of his work has as yet been done into English, but doubtless those of our readers who are familiar with the French will find themselves rewarded by a perusal of the author in the original. An interesting analysis of Ver-

haeren's work by Brandes appears as the leading article in *La Grande Revue* (Paris) of May 10.

Born in 1855, we read, in the village of Saint Amand near Antwerp Verhaeren passed the years of his infancy in the country in the midst of the fertile Flemish plains which have inspired him with that love of nature which seems to dominate his poetic inspiration. His first collection of poems, "*Les Flamandes*" (The Flemish), paints a rich and joyous Flanders, if a trifle heavy, with its farms, its fairs, its inns. His women have that robust exuberance with which they are endowed by Rubens and Jordaens. In contrast to this he describes in the volume called "*Les Moins*" (The Monks), Flanders the pious-land of the Holy Virgin who is venerated in holy song by the apostles of renunciation, of the life of the cell, of the dreams of the cloister—of that Flanders which Memling has perpetuated in his work.

In later poems he opens a vaster domain to the visions of his imagination. More and more he tends toward the tragic, his dream of happiness seems vanished and the visions that rise before him are such as chill the soul with terror. In one of the collections of poems "*Les Apparitions dans mes Chemins*" (The Phantoms Along My Paths), we behold vast desolate plains peopled successively by terrible figures: there is the Horizon, smitten with fears of itself fleeing ever into the distance; there is the Phantom of Fatigue dragging dead centuries behind her and cursing her fate; there is Knowledge, whose piercing eye seeks ever and seeks in vain; there is the Phantom of Nothing and that of Corruption, proclaiming with ironic smile that all things shall rot away until the moment when St. George, nimbused with gold, vested in gleaming cuirass, leaps on his foaming charger from the Bow of Promise and purges space from these horrible apparitions.

In another volume of poems of purely symbolistic tendency, "*Les Villages Illusoires*," he sketches amid tempest, rain and snow the silhouettes he saw as a child in Flanders and his fantasy transforms them into phantasmagoric figures of splendid sweep. We behold the ferryman battling with the storm to reach the shore where some one waits and calls. But the current

is swift—an oar snaps and the rudder breaks, the second oar gives way and the voice still calls. At the cemetery the newly closed graves begin to yawn, rows of white coffins appear, the white coffins of his memories and his sufferings. He is led along rows of red coffins within which are sealed his heroic courage, his abasement, his crimes of yesterday.

By the light of the moon, fishermen cast into the flood their black nets and draw them in freighted only with their miseries, their maladies and the shattered fragments of their shipwrecked hopes and desires.

It is interesting to learn that while Verhaeren's first poems were written with the severe regularity of the old French poetry, the poet has increasingly freed himself of the yoke by making frequent use of assonance in place of rhyme and employing rhyme that satisfies the ear without regard to orthography. To the lover of free-gaited English verse this can but seem an improvement and the poet thus gains extraordinarily harmonious effects with a virile and powerful sonorousness. His dramatic works are written in this sort of verse alternating with rhythmical prose dialogue. His two most celebrated dramas are "*La Clôître*" (The Cloister) and "*Les Aubes*" (Daybreak), the latter said to be his greatest achievement. In the former he renews his minute study of the monastic life, but from an utterly different point of view.

Strong, even violent, passion has found expression in his work; the most diverse types of monks are drawn with a sureness and firmness of touch of the highest order. The subject itself has something of grandeur. We encounter at first in the cloister only the multiple ambitions, the piety, the mutual hostilities and jealousies of the monks. We see the wise old prior prefer and designate as his successor a man of noble birth, the former duke Don Balthasar, who is opposed to brother Thomas (who also hopes to succeed to the priorate) but is adored by the young monk Dom Marc, whose goodness is as evangelic as that of the monks in the pictures of Fiesole. Little by little we learn that Balthasar is the assassin of his own father, slain not in revenge for some grave wrong, but because he dared to rebuke the dissolute manners of his son. But the prior finds his repentance all the more beautiful because of the blackness of the crime, and still judges him worthy to assume the chair. Even when the impression of horror created by the crime increases to a fatal degree when it is learned that the murderer cold-bloodedly permitted the execution of an innocent vagabond for his crime, the prior does not yield. But the soul of Balthasar himself at last is troubled; on a day when the church is filled with the faithful, he cries his crime aloud to the multitude. In vain the monks try to restrain him; his wild confession at an end, the prior condemns him and casts him from the community with that passionate violence demanded by the honor of the church—



ÉMILE VERHAEREN, THE BELGIAN POET

the church which knows not clemency nor pity. Only Dom Marc still prays for the errant soul about to die.

Two propaganda peculiarly dear to Verhaeren's heart are the cult of country life with its corollary of the maleficent influence exerted by the cities upon the rustic hordes drawn into their purlieus by a fatal lure to their undoing, and the advocacy of universal peace. Somewhat inconsistent with the former is the fact that the poet himself long ago deserted the peaceful rural surroundings of his early home for Brussels and has for several years lived in Paris. Both these theses are developed in a dramatic trilogy whose last phase "*Les Aubes*" has already been referred to as his most important work. The action takes place during a siege of the city of Oppidomague. The hero is a great, popular tribune, Jacques Heremien.

Within the city the proletariat is gathered upon the heights of the cemetery and has begun to display a menacing attitude to a government of patricians which has driven the populace to extremes by the egotism and cruelty with which they have been exploited. Heremien is the popular hero, the man of the future, who in his writings, already read in foreign lands, has exalted the rights of the oppressed and stigmatized the abominations of war; he has disciples even in the bosom of the hostile army. We see the government making vain efforts to win him over,

then to deceive him, and finally to make use of his ascendancy over the people, by making rich promises to him if he will turn aside the gathering danger. We see him surrounded by confidence, and not the less by jealousy and hate, reach the apogee of his power and first secure peace within the capital and finally by a bold stroke of genius force the enemy to proffer a cessation of hostilities. One of the chief men of the hostile force who has read the works of Heremien and looks on himself as his disciple, comes to conclude a pact of peace.

Thus the ideal of a truly democratic government as well as that of a universal peace seem to be definitely realized when the great tribune falls struck by the bullets of soldiers who have remained faithful to the former government. He dies, but his wife, bearing his young son in her arms presents him to the acclamations of the throng, already prepared to behold in him the dawn of a coming day.

In the remainder of a striking appreciation of the Belgian's work Brandes discusses the character of the tribune and its possible prototypes in history and the technical means by which the effect of sublimity of character is produced upon the mind of the spectator. The later problem is one with which poets are constantly confronted. It is solved here partly by the attitude of respect, enthusiasm, and devotion exhibited for the personality of the hero by his entourage, and on the other hand by the jealousy, hatred, and incrimina-

tions of which he is the object; and finally, and this is the principal thing, by his own acts and words. He makes use of virile and enthusiastic language the effect of which we soon witness upon those about him.

Brandes continues his analysis thus:

We feel in this drama that Verhaeren is fighting not less for liberty in the domain of the arts than for an ideal of political liberty. In 1892 he worked at Brussels with Eckhoud and Vandevelde to complete *La Maison du Peuple*, founding there an art section and working with zeal for the education of the masses. For him, as for so many of our contemporaries, the great man will be he who shall realize the idea of Peace. The difficulty of utilizing the hero of the pacifist idea dramatically assuredly comes from the difficulty of individualizing this idea. A single man of our epoch has shown genius of a new spirit in this regard: the Pole, Jan Bloch, who has endeavored to combat war from a purely economic point of view, but his distinguishing qualities are scarce suitable to characterize a tribune of the people or a hero of tragedy. However, it was in the construction of the personality of this tribune that Verhaeren was forced to seek for innovation and triumph. But as he is above all and to the depths of his soul lyrical, he has confronted this task less scrupulously than was needful. Though "Les Aubes" (Daybreak) is certainly one of the most remarkable dramatic works of our times, it just failed in being that Word of Deliverance which constitutes a *chef d'œuvre*.

THE PEON AND THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN MEXICO

MEXICO, though a neighbor of the United States, is a country concerning which the grossest ignorance exists among many of us—that is, so far as the people and the political situation are concerned. Mexicans may be roughly divided into three classes: the *peon*, the *haciendado*, and the *caballero*; and these are "in a fixed and fairly constant ratio of about *eleven thousand to one hundred to one*." The *peon* is omnipresent. He "belongs to the *eleven thousand*, who throng the streets and public places, the lowest type, the most ignorant type." The trader and the professional man are "mainly urban and peaceful and represent less than ten per cent. of the total population." In Mexico, as in any town in the United States, culture and refinement shun publicity. "To gain a knowledge of this cultured type one must have credentials, for the cultured Mexican is far more punctilious than are we." Consequently, says Mr. Frank L. Nason in the *Yale Review*, "the dominant impression of the Pullman

tourist is that the *peons* of the city represent Mexico—and all of Mexico." To the tourist

the typical Mexican is a "greaser," a universal epithet as generally true as is the European's "Amurrican," gained from observations of gaudy, vociferous tourists. . . . Our tourist's impressions have been gathered during a trolley trip to Juarez from El Paso, where the through trains—four daily—halt a few hours to change engines and crews. He has spent two hours in Juarez—a border city—and for hours and hours, from his seat in the Pullman, he has looked over the Rio Grande into Mexico.

For himself, Mr. Nason tells us that in the course of professional work he has

broken bread—or *tortillas*, to be exact—with *peons* from the Rio Grande to Guatemala and from the Pacific to the Gulf; has smoked cigarettes with *haciendados* and their wives around the family table; has shaken hands, and traded broken Spanish and "gringo" manners, with Mexican *caballeros* or *grandees* speaking the purest Castilian.

From information thus gathered at first

hand Mr. Nason, in an account of "Political Mexico To-day," depicts the three classes of the Mexican people as they really are. Taking the *peon*, first, Mr. Nason says:

Usually he is docile, industrious, and submissive to authority, even to the "gringo," when not prompted otherwise by *tequila* [the equivalent of cheap whiskey]. Even when not moved by *tequila* he is a patriot. . . . The *peon's* idea of patriotism is so developed as to place him easily on a plane with the majority of patriots of this or any other country. . . . To a *peon* with a thatched shelter or a hollowed cave, an adobe striped with yellow and blue paint is wealth, a many-colored *manto* and a huge sombrero with silver braid is luxury. This is as far as his vision reaches. . . . To see *peons* laboring like ants, one pulling this way, the other pulling that, on the same object, is to gain a fair idea of their conception of team-work, of coöperation for a common end. If in a general uprising one *peon* is able to get his silver-braided sombrero, why should he risk his life for a brother whom he does not know and of whom he can form no conception?

The *peon* has not dreamed of national unity and he cannot be blamed for his limited vision of patriotism. As for the *one hundred* and the *one*, the Pullman tourist can tell you all about them; that they are cruel, blood-thirsty, and treacherous; that their popular amusement is bullfighting, to which they take their wives and daughters; and that their occupation, outside of bullfighting, is the spoliation of women. While not disagreeing with this general view, so far as it goes, the *Yale Review* writer reminds his American readers that they need not see the disgusting sights of Spanish cruelty, and, further, that they had better forget the thousands and thousands of "tinted" blacks (in whom not a drop of white blood is legitimate) in their own country, the divorce courts, and the hopeless crusade against the social evil, before they harshly judge the Mexican *caballero*. Mr. Nason, after describing the courteous reception of a casual visitor at a *hacienda*, recites the following confession by the host:

"Yes, señor, my heart bleeds for my country. I am growing old and will soon be at rest. I do not regret it. Life is sad. It is sadder to look upon an advancing storm than upon one that is past. With the storm past, one can look upon its havoc and plan for rehabilitation, but the storm that is coming fills us with uncertain terrors of apprehension. I read of your great country, señor; your great storms have passed and you are building stronger and better than before. But with us—you have eyes, señor, and you can see. Our *peons*—they are our threatening storm. We are few, they are many. . . . When these people begin to read and think, when teachers come from your country to tell them that they are free men [The

peon is a free citizen of the Mexican republic. The Constitution says so], and say 'Why toil for your masters?'—what will become of Mexico? They are eleven millions to our four millions, and even we are not united to a common end. What shall we do when this happens? Will God give us strength to hold out until with knowledge they gain wisdom?"

And there are many like this man in Mexico to-day. In the United States he would be a farmer; in Mexico he is feudal lord over a thousand *peons*, and he is racking his addled brains over his duty to his people and the future of his country. Then the *one* in the *eleven thousand*, he "sees visions and dreams dreams of the beauty of universal liberty, of the common lot and brotherhood of man." Then

the *peon* is harangued and the silver-braided sombrero is deftly sparked in his eyes to arouse his patriotism to the fighting-point. From beacon hill to hill the shiny symbol is flashed, and the *peon* goes forth to claim his own. Bands of patriots are organized—Vaquistas, Zapistas, Reyes-tas, and others, patriots all, fight for their beloved country by waylaying travelers, plundering lonely *haciendas*, and sacking isolated *pueblos*. For years and years this was the history of Mexico: republic, empire, dictator, altruist; rapid, bewildering changes; no stability, no common persistent purpose; only the tinselled glory of a day—all these winding in and out through the passing years, alike in this, that all followed a trail of blood and pillage. One man—Díaz—in all these years had the eye to see clearly and the strength and tenacity to compel his vision: "Order is the necessary precursor of all law. . . . Compel order, then establish law."

This is the situation in Mexico to-day. There are always the 11,000,000 ready to listen to the arraignment of the man in power, to be persuaded that the man who seeks power is their real friend. "They can fight, and they will, for one *tortilla*, one silver-braided sombrero, and an adobe with blue and yellow paint. And there is another revolution!" Besides, the 4,000,000 comprising the upper classes are not a unit. If they were, they could control the 11,000,000. And the situation is complicated by the fact that there are in Mexico over 100,000 Europeans and Americans, of whom not one is a citizen of the republic. These do not conceal their opinions of their own superiority as compared with "greasers." Hence the slogan "Mexico for the Mexicans" is coming to be prominent. Nature has provided Mexico with every element that the highest type of civilization needs. Its only lack is a stable government. Can this, asks Mr. Nason, be obtained except through another Díaz?

FRANCE'S ALARMING POPULATION PROBLEM

FOR some time past French economists and statesmen have been greatly worried over their population question, a question which year by year becomes a more serious one. It may now be said to have reached the acute stage. Indeed one of the leading publicists of France, M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, writes in his own journal, *L'Economiste Francais*, a stirring article on the subject under the caption "On the Necessity of an Energetic and Methodical Social Action to arrest the Decline of the Birth-rate and to prevent the Depopulation or the Denationalization of France." This eminent writer has frequently during the past quarter-century called the attention of the French Government to the absolute necessity of doing something to avert a calamity which, if present conditions are continued, must prove inevitable. And, as he says in his present article, "there is still time to-day; but it will be too late a dozen years hence." How urgent the necessity of action is, will be seen from the subjoined table of births and deaths in France during the past fifty years. It should be mentioned that the average annual number of marriages during this period has remained practically about the same, having ranged from 305,000 in 1861 to 282,000 in 1881, and rising to 303,000 in 1901 and further to 307,700 in 1911.

that the marriages must have become more and more infertile. In the third place, the number of deaths has decreased, but much less than the births. The fourth and most important fact demonstrated by the table is that whereas from 1861 to 1886 there was a constant excess of births over deaths, from the latter year such excess was frequently replaced by an excess of deaths over births, amounting in 1911 to 34,800. In denouncing the cause of the present state of things, M. Leroy-Beaulieu is careful to place the responsibility where it properly belongs. He writes:

The cause of the continual decline in the birth-rate in France is well known: it is a moral, or rather an immoral, cause—the determination to limit the family to the minimum. It is not, as was formerly the case, family ambition, the fear of division or dispersion of the family wealth, that engenders this determination; it is pure egoism on the part of married persons, the fear not only of the expense, but also of the ennui which the rearing and the education of children entail. . . . It is no exaggeration to state that of ten ménages there will be at least one, if not two, where there is no desire to have any children whatever; that one-half of the others are contented with one child (of whichever sex); and that the remainder consider two children to be the maximum that they desire or will accept. With a decline in the number of births from 1,000,000 in 1861 to 742,100 in 1911, it is easy to foretell the fate that is in store for us within a very few years, if some energetic action be not taken to avert it.

M. Leroy-Beaulieu calls attention to what he terms "a serious social hygiene" and which has a most important bearing upon the subject under discussion. He says in substance:

The physicians in our hospitals tell us that they estimate the number of abortions in France at 100,000 annually. If we reduce this figure by one-half, the remaining number would have a very appreciable effect on the birth-rate. . . . Abortion is allowed to go unpunished in France. Stupid and contemptible juries constantly acquit cases brought before them. The newspapers are full of advertisements of midwives, which tend to foster the practice; and nothing is done in the matter. Even the shameful traffic in various objects intended to hinder conception profits by the tolerance of the law or the police. Social hygiene should be extended to education, our French régime being lamentable.

An ingenious plan for increasing the number of births in France is put forward by M. Leroy-Beaulieu. First, it should be generally recognized that a normal family must include at least three children.

Years	Births	Deaths	Births over Deaths	Deaths over Births
1861	1,005,000	866,000	138,000	.....
1866	1,006,000	884,000	121,000	.....
1876	966,000	834,000	132,000	.....
1881	937,000	828,000	108,000	.....
1886	913,000	860,000	52,000	.....
1891	866,000	877,000	.....	11,000
1896	866,000	772,000	94,000	.....
1900	827,000	853,000	.....	26,000
1901	857,000	784,000	72,000	.....
1902	845,000	761,000	83,000	.....
1903	826,000	753,000	73,000	.....
1904	818,000	761,000	57,000	.....
1905	807,000	770,000	37,000	.....
1906	806,000	780,000	26,000	.....
1907	773,000	793,000	.....	20,000
1908	791,000	745,000	46,000	.....
1909	769,000	756,000	13,000	.....
1910	774,300	703,000	71,500	.....
1911	742,100	776,900	.....	34,800

Analysis of the figures in this table impresses one, says M. Leroy-Beaulieu, with four facts. In the first place, the number of marriages (as stated above) not having diminished, the trouble is not there. Secondly, the number of births which in 1861 had stood at over one million and in 1881 at 937,000, had fallen in 1911 to 742,100, so

On the other hand, the country has two means at its disposal by which the decline of the birth-rate may be arrested. (1) To reserve the holding of all public offices or functions to fathers or mothers having at least three children. (2) To grant a bounty or premium (without regard to the financial status of the parents) of 500 francs for each third child and for every subsequent one, one-half

being payable within one month of the birth and the second half one month later.

If energetic and methodical efforts of some kind are not soon made, France will end in one of two calamities—depopulation or denationalization.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE GERMAN ELECTIONS

THE most striking feature of the German elections held last January was the remarkable increase in the number of votes obtained by the Socialists. In 1907 their gain over the preceding election was about a quarter of a million votes, whereas in 1912 their gain exceeded a million. Writing in the *Revue Générale* on the psychology of the elections, Dr. Missiaen, O.M.C., remarks that this means that four and a quarter millions of citizens showed their discontent at the polls—a fact that is not surprising, seeing the soil was so well prepared and that never has Socialism been so favorably situated for a successful propaganda. In treating of the various factors in the elections, this writer deals first with the economic factor and quotes the opinion of Karl Kautsky to the effect that

there is no doubt that the prime motive force that influenced the popular conscience was the increase in the cost of living. What a fertile soil for the propaganda! What facile means for exciting the passions of the masses! Add the protective rights of agriculture, and we have the economic base for electoral exploitation.

The increased cost of living was the more readily brought into prominence since "necessities increase more rapidly than income; and it is here that the Socialist idea becomes intensely active in uniting equality of necessities with equality of revenue."

In discussing the psychological factor in the elections Dr. Missiaen distinguishes two elements: party and the masses. Concerning these he says:

As a party, Socialism represents the aspirations of the masses, or at least undertakes the mission of expressing them in the most adequate manner. Now the success of a party depends upon the fidelity with which it interprets the popular mind and labors to realize its aspirations. What does the Socialist party represent? What aspirations does it express? Speak to its members or adherents, and you will be struck with the vigor with which material needs come to the front. To propagate and to agitate these, Socialism has an

ideal of the first power—Equality! Economic Equality, Paradise on earth, here is the aim of the action presented to a multitude materialized, or at least destitute of any idea of the higher, ultra-terrestrial life. Here is found the great attractive force of the party. Here is to be found the intensity as well as the fidelity with which the adherents of the party follow the orders of their chiefs and sacrifice themselves to the organization and its propaganda. And the two great agents which serve to foster the popular aspirations to the profit of Socialism are the syndicate and the press. . . . To cause the people to be enthusiastic over an ideal—here is the road to success for any party; and Socialism succeeds in this admirably. It is not the work of a day, but the result of continuous effort.

Other factors which Dr. Missiaen notes are the political, side by side with the social, and, in particular, the syndical factor. It is no secret that the German elections have once more confirmed the importance of labor organization. Where any party has at its disposal organized forces of workingmen its victory is assured. This was the case with the Socialist party. In connection with the syndical factor must be mentioned that of social education.

This, too, organizes, disciplines the troops; it gives them a spirit of solidarity with the hope of a common ideal to be realized. . . . One may say from this point of view that Socialism has an admirable discipline which now the Christian syndicates tend to equal. Thus the strike in the basin of the Ruhr, in spite of critics, agitations, and terrorization, has proved that the Christians were an enemy organized and disciplined of which it was necessary to take account.

In struggles for the right it is necessary to bring to bear the power of organization. Thus on the Christian side as on the social side the German elections have been the triumph of the action of organized labor and the expression of a strong democratic movement which cannot be disregarded.

The elections have revealed, moreover, a more profound if less hidden factor—the religious factor. One may say that the suc-

cess of Socialism in the communion of ideas with the Progressist party and the Freemasons, manifests itself as a great anticlerical game in which the leaders play the principal rôle. Anticlericalism, says Dr. Missiaen, seems to be on the increase in all the countries of Europe. This is not a reason for laying

down one's arms. On the contrary. We have lived in times formerly as sad as those of the present epoch. And one may say that, in spite of the general opposition to Catholicism, there has never been a period better adapted than the present to show the vigorous power of the Church.

HELPING THE BACKWARD AMONG THE NATIONS

ANYTHING that Dr. Theodore Marburg has to say on agencies for the promotion of peace is entitled to careful consideration. Besides being the author of several works relating to the peace movement, he is president of the Maryland Peace Society and secretary of the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, and at the Third American Peace Congress held last year in Baltimore, he was chairman of the Executive Committee. Dr. Marburg has been devoting himself to the attempt to solve the problem how best to help the "little fellows," the weak and the backward, among the nations; and he suggests (in the *Independent*) a scheme which seems to possess the essential characteristic of feasibility. Premising that the insecurity of life and property in backward countries is an ever-present menace to the peace of the world, leading to intervention by foreign powers and to actual war, he remarks that "the problem before us is to find some means of sowing the seeds of progress and civilization throughout the world without the sacrifice of life and the injustice which war involves."

Unless we can do this, wars must and will go on. While civilization itself is external, races differ in their capacity to carry it forward. The dominant interest of the world is, therefore, the spread of the right blood, carrying with it primarily two things: the continued success and accelerated pace of man's struggle with nature (supplanting man's struggle with man), and the establishment of liberal practices which make, above all, for justice among men.

Dr. Marburg suggests that

such a means probably offers itself in the joint action of all the enlightened powers of the world, big and little, to secure equal rights and political liberty, and, as an incident thereto, security of life and property for the European races in backward lands. The most practical instrumentality may prove to be a commission appointed jointly by the chancelleries of such powers.

A federal government of the world, like the federated States of the United States, of Germany, or of Switzerland, is not, of course, practicable at the present time. Dr. Marburg's project contemplates action with regard to the backward powers only.

Respect of personal and property right and more even justice can alone free the backward countries from internal disturbance, wars, and the danger of subjugation. Was it not principally the fact that the Englishmen in Johannesburg had been inequitably taxed and at the same time denied representation at Pretoria that brought on the South African war? The present insecurity of life and property in Mexico in connection with the hundreds of millions of dollars which foreigners have invested there may force the United States, at the demand of foreign powers, if not of its own people, eventually to intervene and put an end to present conditions.

The new institution would serve the ends heretofore largely promoted by force and by war, namely the spread of enterprising and justice-loving races. Where

would California be to-day if its development had been left to the Indian and to the Mexican? At home and in America the English evolved principles of government which have influenced the whole civilized world. To-day, every government of Europe and several governments of Asia, in theory if not in practice, are modeled more or less on the lines of either the English or American Government.

Political equality would, however, have to be limited to the Asiatic or European races, as the case may be, in their respective lands. It cannot be extended to the one race in the home of the other race. This view is not based upon any prejudice against Asiatics, but rather upon experience which shows that the two races do not mingle successfully. If admitted freely to the same countries, conflict is inevitable and frequent.

The proposed commission of the chancelleries of the world, to be successful, must in-

clude "all the powers where there are just laws administered with a fair approximation to justice."

It would include little powers who have no formidable armaments, powers like Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, and Greece. In this hemisphere certainly Argentina and Chile, to go no further, should be included.

In Dr. Marburg's opinion, the effect of such an institution would be twofold: (1) It would impose justice upon backward countries from outside. (2) If equal rights were secured to them, the enlightened and progressive races migrating to such countries should themselves be able to obtain laws and institutions making for security and justice.

Some backward countries are of course unable to maintain law and order. In such cases actual intervention would have to take place.

And if the powers were called upon frequently to intervene they would be justified, after the exercise of the proper patience, in decreeing the suspension of the national life of such a country, which would then be administered by them jointly or placed under the temporary or permanent jurisdiction, as the case might be, of a single power.

Coming to the two Americas, "the Monroe

Doctrine would indicate the use of the United States as the sole agent of the powers in cases of intervention. Now our responsibilities under the Monroe Doctrine are already great, and as time goes on will doubtless increase." Such a plan as that proposed would

enable the United States to shift some of the responsibilities which it at present has under the Monroe Doctrine to certain other of the American republics in the neighborhood of the disturbed conditions. For example, Argentina can muster 700,000 men who have seen at least two years' service with the colors, and have been said by the German Emperor to constitute one of the best of modern armies. It is likewise building an effective fleet. So far as concerns that neighborhood, why may not the responsibility to European powers which the Monroe Doctrine imposes on the United States be delegated to Argentina? The United States would retain the hegemony of the American continent and at the same time designate another power to act for it here and there, such intervention, it will be remembered, being at the mandate and at the joint expense of the civilized world.

Dr. Marburg elaborates his proposal with many substantial arguments and illustrations which cannot be reproduced here; but his presentation of it leaves no doubt in the mind of his readers that he is convinced of the beneficial results that would follow its adoption.

THE EFFECT OF VOTES ON WOMEN IN FINLAND

THE average woman in Finland, writes Miss Edith Sellers, in the *Nineteenth Century*, is more gifted in more ways than the average woman in other countries. "She is intellectually more alert, has more natural ability and more originality." Women voters in Finland are in the majority. We quote Miss Sellers here:

Last year there were 1,350,058 names on the parliamentary register, and 707,247 of them were the names of women. Universal suffrage did not come into force in Finland until 1906, and since then five general elections have been held. At the first, that in 1907, 899,347 persons voted; but it is uncertain how many of them were men and how many women, as their votes were all clubbed together. At the second, 416,373 men voted and 401,194 women; at the third, 439,847 men and 412,280 women; at the fourth, 409,880 men and 386,683 women; and at the fifth, 419,491 men and 387,603 women. In 1908, 68.9 per cent. of the men who could vote did, and 60.3 per cent. of the women; while in 1911 only 65.3 per cent. of the men who could vote did, and only 54.8 per cent. of the women. Although during these years, 1907-11,

the electorate had increased by 77,185, only 318 more men voted in 1911 than in 1907; while the number of women who voted were actually less by 13,591 in 1911 than in 1908. At every election fewer women vote in country districts, although not in towns.

Of the nineteen women first elected to Parliament, fifteen were Extremists. The cleverest had been a servant. The women who do not vote as their men folk vote, vote almost invariably Socialist.

Upon inquiring of members of all classes, parties and schools of thought, the writer is convinced that the introduction of the woman vote into politics in Finland has not raised the tone of public life. In the first place she says:

That certain changes have come over many women since they have had votes no one denies: many women are much more active now than they were before 1906, more aggressive, more bent on being to the fore in everything. Finnish servant-maids, for instance, are many of them quite different

now from what they were when I first knew them, some ten years ago. The very way they set down their feet is different, the very way they hold their heads. The sound of their voices, too, is changed and, oddly enough, even the expression of their faces. They have become personages now that they have a voice in the management of the affairs of the nation, and they know it. They show, too, that they know it, which is only natural, although perhaps not always wise.

I have been assured in all seriousness that it is not their own convenience that mistresses have now to consult in making their household arrangements, but solely the convenience of their servants. Should a Socialist orator announce that he will give an address at the hour when most families dine, most families must either change their hour or go without dinner, if their maids have a fancy for hearing him. A mistress may be left "to do" for herself for the day together, if any debate of special interest to those who are supposed "to do" for her is being held in Parliament. That many women of the second order have had their heads a little turned, since female suffrage came into force, almost every common-sense Finnish man, I know, and most of the common-sense Finnish women, stoutly maintain.

The same witnesses declare that a fairly large section of town-dwelling Finnish women have less sweet reasonableness since they got a vote. They are much more eager to be out in the world than in their own homes; home life has lost all attraction for them. Babies are at a discount among them. At the same time Miss Sellers reports madness is increasing everywhere, but nowhere quite so rapidly as in Finland, it seems. A Poor Law official who was trying to introduce the Elberfeld system was assured it would not succeed because he could not get voluntary helpers. He said to Miss Sellers, "Oh, if only our ladies here would give a little less thought to politics and a little more thought to the poor!" A Finnish lady insisted on compassionating Miss Sellers because she was subject to such cruel oppression in her own land. In spite of all that Miss Sellers could say to the contrary, the lady insisted that she was oppressed. There is no fear of clerical influence, "for a woman in Finland would as soon think of asking a chimney-sweep for advice as of asking a pastor."

Finnish Women in Parliament

A different testimony is given by another observer, Mr. V. Palen-Kordes, who records his observations in the *Contemporary Review*. He says:

Up to the beginning of last year the women brought in twenty-nine different legislative bills,

of which the Seim passed the following: (1) The establishment of laws for child protection against ill-treatment; (2) the complete freeing of the wife from the legal guardianship of her husband; (3) the raising of the marriage age from fifteen to eighteen years; (4) the organization of colonies for youthful criminals; (5) the right of women to assist in the department of public medicine; (6) the abolition of police observation over prostitutes.

Women's bills awaiting decision deal with maternity insurance, establishment of government midwives, giving a wife the right to dispose of her children, appointment of women as factory inspectors. In all questions dealing with social and hygienic matters the women have taken a great interest. They unanimously supported the bill prohibiting the importation, sale, and consumption of alcohol. The number of women deputies fluctuates between nineteen and twenty-four. They belong to different parties. The electors have, with few exceptions, returned to every Seim the women deputies they have once elected—which may be considered the best criticism of their work. This is a vignette of the chief woman in Parliament:

The most prominent woman deputy is, according to general opinion, the Social Democrat, Mina Silanpää, editor of a journal. Her history is a very interesting one. After education in an elementary school, she became a worker in a factory, and later a cook in Helsingfors. She spent every spare minute in reading and self-education, and by hard work has become one of the most intellectual and popular women in Finland. She went through all her elections without difficulty, each time receiving a great number of votes. Mina Silanpää is a splendid orator and organizer. She has done a great deal in organizing domestic servants. Together with Ch. Persinen, she edits a journal entitled *The Woman Worker*.

Another woman, Hilda Kekikoski, belonging to the Conservative Old Finnish party, proposed to read a few verses out of the Bible, with explanation of them, at each meeting of the Seim before the commencement of business. The proposal failed. To the Finnish women every profession is open. They serve in the marine service, and have been much appreciated.

This writer concludes by saying:

When women first entered Parliament they were met with much doubt and suspicion. Many a man and woman prophesied the end of Finland. Now, after five years, everybody must be convinced that women have entered Parliament with the earnest wish to improve their country, and, what is still more, that they have known how to do it, and have achieved, comparatively, a splendid result.

NEW BOOKS OF BIOGRAPHY

A MEMOIR of Carola Woerishoffer, her life and work, has been published by the 1907 class of Bryn Mawr College, with an introduction by Ida Tarbell.¹ Miss Woerishoffer was

A Life of
Service

a New York girl born to wealth and social station who doffed the comforts and the luxuries of life and its easy ways, to give her energies to one unbroken effort toward public service. What she accomplished and how she fought for the helpless, the needy, and the oppressed is told in this volume. The record should shame all idlers into active service toward the betterment of human life. Briefly, she investigated the industrial conditions under which human beings work in parasitic industries in New York City, contributing money anonymously wherever it was needed; she compiled books on industries and trade unions, started many relief funds, served on the Label Committee, doing any amount of routine work, finally becoming employed as an investigator for the New York State Bureau of Immigration. During the recent shirtwaist strike in New York City her efforts and bond freed several hundred of the arrested strikers. A fatal accident a few months ago deprived her associates of her valued service. They have said that "no one can ever fill her place." Only twenty-six when she died, she showed the world how much can really be accomplished in a short time, if one has a definite purpose, strength, and a desire to serve.

The late A. F. Davidson some years ago won a premier place among biographers by his "Life of Alexandre Dumas." His second book, "Victor

A New Life of
Victor Hugo

Hugo, His Life and Work,"² barely finished before his death, has now been brought out under the editorship of the English scholar and critic, Francis Gribble. In the nearly 350 pages of text we get a very intimate personal impression of the great French novelist. There are five portraits.

A book of reminiscences containing references to many eminent statesmen of Europe during the last half of the past century is Baroness von Hede-

Prince
Hohenlohe

mann's volume: "My Friendship with Prince Hohenlohe."³ It is the love story of the third German Chancellor and the lady who was the inspiration of his heart from his boyhood days until his death. Prince Hohenlohe, besides being a keen, shrewd statesman, was a poet and idealist, and it is the latter phase of his character that is brought out chiefly in these reminiscences.

A delightful and scholarly book is Mr. Frank Hedgecock's exploration into the history of the French and English stage in the picturesque years of the middle eighteenth century.

Garrick in
France

The title, "David Garrick and his French Friends,"⁴ does not do justice to the scope of the material. The main theme



MISS CAROLA WOERISHOFFER

narrates the events in the life of Garrick during the years of 1763-5, which were spent in France. This versatile poet, dramatist, and actor, the apostle of naturalness, was the first English actor to make a genuine success in France. This is not surprising when we consider his ancestry. Garrick had little Anglo-Saxon blood in his veins, for his mother was a Miss Arabella Clough, of Irish descent, and his father the son of a French Huguenot who had left his native town of Bordeaux and established himself as a wine merchant in London. Thus this genius of the English stage was more Gaelic and Gallic than Anglo-Saxon, a combination of Irish wit with the vivacity, the grace, the humor of the French. Mr. Hedgecock is of the opinion, from evidence gathered in his researches, that Garrick's advent in Paris helped on the *entente cordiale* between France and England. At any rate, the French were greatly moved by his acting, and men of fame and station flocked to see him act in Macbeth and King Lear. Voltaire, who hated the "barbarian" Shakespeare, boasted afterward that he had in his "*Lettres Philosophiques* ou *Lettres sur les Anglais*," been the first to introduce Shakespeare to his countrymen, but there seems little doubt that it was not until Garrick crossed the Channel that the glories of the bard of Avon were made known to the French nation. Garrick was the legitimate forerunner of Booth and Barrett.

¹ Carola Woerishoffer: Her Life and Work. Published by Class of 1907 of Bryn Mawr College. 137 pp., por.

² Victor Hugo, His Life and Work. By A. F. Davidson. London: Eveleigh Nash. 350 pp., ill.

³ My Friendship with Prince Hohenlohe. By Baroness von Hede-
mann. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 201 pp., ill. \$2.

⁴ Garrick and His French Friends. By Frank A. Hedgecock. Duffield & Co. 443 pp. \$3.50.

He possessed the "grand manner" to perfection, yet his diction was naturalistic. Grimm deftly describes his art: "He never oversteps truth and he knows that other inconceivable secret of making his personal appearance increase in beauty by no other aid than that of passion. He has perfected his talents with a profound study of nature. For that purpose he is ever mingling with the crowd, and it is there that he comes upon nature in all its native originality." Contemporary descriptions of the person of Garrick reveal him as a man of medium height, his face mobile, nostrils finely cut over delicate lips, eyes bold and perfect, the pupil large, strong, lively, variable, its color dark, set off with due proportion of white, that gave its every motion a brilliancy, a distinctness, a life that spoke in every glance. His voice was said to have been clear and piercing, and at the same time perfectly sweet and harmonious. Beyond the biographical incidents of these years the actor spent in Paris, there are included in this fascinating volume a chapter dealing with the Comedie Française and the leading French actresses of Garrick's time, many of whom like Mlle. Clairon and Mme. Riccoboni were enamoured of the genius and personality of the actor. There is another chapter dealing entirely with Shakespeare and the French and many documents and letters are given, including some of Garrick's never before published. The record of his friendships with men such as La Place, Le Kain, Suard, Morellet and Favart is important in determining his influence upon the art of the French theatre and upon his times. The illustrations are drawn from the Cabinet of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris and include several portraits. Mr. Hedgcock's style is easy and flow-

ing, a little in the French manner without the loss of dignity and solidity.

Some names are in themselves essentially romantic. The name of the celebrated French novelist, Guy de Maupassant, is among that number. The "Recollections" of Guy de Maupassant¹ by his valet, "François," promises romance to the expectant reader and gives instead rather carefully seasoned "pot au feu." Naïvely, with furtive observation and much kitchen comment, François has recorded his recollections of the novelist during the last ten years of his life. François accompanies his master to Biskra, to the Jardin D'Essai, to Algiers, Tlemcen, and Oran. Wherever there were peepholes, François' eye was ready; also his pencil. His politeness never permitted him to intrude upon the actual life of his master. Therefore François' recollections are written as if from afar, despite the contacts of daily life. He drags out bits of remembered conversation glibly, but the novelist is never speaking; it is always François *telling*. The one realistic and touching chapter is the last, which describes the onslaught of the fatal disease that destroyed this splendid genius in his prime. Now that Flaubert's pupil (later Flaubert's master), has tardily gained the recognition he deserves for his art, which was that of the single, vivid silhouette of life in which there was no superfluity, no distracting abundance, the reader wishes more of the actual De Maupassant than this book can give. The style is varied and agreeable, however, and the book is pleasingly illustrated with photographs taken by the novelist while making a short tour of Algeria. Mina Pound has rendered the translation.

NEW BOOKS OF TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

A BOOK that will make strong appeal to all those who feel keenly the fascinations of Paris, old and new, is "Byways of Paris,"² by Georges Cain, translated by Louise Seymour Houghton. It is a very different book from the usual guides to the byways of that city. "The Mansarde of Napoleon Bonaparte," the "Old Quarter of the White Manteles," "The Street of the Ladies' Tower," "Seine Landscapes," "Frascati," "The Faubourg Poissonnière," and "The True Butte Montmartre" are titles of some of the chapters. Much historical information is given with copious notes and frequent quaint illustrations showing the Paris that existed before it became the first modernized city in Europe. Georges Cain's style may be compared to that of a delicate etching. Listen to his words upon the old Seine Quays: "Were we not right in saying that every stone in these old Seine Quays has its story? Strange story where laughter is close to tears, where virtue walks hand in hand with crime and everything seems topsy-turvy, incoherent, grotesque, odious or sublime, like the dead leaves that fall from the plane trees into the trays of old books along the quay and are mixed with the loveliest legends of love and glory."

Caroline Atwater Mason, author of the latest book of the "spell" series—"The Spell of France,"³—prefaces the account of her wanderings in this fascinating region by quoting from Mistral, the Provençal poet, the following characteristic quatrain:

Upon thy sun-kissed slopes, on every side
The olive grows, the tree of peace divine;
And all thy lands are crowned with the pride
Of thy prolific, broadly-spreading vines.

Very few traveling Americans really know the beauties of provincial France. This book, delicately and cleverly written with the devoutness of your born nomad who wanders seeking beauty everywhere, carries the reader away from the larger cities of France to old Carcassonne, and Vernet and the Shrines of Languedoc: to Vence to view the flower farms of Provence and to Grasse where the luxurious attar of roses is made. There in Grasse is found "La Rose du Mai" (the muscadine of Keats,) of which a million blossoms are required to produce a pound of the precious attar. Up into the high Pyrenees, to Pau and down to Arles by the sea runs Mrs. Mason's gracious narra-

¹Recollections of Guy de Maupassant. By his valet, François. Translated by Mina Pound. John Lane Co. 324 pp., ill. \$3.

²Byways of Paris. By Georges Cain. Duffield & Co., 315 pp. \$2.50.

³The Spell of France. By Caroline Atwater Mason. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. 425 pp., ill. \$2.50.

tive. For sympathetic description of natural beauties this book has not been excelled. Fifty-one illustrations accompany the text.

The net result of her travel and sojourn in Italy Miss Mary Austin now presents to the book lover under the title "Christ in Italy."¹ This title she amplifies as "being adventures of a Maverick among masterpieces." Her impressions are courageous, original, highly unconventional, and recorded with a charming literary touch.

"Tripoli the Mysterious"²—this is a fascinating book describing the experiences of an American lady who lived in various parts of the country during the past two years. Mabel Loomis Todd, who has already written a noteworthy book on "Total Eclipses of the Sun," was in Tripoli city in October last when the Italian ships of war came into the harbor. In her book she describes with an unusually entertaining style those features of permanent everyday life in Tripoli with which the casual traveler is not familiar. There are a number of interesting pictures. Her final verdict is that "somehow the strange, sordid, poetic city takes fast hold of my heart."

"The White Hills in Poetry"³ is an anthology of verse inspired by the beauty of the White Moun-

tains, edited by Eugene Musgrove with an introduction by Dr. Samuel Crothers. It might be more accurately described as a rhymed guide-book to the mountain region of New Hampshire—the mountains which Dr. Crothers' aptly terms "the biggest little mountains in the world." The poems are collected from the works of fifty different authors, from Longfellow and Whittier to Frank Bolles and Richard Hovey. The illustrations are photographs of New Hampshire scenery. There is no better way to realize the quality of this book than to read the lines from Whittier to "Franconia from the Pemigewasset":

Once more, O mountains of the North, unveil
Your brows and lay your cloudy mantle by.
And once more, ere the eyes that seek ye fail,
Uplift against the blue walls of the sky
Your mighty shapes, and let the sunshine weave
Its golden network in your belting woods.
Smile down in rainbows from your falling fountains
And on your kingly brows at morn and eve
Set crowns of fire, so shall my soul receive
Haply the secret of your calm and strength.

Accompanying the volume of poetry upon the White Mountains, we have a restful winding over White Mountain trails⁴ by Winthrop Packard. The book has a flavor of Thoreau; it brings the intimate spirit of the woods and hills to the reader who cannot seek the great book of Nature to read therein for himself. It is illustrated with reproductions of photographs taken in the White Mountains. Those showing the clouds at sunrise from the summit of Mt. Washington are of particular beauty.

BOOKS OF EDUCATIONAL INTEREST

THE technique of education is in constant flux. We are to-day challenging and inquiring into the old and reaching out our hands for the new. Fact knowledge is no longer considered to be anything save the mere skeleton of education. There must spring into being a richer intellectual life, a harmonized balance between mind and body, heart and soul, before any educational concept can satisfy the generation now growing to maturity. The education of the future must come from within. We must be taught by auto-education, not by facts thrust upon us like stripes. The watchword for the new education is that of reverence for human life and its infinite possibilities.

This month we have a group of books dealing directly and indirectly with the new education. First among these, and greatest in scope, is "The Evolution of Educational Theory,"⁵ by John Adams, Professor of Education in the University of London.

This book, which every educator should read, is the first of a series intended to give to English readers a history of philosophical thought, its application in Greek philosophy, in modern philosophy, in educational theory, and in political theory. The word "theory" gives some people a wrong impression. True, when we divorce theory from life, when it wins for us no practical results, it should be laid aside, but the fact remains that

the great reforms in all matters have come from persons *with* theories. This work, after outlining the nature of education, begins with its data and history and follows its evolution down to modern times, bearing throughout upon the fact that "what we are to-day is the result of what happened thousands of years ago; the education given to-day will bear fruit in all ages to come." Necessarily, from the scope of its subject, this book must touch upon all branches of knowledge, and this is accomplished without confusion. Every quoted fact, every allusion, falls into place marshaled by a mind of powerful coördinative genius. The author's theory is truly progressive, his aim to "envisage the whole field" of education. This book should be placed in the hands of every teacher in our public schools.

Edward L. Thorndyke, Professor of Psychology in the Teachers College of Columbia University offers a "first book," "Education,"⁶ which digs down into the physiological facts of human nature and the basic psychology of educational theory. In the hands of an appreciative reader this book, modestly offered as a first effort, is a whole course in teaching. Building up rationally from a knowledge of human powers and faculties with appreciation of individual differences and their causes, Mr. Thorndyke proceeds to methods, "telling and show-

¹Christ in Italy. By Mary Austin. Duffield & Co. 163 pp. \$1.

²Tripoli the Mysterious. By Mabel Loomis Todd. Small, Maynard & Co. 214 pp., ill. \$2.

³The White Hills in Poetry. Edited by Eugene Musgrove. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 390 pp. \$1.75.

⁴White Mountain Trails. By Winthrop Packard. Small, Maynard & Co. 311 pp., ill. \$3.

⁵The Evolution of Educational Theory. By John Adams. Macmillan Company. 410 pp. \$2.75.

⁶Education. By Edward L. Thorndyke. Macmillan Company. 292 pp. \$1.25.

ing: lectures and demonstrations, questioning, developing methods and the method of discovery." His view of the future of education is that it is becoming something neither to be sold to the rich, nor bestowed as a charity on the poor, but to be given to all as a public investment.

"The Genetic Philosophy of Education"¹ by Mr. G. E. Partridge, is an epitome of the published writings on education by President Stanley Hall, of Clark University. Condensed into convenient form, the book gives the main thread of the argument for the application of the genetic method to the problems of education. The genetic method begins with the study of mind as it evolves in the race, and from this starting point traces the development of mind in the child. It is one that appeals to the naturalist for its rationalism and to the investigator because it traces problems to their primeval source. The advocates of the genetic method are confident that science will eventually prove to our satisfaction that physical processes and mental processes are but aspects of a "higher substance or principle" in which law and freedom, mind and matter, immanence and transcendence will lose their partial aspects and appear as a whole. The chapter dealing with the education of girls should be read before all Mothers' Clubs. That the author's daughter Miriam has unconsciously furnished material for some of Mr. Clark's conclusions renders his theories the more interesting. The book is exceedingly readable because of the author's sympathetic understanding of the child mind.

"Current Educational Activities"² is a report of the great social service of education, written by John Palmer Garber, Assistant Superintendent of the Public Schools of Philadelphia. It covers all developments affecting public schools and the higher institutions of learning: civic political and social problems, discusses foreign educational interests, educational meetings and congresses, and offers efficient suggestion for the education and training of moral and mental defectives. The Montessori method of teaching is explained in detail, likewise the various systems of prominent kindergartners. As an educational perspective over the entire field of the things that are essential to the "culture which one generation gives the next," this book serves a broad purpose.

A technical and comprehensive text-book, "English Composition and Style,"³ is offered this month by William T. Brewster, Professor of English in Columbia University. We have not space to do justice to this work, but special attention should be called to Part Four, "Versification," and also to the chapter on "Argumentation." Professor Brewster writes crisply, with stimulating imagery and a sense of the minute differences in word-values.

Three volumes of the "World's Leader Series" must be included in the educational books of this

month. They are popular biographies written not so much to tell history as to reveal the men who made history. "Leading Painters,"⁴ by G. B. Rose, is the most inspiring of the trio, being a successful combination of fact with sprightliness and grace of literary style. Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Rubens, and Rembrandt are successively considered. Mr. H. W. Boynton has written the "Leading Poets"⁵—Homer, Virgil, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton and Goethe; and Mr. W. L. Bevan has reviewed the achievements of the "Great Conquerors"⁶—Alexander, Cæsar, Charles the Great, the Ottoman Conquerors of Europe, Cortez, Pizarro, and Napoleon. These short biographies are not for the specialist, but they bring to the general reader substantial and detailed information regarding the lives of these great men. For school text-books they cannot be excelled.

The boy who works his way through college and university may have a hard time of it while the self-supporting process is in actual operation, but the fact that he has achieved this hard feat gives him a great store of self-reliance and sheds a kind of halo over his later accomplishments. Mr. Calvin Dill Wilson has prepared a helpful guide to the various opportunities to earn an education at American colleges and universities.⁷ There are, as Mr. Wilson states, thousands of boys and girls without money for college training who hesitate to gain entrance to colleges because of ignorance of the avenues of self-support that are open to poor students. The many different ways, from fellowship down to acting as a waiter, are enumerated and explained in relation to the different colleges. Charles W. Eliot, ex-President of Harvard, said "If a man has health, energy, cheerfulness, a good preparation for college work, he need not hesitate to enter."

In the third part of Arthur Raymond Robinson's book, "Memory and the Executive Mind,"⁸ he reminds us, of the "larger success," of our national motto on the American dollar. He writes: "That moment (if ever) when you come to doubt the existence of an all-wise, universal First Cause, that moment we say, may well be marked as the blackest and most pernicious in your entire career." This is the measuring-rod which Mr. Robinson applies to his principles of success. More than a well-developed memory and an executive mind is needful for true success. External factors are not truly indicative of progress. A man who suffers the stings of defeat may, in the ultimate, be actually successful. There must exist as a groundwork for all effort the belief in a benign intelligence under whose direction we may cultivate the humanities and extend our mental and spiritual development.

Mrs. Miriam Kingsley B. Challoner's book on health, entitled "The Fundamentals of Cer-

¹The Genetic Philosophy of Education. By G. E. Partridge. Sturgis & Walton. 401 pp. \$1.50.

²Current Educational Activities. By J. P. Garber. J. B. Lippincott Co. 387 pp.

³English Composition and Style. By William T. Brewster. Century Company. 512 pp. \$1.35.

⁴The World's Leading Painters. By George B. Rose. Henry Holt & Co. 371 pp. \$1.75.

⁵The World's Leading Poets. By H. W. Boynton. Henry Holt & Co. 335 pp. \$1.75.

⁶The World's Great Conquerors. By W. L. Bevan. Henry Holt & Co. pp. \$1.75.

⁷Working One's Way Through College and University. By Calvin Dill Wilson. A. C. McClurg & Co. 381 pp. \$1.

⁸Memory and the Executive Mind. By Arthur Raymond Robinson. Chicago: M. A. Donohue & Co. 208 pp.

tainy,"¹ was privately published, the author states. It should be publicly distributed, for it is a wholesome, common-sense treatise, written to educate the masses up to the idea that perfect and abundant health is within the reach of everyone who will observe natural laws, those of correct hygiene and diet, and take advice from Dr. Exercise and Dr. Merryman. It is a system that can be used by those who labor, by the busy people of the world, who cannot not go to health cures nor frequent expensive gymnasiums. A better title would be, "How to Keep Well at Home and Do Your Work." Much space is devoted to vitalizing exercises, concentrated mind-breathing, diet, ventilation, right-living, and right-breeding. The book is eminently useful, teaching the unfoldment of the powers of mind and body in harmonious proportion.

The dramatic side of education is given us in a most useful and excellently prepared volume, "Festivals and Plays,"² by Percival Chubb and his associates in the Ethical Culture School, New York. The varying forms of festal art-pageantry, rite ceremony, song and dance are considered from their educational aspect as they are concerned with the principles of pedagogy.

In simpler form, but with equally broad view of the importance of festivals as a sustaining aid to keep alive the childlike delight and wonder in life, is "Folk Festivals and How To Give Them,"³ by Mary Master Needham. This book gives minute directions for the giving of all kinds of folk festivals, and includes descriptions of famous European festival-plays, that, held yearly at Rothenburg on the Tauber, the Siena Palio, the fête at Avignon, the Norse festivals and the pageants at Chester, Warwick, Oxford and St. Albans. One wise suggestion is that we celebrate our holidays with performances of historical pageants. These two books bring us back to the gentle arts of play by making a study of pastime. That the schools shall lead in the restoration of this lost source of life and happiness is the aim of these books.

In "Pageants and Pageantry,"⁴ Esther W. Bates gives five complete pageants, arranged for reproduction by children, which can be given as a whole or in single episodes. They are drawn from various periods of the world's literary history. In every respect the episodes are made as true as possible to the times, in the actual words spoken by historic characters. There is an introduction by William Orr, Deputy Commissioner of Education for Massachusetts, and the book is illustrated.

DIPLOMACY, PAST AND PRESENT

A RARELY interesting view of the inner workings of the old-school diplomacy is furnished by the remarkable book which Mr. W. Morgan Shuster has made (under the title "The Strangling of Persia") out of the story of his experiences as Treasurer-General of the Persian nation.⁵ He subtitles his book "The Story of European Diplomacy and Oriental Intrigue, Which Resulted in the Denationalization of Twelve Million Mohammedans." Mr. Shuster's book is a narrative of the personal experiences of a straight-spoken, open-minded American whose competence and determination to perform honestly the task he undertook made him obnoxious to Russia and England. He was retained to put the Persian finances in order. Russia and England consented to his appointment. To Mr. Shuster these simple facts conferred upon him the right to reform the finances of Persia with the consent of Russia and England. Very soon Mr. Shuster's direct devotion to his duty and remarkable success gave rise to the reports that he was "tactless" and that, much to diplomacy's disappointment and surprise, he was doing his best to faithfully serve the country which was paying his salary. Persia must not be permitted to regenerate herself; therefore Russian and British agents stepped in and proceeded to nullify the work of Mr. Shuster, and finally brought about his downfall. In his book Mr. Shuster, in straightforward, undecorated language, tells the story of his efforts to put Persia on a business basis. "I have written down the facts," he says in his foreword, "with a bluntness



MR. SHUSTER AND HIS FAMILY

(Taken shortly after their return to this country from Persia)

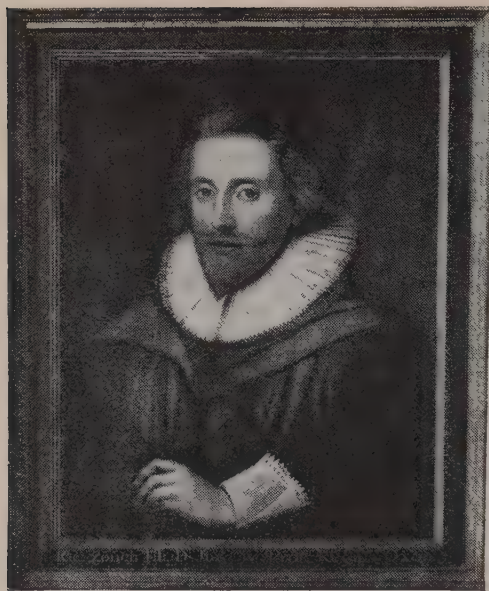
¹The Fundamentals of Certainty. By Miriam Kingsley B. Challoner. Pub. by author. 319 pp. \$3.

²Festivals and Plays in School and Elsewhere. By Percival Chubb. Harper & Brothers. 403 pp., ill. \$2.

³Folk Festivals. By Mary Master Needham. B. W. Huebsch Co. 244 pp. \$1.25.

⁴Pageants and Pageantry. By Esther Willard Bates. Ginn & Co. 294 pp., ill. \$1.25.

⁵The Strangling of Persia. By W. Morgan Shuster. Century Company. 423 pp., ill. \$2.50.



RICHARD ZOUCHE, THE EMINENT PIONEER
WRITER ON INTERNATIONAL LAW
(Whose works, published in 1650, has been translated
into modern English)

which perhaps under other circumstances would be subject to criticism." "Only the pen of a Macaulay or the brush of a Verestchagin could adequately portray the rapidly shifting scenes attending the downfall of this ancient nation—scenes in which two powerful and presumably Christian nations played fast and loose with truth, honor, decency and law, hesitating not even at the most barbarous

cruelties to accomplish their political designs and to put Persia beyond hope of self-regeneration." Of the Persians themselves Mr. Shuster's judgment is, in the main, favorable. He thinks they have remarkable power of adjustment and progress. He praises the members of the Majlis, the Persian Parliament, for their courage and devotion. The Persian women he credits with qualifications and virtues surprisingly high considering the immemorial seclusion of their lives. His book is copiously illustrated from photographs, and there are appendices in which the writer presents documentary proof of his assertions.

At the suggestion of Dr. James Brown Scott, Solicitor for the Department of State and General Secretary for the American Society of International Law, the Carnegie Institution at Washington has undertaken the republication of "The Classics of International Law." It is planned to republish the original text of such classic writers as Zouche, Grotius, Puffendorf, Vattel, Maartens and others. The epoch-making work of Zouche, who was, when he wrote it, Professor of Civil Law in the University of Oxford, and which was originally entitled "An Exposition of Feacial Law and Procedure, or of Law Between Nations, and of Questions Concerning the Same," is the first of the series. Each work will be published in two companion volumes, the first containing the text edited in the original Latin without note or annotation, but with suitable introductions; the second, the translation edited by specialists and provided with notes, appendices and index. The original of Zouche's work has been edited by Thomas Erskine Holland (International Law, Oxford) and translated by Dr. J. L. Brierly (Trinity College, Oxford). There is a fine frontispiece portrait of Zouche. The entire series is to be under the general editorship of Dr. Scott.

An International Law Library taken the republication of "The Classics of International Law."

PHILOSOPHY

FOR those who are interested in philosophy, either as interpreted by modern writers, or the leaders of thought of former ages and edited for to-day, there are several recently issued works of importance. Dr. Borden Parker Bowne gives us in a work of more than 6400 words a critical exposition of Kant and Spencer.¹ Two French scholars, Dr. Yves Delage (Professor of Zoölogy, Anatomy and Physiology at the University of Paris) and Marie Goldsmith (editor of the "Biological Annual") have brought out a comprehensive work on "The Theories of Evolution,"² which has been translated from the French by André Tridon. There are two books on Bergson. One, an exposition of his point of view, entitled "Henri Bergson: the Philosophy of Change,"³ by H. Wildon Carr, being based on papers already published in the *Hibbert Journal*, and "Modern Science and the Illusions of Professor Bergson,"⁴ by Hugh S. R. Elliot, which, with an approving introduction by Sir E. Ray Lan-

Philosophy
Up-to-Date

ester, attempts to demolish the theories and ideas of the French thinker.

Professor Josiah Royce, of Harvard, contributes a new volume to philosophical literature, "Sources of Religious Insight,"⁵ a series of lectures delivered before Lake Forest College on the Theory of Religious Insight Bross. The content deals with individual experience and social experience as sources of religious insight, analyzes the office of reason and brings us around to a religion which is in essence Royce's doctrine of Loyalty. The Royce theories of the fundamentals of philosophy split wide with the William James conceptions. Royce binds the divided self of James into a Oneness, a unity that is in reality a conformation to a universal Will. That this is our real need, that this oneness will solve our problems, he insists with triumphant faith. He says: "Whatever any form of the visible church has done or will do for the religious life of mankind, the crowning source of religious insight is, for us all, the actual loyalty, service devotion, suffering, accomplishment, traditions, example, teaching and triumphs of the invisible church of all the faithful. And by the invisible church I mean the brotherhood consisting of all who in any clime or in any land live in the spirit."

¹ Kant and Spencer: A Critical Exposition. By Borden Parker Bowne. Houghton Mifflin Co. 440 pp. \$3.

² The Theories of Evolution. By Yves Delage and Marie Goldsmith. B. W. Huebsch. 352 pp. \$2.

³ Henri Bergson: The Philosophy of Change. By H. Wildon Carr. New York: Dodge Publishing Company. 91 pp. 20 cents.

⁴ Modern Science and the Illusions of Professor Bergson. By Hugh S. R. Elliot. Longmans, Green & Co. 257 pp. \$1.60.

⁵ Sources of Religious Insight. By Josiah Royce. Scribners. 296 pp. \$1.25 net.

STRINDBERG AND IBSEN

AN essay upon the life and works of Sweden's greatest man of letters, August Strindberg, has been published in a previous issue of the *REVIEW*

OF REVIEWS. Mr. Edwin Björkman, Strindberg's translator, whose first volume of plays in translation was noticed in these pages in February, gives us this month a Strindberg play—"There are Crimes and Crimes."¹ This play was written in 1899, when the author was fifty years old, and therefore belongs to that later period when Strindberg the Mystic, the man of personal faith and august vision overtowered Strindberg the Realist. It is a beautiful parable play worked out in detail with the concentration upon a single idea that borders upon madness—a play that searches our hearts, asking the question of Cain, "Am I my brother's keeper?" The "crimes" of the play, as Mr. Björkman states in his interpretative preface, are not those of the criminal code, but those against the spirit—"against the impalpable power that moves us against God." Must we not account for our crimes of thought, of desire, those crafty fore-runners of our deeds, the wild birds of the human heart? Swedenborg, Ibsen, Björnson and Strindberg form the great Scandinavian group of literary genius. Like the Recording Angel, they have set down our inmost thoughts; they have bidden us pause a moment in the mad race of life and ask the soul—Whither goest thou? Briefly the story of "There are Crimes and Crimes," is one of Maurice, an ambitious but unsuccessful playwright, who comes suddenly to the top of the hill of success and becomes in a night the idol of the Parisian public. His play is produced; the critics laud its merits; he is to receive one hundred thousand francs. Duty bids him fulfill his promises, marry the companion who has shared his poverty and legitimize his child, but intoxicated by his sudden change of fortune, he becomes infatuated with the unscrupulous Henriette, who is already pledged to his friend. They decide to elope and in the tumult of their selfish joy wish the child,—the link that binds him to the faithful Jeanne,—dead. They are over-

heard voicing their horrible wish, and when the child dies mysteriously shortly after the father has bade it a final farewell, they are both arrested and accused of murder. Now both Maurice and Henriette, so far as deeds go, are guiltless, but in their thoughts and desires they are guilty. From this point in the play a swift and remorseless retribution follows them as surely as if they had committed the deed. They are finally acquitted when science proves the child died of natural causes, but the poison works on until both are on the verge of madness and their love "tainted from the first" by unholiness turns to bitter hatred.

Mr. Otto Heller's² attempt to interpret Ibsen justifies itself. He has followed the admirable methods of Mr. William Archer in simplifying Norwegian names and titles, and endeavors to reveal Ibsen in his true place as both a poet and a moral teacher, and also to remove from his works the cloudy veil of obscurity which has been placed upon them by the "Ibsen cult." The social and problem plays are given rather more attention than those that are purely romantic and historical. Mr. Frank Colby has asked "What in the world has a good placid American audience to do with this half-mad old Scandinavian? He writes only for those who go to the theatre to be disturbed." Mr. Heller retorts that truth is ever disturbing because it stirs us to action or to righteous wrath. No nation or people can thrive under a "conspiracy of silence" concerning matters of public welfare. These summaries are, of all the Ibsen interpretations, the clearest and the most adaptable to the reader who wishes to understand his Ibsen. The various quotations from the play are selected with rare judgment. They illustrate and define without producing confusion in the reader's mind as to the teaching intended by the play in question. Rarely is such a useful dramatic interpretive work offered the general reader and the student of dramatic literature.

OTHER NEW AND NOTEWORTHY BOOKS

WHEN Jane Addams speaks on any phase of social reform we may expect to find not only solid foundations for her opinion, but the best, most enlightened interpretation of the problem she considers. In her little book, recently issued, "A New Conscience and An Ancient Evil,"³ Miss Addams gives us a frank, direct statement of the social evil, basing her treatment upon facts, upon actual experiences of those who have investigated the "white slave" traffic, and in many cases upon the

stories of the girls themselves who have been drawn into the net. Miss Addams elaborates her theme calmly and makes many judicious suggestions regarding the proper modern attitude toward this problem. Much of the material in this book was originally published in magazine form. It was based on Miss Addams' work with the Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago, and her work at Hull-House. As head of the publication committee of this association, she read the original documents in a series of special investigations made into dance halls, theatres, amusement parks,

¹ There are Crimes and Crimes. By August Strindberg. Translated by Edwin Björkman. Scribner's. 86 pp. 75c.
² Henrik Ibsen. Play and Problems. By Otto Heller. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 347 pp., por. \$2.

³ A New Conscience and An Ancient Evil. By Jane Addams. Macmillan. 219 pp. \$1.

lake excursion boats, and petty gambling, as well as the home surroundings of one hundred juvenile court children and the records of four thousand parents who "clearly contributed to the delinquency of their own families." Besides these there came under her notice the personal histories of two hundred department store girls, two hundred factory girls, two hundred immigrant girls, two hundred office girls, and the girls employed in one hundred hotels and restaurants. While it all was "most distressing," Miss Addams says she was "much impressed and at times fairly startled by the large and diversified number of people to whom the very existence of the 'white slave' traffic had become unendurable and who promptly responded to the appeal made on behalf of its victims."

A brilliant work on archaeology¹ in a comparatively virgin field, South America, comes in the wake of our newly aroused interest in the South American states. Its author, Mr. T. Athol Joyce, makes no pretense of covering the field in a connected or an authoritative manner. As a matter of fact, to do so at the present time is an impossibility, owing to the lack of exploration and research. The G. G. Heye expedition is now at work in Ecuador, but Peru has been only partially explored; Columbia and Venezuela are practically untouched, and in Argentine alone is archaeological research being carried on by an efficient body of men. Germany, France and Sweden have taken the largest part in the field of archaeology in South America. Interest for this enterprise and funds for carrying on the work have been strangely lacking in the United States. Even the patient and life-long investigations of Uhle in Peru have been practically unappreciated in this country. Mr. Joyce's book covers the archaeology of South America briefly, with especial reference to the early history of Peru. It is interesting to know that the most ancient form of government there was communism, which continued in operation in the Inca state until the empire grew and gradually an official class sprang into existence, which developed into the bureaucracy found by Pizarro. Great contrasts existed between different states. When the Inca state had entirely fallen away from communism, the Araucanians, a race farther south, enjoyed perfect individual freedom. It was a creed with them as with our forefathers. Mr. Joyce writes, *apropos* of their determined resistance against the encroachments of the Inca Empire, "When a people as a whole is prepared to perish rather than submit, it is unconquerable. Hence it is not surprising that the Inca Empire ceased at the river Maule." The illustrations for this volume are cuts of antiquities and of ancient ruins, with especial attention to pottery. An excellent map of South America is included in the appendix.

Some years ago an absorbingly interesting volume on war and peace entitled "The Valor of Ignorance" came from the pen of General Homer Lea.

In this book the author endeavored to arouse Americans from their "fancied security from invasion." In a new book, "The Day of the Saxon,"² General Lea aims to awaken the British Empire to the danger which each day threatens more and more

"the thin, red Saxon line," which encircles the globe. He indicates the principal danger points in the Briton's far-flung Empire "with the world against him and his frontiers on every sea." "Nothing," he says, "but neglect can defeat Britain,—but neglect has already seized her." "The Day of the Saxon" is the second volume of a trilogy in which General Lea proposes to deal with "new phases of military science as they affect international existence."

"Elsie Lindtner,"³ a novel by Madame Karen Michaelis Stangeland, is the sequel to that author's former book, "The Dangerous Age," which at-

tracted considerable attention in Europe and in this country. One must read Madame Stangeland's

books carefully and thoughtfully, or let them alone. They are too frankly written for hasty judgment. The author is a Danish woman and the Danes have, in common with the other Scandinavians, a tendency to a concentration upon a single idea that borders upon madness. In "Elsie Lindtner," there is the continuation of the theme of "The Dangerous Age," which is—reduced to plain words—a pathological study of woman in the forties. The brilliant, erratic Elsie, who in the former book divorces her husband, fails to win her youthful admirer who has long worshiped her from afar, and then turns to her husband only to find he has consoled himself and remarried, starts on a Cook's tour around the world with her faithful companion Jeanne. The opening chapter of "Elsie Lindtner" finds her sick of travel and filled with disappointment over her wasted life. She wanders on over the world indulging in fads and fancies until the advent of a savior in the form of a waif, Kelly, whom she adopts, and with whom, in the assumption of the duties and responsibilities of motherhood, she finds peace and happiness. The book has little form, technically speaking. There is an interlude composed of the letters of Elsie's friend, Lili Rothe, to one of the two men she loved. One of these—the "Yellow Orchid" love letter reveals Madame Stangeland's talent to be as rare and spiritualized as it is brilliant.

The publication of a collection of Yiddish tales,⁴ by the Jewish publication society of America, is to introduce the non-Yiddish public to the many of the writers active in Russian Jewry and to acquaint the public with Yiddish literature beyond the impressions it has received from Perez and Sholom Alechem. There are forty-eight stories in this volume collected from the writings of twenty different authors. It is not over-praise to say that each one is a gem of its kind. These tales of Jewry are profoundly moving; they open a perspective upon a life of which the western Gentile has but little knowledge and in many cases less sympathy. While they cannot be termed cheerful tales—the sorrows of the "pale" have saddened their merriment—they have sprightly wit and mirth that has risen through tears. It would be desirable that everyone who feels a touch of anti-Semitic prejudice, could read these stories. Prejudice vanishes beneath the search-light of perfect knowledge. Ignorance is the only real barrier between race and race, between brother and brother. The "Three

¹ South American Archaeology. By T. Athol Joyce. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 292 pp. \$2.

² The Day of the Saxon. By Homer Lea. Harpers. 249 pp. \$1.80.

³ Elsie Lindtner. By Karin Michaelis Stangeland. John Lane Co. 212 pp. \$1.20.

⁴ Yiddish Tales. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society. 599 pp.

Who Ate"—is the pathetic story of three Rabbis who broke the "Law" and ate in the Synagogue before the congregation on the Day of Atonement in order that their flock might do likewise and save themselves from the plague. David Frischmann, the author of this story, is a Hebrew editor, critic, and satirist. He was born in 1863 at Lodz, Poland, and has lived at Warsaw nearly all his life. He translated George Eliot's "Daniel Deronda" into Yiddish. Another story remarkable for a certain inspired quality is "Reb Shloimeh," by David Pinski. This talented author, among other works, has written a series of Messiah dramas. The translations have been made by Helena Frank and the compilation of the bibliographical data has been given by Mr. A. S. Freidus, of the New York Public Library.

Spain is one of the few remaining countries of the old régime. The magnificence of its court ceremonials and the punctiliousness of the social usages of its upper classes make it particularly interesting to the average American whose actual surroundings (if not his ambitions and pretensions) are so different. William Miller Collier, late American Minister to Spain, in his recently issued book, "At the Court of His Catholic Majesty,"¹ has aimed to present a side of Spanish court life hitherto overlooked by descriptive and historical writers. Mr. Collier, who wields a facile pen, describes the magnificent and imposing ceremonies of the Spanish court and lays bare the meaning of it all—a meaning whose unraveling is often difficult. The volume is illustrated.

"Play-Making,"² a manual of craftsmanship or a handbook for inexperienced talent, comes to us this month from William Archer. It is admirably written, holding the interest from beginning to end. It is not a book of criticism, but as the author states, a book of "discussion and practical suggestion." Mr. Archer has realized with Brander Matthews and other writers on the drama, that a great revival of dramatic literature is now taking place. The wave is rising and we have not yet reached its crest. For those who have creative talent and who fail through lack of logic, of analysis and of co-ordination of their factors of the drama, this book comes with solid common sense and discriminating advice. After reading the book one has absorbed, beyond a knowledge of the proper construction of plays, a wealth of information about classical modern drama both in this country and in Europe. With proper catholicity Mr. Archer reminds us that of all dramatic openings there is none that surpasses the lines spoken by Richard Plantagenet limping down the empty stage:

"Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious summer by this sun of York;
And all the clouds that lour'd upon our house
In the deep bosom of the ocean buried."

¹ At the Court of His Catholic Majesty. By William Miller Collier. A. C. McClurg & Co. 330 pp., ill. \$2.

² Play-Making. By William Archer. Small, Maynard Co. Boston. 412 pp. \$2 net. \$2.15 by mail.

The "Statesman's Year-Book,"³ for the year 1912, in its forty-ninth annual edition, contains 1428 pages and a number of new and very valuable maps. Recent historical events which have taken place in India, China, Morocco, and Tripoli receive special adequate treatment. In most cases the results of the censuses taken in various countries in 1910 and 1911 have been incorporated, and the result of recent legislation in Great Britain with reference to social reform has been noted. The "Statesman's Year-Book" maintains its traditional high level. It is indispensable in the newspaper or magazine editorial room.

When he was old and ill, and the end was not far off, Tolstoy found it difficult to work consecutively upon his essay "What is Religion?" and other shorter didactic essays that were engaging him, so he turned for relief to the writing of three tales which have been published since his death. These are now brought out by Dodd, Mead & Company, and the publishers inform us their publication is authorized by arrangement with the Tolstoy heirs. They are severally entitled "Hadji Murad,"⁴ "Father Sergius,"⁵ and "The Man Who Was Dead."⁶ Hadji Murad, translated by Aylmer Maude, is the story of a wild figure of the Caucasus whom Tolstoy met back in 1851 in Tiflis. In the story he appears as a good Mohammedan who always performed his ablutions, said his prayers regularly, and cut his enemies to pieces whenever he could get at them. In the story Tolstoy makes us feel how repugnant to him were the traditional ways of life that we call "civilized," with all its selfishness and self-indulgence, its officialism, gross materialism, and complete lack of spirituality. The mountaineers of the Caucasus, of whom Hadji Murad was so fine a type, are noted for their religious fervor, their capacity for self-abnegation and self-sacrifice in a great cause. These qualities were always especially attractive to Tolstoy. The story of Hadji Murad is gloomy and grim, but its realism is tremendous and convincing. "Father Sergius" is impressive, although at times a gloomy and psychological study, this time of monasticism, and with the eternal motif of sex brought in with Tolstoy's inimitable power. "The Man Who Was Dead" is, in a measure, like all of Tolstoy's best works, biographical. Undoubtedly the noblest part of Fedia, the principal character, is Tolstoy himself. As a protest against the marriage and divorce laws of Russia, this story is an effective document. The Russian title translated "The Man Who Was Dead," is Zhivoi Trup. Another translation by Mrs. E. M. Everts, of the same work, in which the title is rendered "The Living Corpse,"⁷ is brought out by Brown Brothers of Philadelphia.

³ The Statesman's Year-Book: 1912. Edited by J. Scott Keltie. Macmillan & Co. 1428 pp., maps. \$3.

⁴ Hadji Murad. By Leo Tolstoy. Dodd, Mead & Co. 290 pp. \$1.20.

⁵ Father Sergius. By Leo Tolstoy. Dodd, Mead & Co. 318 pp. \$1.25.

⁶ The Man Who Was Dead. By Leo Tolstoy. Dodd, Mead & Co. 190 pp. \$1.20.

⁷ The Living Corpse. By Leo Tolstoy. Philadelphia: Brown Brothers. 125 pp. \$1.

FINANCIAL NEWS FOR THE INVESTOR

A RECENT newspaper headline tells of the admission to quotation on the New York Stock Exchange of \$300,000,000 in stocks and bonds. This is the largest total of securities admitted at any one time in years. Newspaper headline writers glory in big figures. They revel in the largest totals in years, and generous space is certain to be given any "story" which can be so introduced. But there is a meaning behind these figures which merits more than the passing curiosity of readers of sensational items.

Of the total of \$300,000,000 of new securities placed at one time upon the Stock Exchange, more than one-third were preferred and common stocks of certain corporations engaged in manufacturing and retail store operations, these corporations having been known but a few months only to the financial centers. Indeed, until quite recently they were not corporations at all but private partnerships.

It used frequently to be said that the Stock Exchange was content to deal year after year in the same things and made no attempt to diversify the securities its members were permitted to buy and sell. For the most part these were the bonds and stocks of the big railroad systems and of a few of the trusts, so called. These great corporations were pretty closely identified in the public mind with the "money kings." The farmer or small business man with \$500 to invest read of the million-share days on the Exchange, of the Northern Pacific panic, and of the doings of E. H. Harriman and other giants of finance. The stocks they were credited with dealing in did not seem within his reach even if he were not suspicious of all such doings. Then, too, the glib, smooth promoters who tried, so often successfully, to sell him worthless stock, had been only too glad to take advantage of the small investor's state of mind and persuade him to buy their wares by denouncing the iniquities of Wall Street.

But investment conditions are changing as regards the Stock Exchange. There are still many hundreds of unlisted bonds which would be no safer if they were found among the "listed" items. But in the last three or four years the variety of both bonds and

stocks placed on the Exchange has remarkably widened. Not long ago one could find no investments either on or off the Exchange which were even moderately safe except railroad securities and bank shares. Then came the public utility corporations,—gas, electric, and telephone. The securities of this group have been more or less standardized and safeguarded by many of the best dealers until they at present form most desirable investments. Now another great addition is being made to the securities available for general investment by the incorporating of many private manufacturing and trading concerns. A steadily growing number of these companies have become so large and prosperous as to require a wider market for their securities than could be arranged for privately. So there have been added to the Stock Exchange list the shares of department stores, five-and-ten-cent stores, typewriter, biscuit and cracker, automobile, and many other corporations which would have been looked upon askance ten years ago.

The popularity of the industrial preferred stock may easily be overdone. Many of them are quite unsuitable for the average investor. The points which must be looked into before buying such stocks are numerous and elaborate. Recent happenings in the preferred shares of an automobile company whose securities had been hailed as welcome additions to the standard issues should act as a brake upon too hasty promoters.

But it is not the purpose of this particular article to go into details about the precautions to be observed. The point which it is desired to make here is that whatever the merits or defects individually of the great mass of newly promoted industrial preferred stocks, the fact remains that never before in the history of banking houses in this country have reputable promotions in all manner of things had a greater vogue than now. As stated before, railroad transportation was long the expanding business of the country and absorbed the major portion of accumulating investment funds. Now capital is turning steadily to industrial enterprises. Railroads have many problems yet to solve but they are fairly well established, and however great the sums they may hereafter absorb for im-

provements and reconstruction, it is unlikely that with the strict State and national regulation insisted upon by public opinion they will be able to pay large returns to investors. There is no good reason why railroad securities should not remain eminently safe investments, returning a low or moderate rate of income. But manufacturing and retailing appear to be the lines where future big profits are to be made.

For one thing the business of financing the steam railroads has become closely concentrated in the hands of a few great banking houses. Financing public utilities is by no means so closely concentrated, but it is a highly specialized business. There are many small or moderate sized banking houses that cannot share in the financing of railroads and have not specialized along the public utility line, which welcome the transformation of privately or locally owned enterprises into public share corporations with a wide distribution of ownership. It affords an outlet for their activities.

Of course it will require time to bring industrial preferred stocks up to anything like the uniform standard of merit which railroad and public utility securities enjoy. But when in one day the Stock Exchange, with its insistence upon frequent statements of earnings and balance sheets, admits \$41,026,600 stock of the Studebaker Corporation, \$15,000,000 stock of the Loose-Wiles Biscuit Company, and \$65,000,000 stock of the F. W. Woolworth Company, one is impressed with the fact that this group of securities is becoming important. Many others are coming,

—stocks of great bread-baking companies seeking to feed whole cities, stocks of drug companies with wonderful records of success, and so on. One of these companies sold \$52,616,123 worth of goods last year,—a total which exceeds that of many of the older trusts. Most of these companies are in no sense trusts. They have plenty of competition,—too much, in some cases.

As this movement progresses it may be well to point out from time to time some of the safeguards to be observed in buying the new securities, as well as some of the dangers that beset the investor. But for the moment it is enough to say that, despite failures and losses which are sure to occur, there will be many marked successes. Conservative people are astonished at the influx of new securities. But it is an old story on the London Stock Exchange. The last time the writer made a count there were less than a thousand securities listed on the New York Stock Exchange. There have long been more than five thousand listed on the London Exchange.

The London *Statist*, an abler investors' paper than any which this country can boast of, gives the most careful reviews to the shares of restaurant companies and millinery stores. The Englishman long ago had to find another outlet for his savings than railroad shares, and there seems nothing undignified nor humorous to him in the idea of dealing in shares of the Louise Millinery, Ltd. Perhaps the investment field in this country will never become as broad as in England, but there is no lack of evidence that its old narrowness is being rapidly done away with.

TYPICAL INQUIRIES AND ANSWERS

No. 377. "PARTICIPATING" MORTGAGES

Having a few times in the past availed myself of your impartial information on investment propositions, I am taking the liberty of coming to you again. Will you please give me your opinion as to the safety and desirability of eight per cent. participating farm mortgages?

"Participating" is a much abused term in investment phraseology. Our observations have convinced us that most securities to which the term is applied need to be pretty closely scrutinized. Farm mortgages are about the last thing in the category of investments that we should expect to find provided with so-called "profit-sharing" features. Frankly, we are not impressed with the idea. We may repeat again what we have frequently said, that there seem to be in many instances perfectly good reasons for mortgages in certain parts of the country bearing interest as high as eight per cent. But, on principle, we become suspicious about intrinsic security in cases where it is found necessary to hold out the lure of additional return in order to create a market for such

mortgages. In our opinion, an eight per cent. mortgage that cannot, so to speak, stand on its own legs is not a genuine investment proposition.

No. 378. TYPICAL FIVE PER CENT. INVESTMENTS

Before long I shall have some money to invest in safe five per cent. bonds. I have had the following offered to me:
Chicago Telephone first fives.
People's Gas Light & Coke refunding fives.
Central Vermont equipment fives.
Would there be any choice in these as a preferred investment? Name some other bonds of like strength which might be considered. I now have Commonwealth Edison fives.

Both public utility bonds are representative of about the highest grade securities of their type. Between them we see comparatively little difference from the point of view of investment merit. In the Central Vermont equipments you would have a type of investment whose record of safety is rather unusual. There is, in fact, somewhat more precedent on which to base judgment of the safety of principal and interest of such

securities than there is precedent on which to base judgment of the safety of public utility bonds. We mean by this that railroad equipment obligations, as a class, have been subjected to more severe tests, which they have withstood in a remarkably satisfactory manner. But, as between the equipment bonds and either one of the other two issues, it would be difficult to express any but a more or less arbitrary choice on general grounds. Although the Chicago Telephone and People's Gas fives are both widely known issues with reasonably broad markets, it is just possible that the equipments might prove somewhat the more stable in market value. This is a consideration that would be of no little importance, provided you foresaw any possibility of being under the necessity of converting your investment into cash on short notice. Then, too, the equipments being issued in various maturities, would lend themselves to a special arrangement of your investment more readily than the other bonds.

It is not particularly easy at all times to find odd lots of equipment bonds or notes in the market. The relatively small offerings, like the recent one of Seaboard Air Line $4\frac{1}{2}$'s, are quickly absorbed as a rule by institutional buying, so that they rarely become available for the individual investor. It appears, however, that there is still a floating supply of older and larger issues, like Baltimore & Ohio $4\frac{1}{2}$'s, due February, 1916 to 1922, and New York Central Lines $4\frac{1}{2}$'s, due January, 1920 to 1926, obtainable about as follows: the former on a 4.30 per cent. basis, the latter on a 4.40 per cent. basis. Your banker would doubtless be able to suggest others.

In the public utility class we might suggest other bonds like the following as being of about equal investment merit with those you already have under consideration:

Washington Water Power first 5's
Laclede Gas of St. Louis first 5's, or refunding 5's
Detroit Edison first and collateral 5's
Niagara Falls Power first 5's
Milwaukee Electric Railway & Light first 5's
Michigan State Telephone 5's
New York Telephone $4\frac{1}{2}$'s
Pacific Telephone & Telegraph 5's

These issues we have picked more or less at random from among some of the better known bonds listed on the New York Stock Exchange. We do not necessarily mean to imply by this that we favor listed bonds of this type over the scores of high-class issues that are handled privately by the big investment banking houses and never heard of on any of the exchanges. In fact, we believe it would undoubtedly be to your advantage to investigate the opportunities in the field of quiet, unlisted securities. You would find that by making some sacrifice of marketability you could get more income and be scarcely less assured about the ultimate safety of your funds.

No. 379. RAILROAD AND TRUST COMPANY SHARES

I received recently a very kind answer from you to a letter of mine inquiring about investments. One of your suggestions has been heeded. I put a few thousands into first mortgages on land and houses at six per cent. The property is worth

about three times the value of the mortgages and loss from fire is covered by insurance. These mortgages were placed by a skilled attorney on local property, and the attorney guards my interest and collects the interest. I now write regarding the advisability of selling railroad and trust company shares to a considerable amount and re-investing the proceeds. These shares came to me by inheritance. They consist of Pennsylvania Railroad and Delaware & Hudson Company stock,—about one-half the total amount—and stock of four trust companies to the amount of the other half. At present market prices these shares would bring a large sum of money. My attorney advises holding them. He says the railroad shares are conservative investments. The trust companies he does not know much about. Can you advise me in regard to this?

Your mortgage investment seems to have been made under what any authority would consider practically ideal conditions. Your attorney is right in his judgment of the railroad shares you own. It would, indeed, be difficult to find more conservative investments of that particular type. One-half of a large fund in stocks, even stocks of as high grade as Pennsylvania and Delaware & Hudson, does not afford quite the kind of distribution that is advocated by the most competent investment authorities. But in your case we think it would be wise to leave that part of the investment undisturbed, at least for the present. With the trust companies' shares we see the situation in a different light. There seems to be no logical reason why a man in your position should have so large a proportion of his surplus funds tied up in high-priced "specialties" of this kind. You could make your investment position a considerably more comfortable one, we think, if you were to liquidate these shares and distribute the proceeds, say, among municipal, public service corporation and railroad bonds, yielding from about $4\frac{1}{4}$ to 5 or $5\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. We should be glad to have you again avail yourself of the services of this department, in case you find yourself in doubt about other factors in your investment problem.

No. 380. UNITED STATES WORSTED

Can you give me some information in regard to the preferred stock of the United States Worsted Company? Has the company any bonded debt or obligations of any kind coming ahead of the preferred stock? How long has it been paying dividends? What is the margin of safety for the preferred dividends? Do you consider it a safe buy at present prices?

This company's official statements do not show any obligations that have claims prior to the claim of the preferred stock. It has paid regular dividends on this stock at the rate of 7 per cent. per annum since July 15, 1909. The last financial statement, namely, that as of July, 1911, showed total assets of \$4,666,690, total liabilities of \$914,674, total net assets of \$3,752,016, and a surplus over the \$3,000,000 preferred shares outstanding of \$752,016. This surplus compared with \$467,504 as of July, 1910 and \$88,000 as of July, 1909. The stock is a semi-investment issue of a type which seems to have been in rather satisfactory demand among business investors in states like New Hampshire, Vermont, Maine, Rhode Island and Connecticut where conditions in the mill industry are more familiarly known and where the stock is exempt from taxation.



THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY IN NATIONAL CONVENTION ASSEMBLED

(Chicago, August 5, 1912; see page 310)

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No. 3

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

Lawmakers and their Troubles

It is not often that lawmakers have to deal with as many questions of great and enduring importance as have occupied the Sixty-second Congress during the long session which began on December 4 and which kept Senators and Representatives continuously at Washington until far into August. It has been an exceedingly trying session for very many of these public men. Every one of the 394 seats in the House of Representatives will be contested for, in the elections this autumn. Political conditions in their home States have been so affected by the movements of this remarkable year that the men who were detained at Washington felt, in many cases, a very urgent need of getting back to their districts. One-third of the membership of the Senate also changes every two years, and in most States there has come about some more or less definite way of selecting Senators by popular action. Naturally, therefore, the lawmakers at Washington have, during the past three months, found it hard to be wholly absorbed in pending legislation, and to consider public questions purely upon their merits, without regard to politics.

Politics and Public Duty

Under our system, these conflicts of motive and these divisions of attention cannot, of course, be wholly avoided. We must make the best we can of a system that has its merits as well as its faults. Whatever can in reason be done to keep public men working devotedly at their public duties, rather than at their own personal games of political advantage, will conduce to the welfare of the country. The session was somewhat prolonged by a series of conflicts between Congress and President Taft. During a great part of the session the President had been entirely occupied with his own personal affairs. His candidacy had no

public character that made it different from other candidacies, until after the convention at Chicago in June. His time and strength were greatly needed by the important duties of his public office. It is to be believed that no President hereafter will devote long periods of his time to the promotion of his own personal ambitions.

Second Terms as a Menace

The Democratic platform this year declares for a single Presidential term. This principle does not need to await constitutional amendments. The country does not have to continue a President in power if it does not so desire. Certainly a second term should come only by way of a unanimous and unsolicited re-nomination, followed by public indorsement in the form of a great majority at the polls. A President who uses the patronage and power of his office to further his personal ambition for a second term is guilty of abhorrent official impropriety. It is to be believed that the appalling object-lesson of the present year will never be repeated in our history. Governor Wilson's supporters say that the Democratic nominee will be elected in November. The intention of the Democratic platform seems to be to limit him to one term. But in any case, if he is to be renominated in 1916, he should be able to declare that he has spoken no word and committed no deed in his official capacity as President of the United States that was intended, as its motive, to assist in securing his nomination by the Democratic party. If this seem a hard doctrine, it is only because our political life has fallen so low that it has forgotten the meaning of honor, self-respect, and common decency. Nowhere else in the civilized world does the executive head of a country traffic in appointments to office and grant public favors with a view to keeping himself in

power. If some Presidents of Latin-American republics have done this sort of thing, it is merely an illustration of the fact that in those countries there has been very slight development of public opinion and of real democratic institutions. This is a matter familiar to all observers of the political life of those nations.

*The One
Paramount
Issue*

Whatever one may read in the party platforms this year, or in the formal speeches of the candidates, there is only one great issue,—namely, the direct control of political life and of government affairs by the people themselves, and the emancipation of politics and government from improper and indecent control. This fight for decency may not win a complete victory at once. It is so involved with a great many other things that millions of voters may fail this year to see the situation clearly. But if the fight should not win in every respect, it will have made vast progress. And it will have been well worth all the effort it has cost.

*Good Work
by the
House*

The work of the Democratic House has been far from perfect, yet it has been fully as good as could have been expected. Its tariff work in the extra session, early in 1911, has stood the test of public discussion to a remarkable extent. It does not seem to us an exaggeration to say that, without regard to party, there was general approval of the Underwood bills. When those measures, with some compromises and changes, were accepted by the Senate, through the coöperation of the Progressive Republicans, there was a more general acquiescence and approval throughout the country than has been accorded to any tariff legislation since the Civil War. President Taft's vetoes of those measures last year were not sustained by public opinion. His action again last month in vetoing tariff bills was not unexpected, inasmuch as it had been practically announced in advance that he would obstruct the path of any tariff bills that could be criticized from his argumentative standpoint. His position is one of dialectics rather than one based upon public policy or upon facts. It should be remembered that bills relating to taxation and the public revenue that have been carefully considered, and adopted by substantial majorities in both houses of Congress, are not in the nature of measures that an executive officer, even under our system, is expected to nullify.

*The Wool
Bill Again
Vetoed*

But the relation between the executive and lawmaking branches of the government has now become so little a matter of right reasoning or clear thinking that there is nothing to do except to hope for the speedy coming of an era of statesmanship. Mr. Taft has repeatedly condemned the present wool schedule, although he himself signed the bill which made it a law. When both houses of Congress, under direct mandate of the people given in the election of 1910, have now proceeded in two successive years to pass bills revising the wool schedule, Mr. Taft obstructs needed reform by undertaking to say that in his opinion the exact percentage of reduction should be slightly different. These are matters that Congress has had incomparably better opportunity to study than the chief executive could possibly have had. If he had meant to go into the details of tariff revision, he should have done his work when he had the opportunity,—namely, when he called the session, in 1909, that gave us the Payne-Aldrich law. The excuses that Mr. Taft gives for vetoing tariff-revision bills are of no particular consequence. The important thing is that he personally has been keeping in force all the schedules of the Payne-Aldrich enactment, while Congress and the country have been honestly striving to revise those schedules.

*Democrats
and the
Navy*

The Democratic members of Congress can at least go back to their districts and report in good faith that they have done a great deal of excellent tariff work, and that it is no fault of theirs

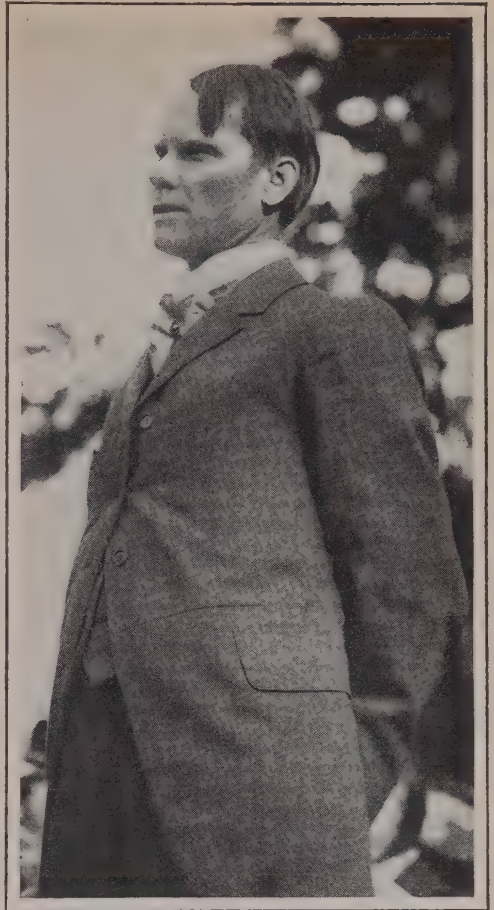


PRESIDENT TAFT (as the Wool Bill Lamb enters): "Where have I seen that face before?"
From the *Post-Intelligencer* (Seattle)

if their bills are not on the statute books. About some questions of importance there has been an entirely honest divergence of view among the Democrats themselves. An example is to be found in their differences upon the navy question. We had, some years ago, agreed upon the general policy of authorizing two new battleships each year. This year a majority of the new Democratic House, desiring to make a record for economy, took the ground that it would be best to authorize no battleships at all. The Senate favored the two battleships, as strongly urged by the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Meyer. Mr. Sulzer, of New York, one of the prominent Democrats of the House, took the lead in demanding the two battleships. The Democratic convention at Baltimore, though not quite explicit, favored the maintenance of an adequate navy. Governor Wilson, in his speech of acceptance, omitted the question altogether. Speaker Clark and the floor leader, Mr. Underwood, were willing to compromise on one ship. Mr. Fitzgerald, chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, opposed the outlay of money.

*Reasons for
a Strong
Navy*

All these different positions were sincerely taken. It is highly regrettable that vast sums of money should be spent in the construction of battleships which within a few years will be obsolete. All sensible men should hope for the early coming of a time when the greater part of our naval expenditure can be given up. Mr. Carnegie is of the opinion that we need practically no navy at all. He defends his view with strong logic. Mr. Roosevelt believes that we should build the two battleships a year, and for the present keep our navy in its relative rank and highly efficient. Those who hold this view believe that the cost of a strong navy is a small price to pay for peace and security. They consider the navy as a whole, in relation to its objects. Since we have in any case a large and expensive navy on our hands, they would argue that the entire expenditure becomes virtually meaningless if we are not willing to pay the additional sum that would make our navy commensurate with its objects. They would say that an unfinished navy is as useless as an unfinished ship. We can easily afford to stand next to Great Britain and ahead of Germany, France, and Japan in naval strength, if we believe that it is worth while to build battleships at all. A navy that is losing its relative rank could scarcely give us that sense of security that must go with a



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HON. WILLIAM SULZER, OF NEW YORK
(Who led the fight in the House for two battleships)

navy that is gaining strength as fast as those of other maritime powers. Holding to our program of shipbuilding just now may help to hasten the date of an international agreement under which such lamentable expenditure of resources can be rapidly and permanently remedied. For the present we must have a strong navy, because we owe it to ourselves and to the world that peace shall be maintained. There is no international organization for peace-keeping, and we must do our part. The stronger our navy, the sooner will come the welcome day when all the maritime powers can abandon at least three-quarters of their naval expenditures.

*The Canal
and Its
Reasons*

The building of the Panama Canal was only one part of a great program of national defense and progress. There had been tentative but languishing plans, both European and Amer-

ican, for building a canal with private capital. There was not sufficiently clear justification on commercial grounds for so large and hazardous a private investment. It was not until after the lessons of the Spanish-American War that it was determined, by an overwhelming public opinion, that there must be a canal created at the cost of the United States Treasury through a strip of territory owned and governed by the United States, in order that the canal might form a part of our coast line and might give greater effectiveness to our navy. It was not the motive of the people of the United States to make the canal earn tolls. They were willing, indeed, to have commercial shipping pay something toward the upkeep and interest charge; but this was not the foremost consideration.

*Full
American
Control*
The people of the United States, in opening this canal, are conferring a great boon upon the commerce of the world, and they are espe-

cially contributing to the development of South America. In the adjustment of tolls, and in the use of the canal for the promotion of our own commerce, it would be incredible that we should be thought to have placed obstacles in the way of our own freedom of judgment. There has been much discussion of this question, based upon a wholly inadequate study and knowledge of the subject. The Government of the United States will treat all foreign nations equally and fairly, and will treat its own citizens precisely as it thinks best. A similar principle is involved in the question of fortifying the canal. We had long ago entered upon a systematic plan of creating modern coast defenses. Such a system is ridiculous if the defenses are not located at the strategic points. The Panama Canal is in some respects our most strategic piece of navigable coast line. If we are fortifying at any points, it would seem absurd to leave unfortified the passage by which navies could go from one ocean to the other. Fur-



UNCLE SAM'S CANAL

UNCLE SAM: "I built this canal, I paid for it, I own it and will manage it."

(This cartoon in the *Irish World*, of New York, was inspired by Senator O'Gorman's very important speech interpreting the treaty and showing the American right to the unrestricted use and control of the Panama Canal)

thermore, an unfortified canal would be exposed to dynamite outrages which would render it impassable at a time when it might be necessary to send our fleet from the Atlantic to the Pacific, or *vice versa*. The people of the United States are conscious of pacific intentions toward all countries. They have no aggressive ambitions. In this regard they are more fortunate than are some other peoples and governments.

No Divided
Responsi-
bility

These peace-keeping principles and intentions make it all the more important that in a period of world-restlessness and change the United States should be prepared to stand firmly and strongly for its own rights and for international justice. There are things that belong to every nation that must be under its own control and subject to its own undivided responsibility. Thus, while a genuine difference of opinion between nations, in the failure of diplomacy, might well be submitted to arbitration, there are some matters which are not within the proper sphere of diplomacy, and which could not, therefore, very well be submitted to outside judgment. A country's tariff policy, or immigration policy, is a matter of its own deciding. Its use of its own waterways is of like character. There are some things called "treaties" that, when analyzed, involve expressions of intention rather than obligation of any kind. It was generally understood and known throughout the maritime world, when the United States decided to build a canal upon its own soil, that this canal would in every sense be under the authority and control of its owners and

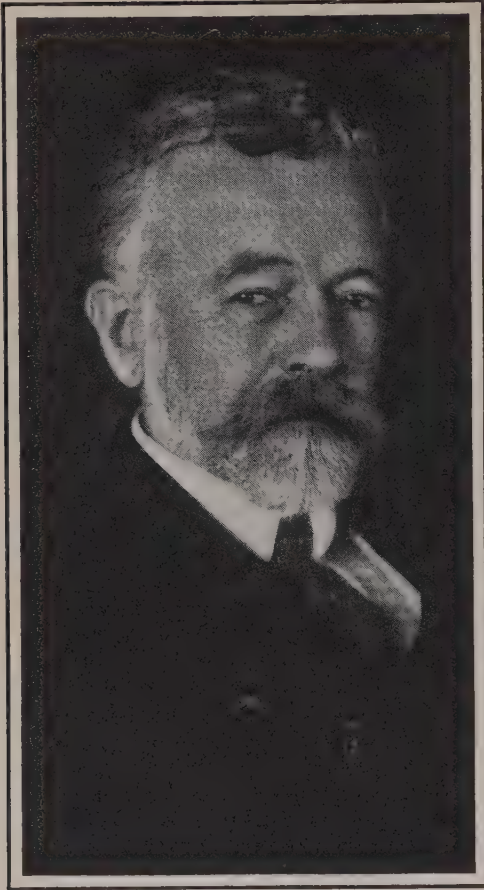
builders. There were, however, on the other hand, ample reasons of courtesy and international good will in favor of a generous treatment of foreign nations. Since there was not, in any quarter whatsoever, the slightest demand that in building our canal we should sign away any of our rights to its full control, it is scarcely likely that the Senate would knowingly have ratified a treaty that could make us anything less than the full and free owners of our own property. All the burden of proof, therefore, must rest upon those who take the ground that we had ever conceded anything in consideration of some past, present, or future benefit. Any allusion to canal tolls in connection with treaties or negotiations could only have been in the nature of an expression of intention, because no plan of tolls had been worked out; and in any case nobody at that time in office or in power could have had any binding right to diminish the authority of the American people over their own property.

The Canal and
Our Ships

In matters of this kind, what purports to be a perpetual treaty is immoral in its conception and void upon its face. It does not follow, however, that one policy rather than another would be the wise one as respects the use of the canal. Tolls should be arranged tentatively, and should be subject to revision from time to time in the light of experience. It does not seem a good public policy to permit the transcontinental railroads, through their ownership of steamship lines, to nullify the competitive use of the canal in the carrying of freight. On the other hand, it is hard to say just how far provisions should go, and on what method they should be made effective. It is plain that all these questions cannot be settled at once, and that they must have prominence during the next year or two. Governor Wilson, in his speech of acceptance, lays stress upon the upbuilding of our merchant marine, and desires to see the opening of the canal coincide with the reappearance of the American flag upon all the seas. Republican policy during half a century has failed to revive the American shipping interests. In our judgment the principal reason has been the greater opportunities for capital in railroads and national development. Perhaps the time has come when capital can be found ready to invest in ships and in the advancement of foreign trade. It is reasonable and proper to discuss the question whether or not our ownership of the Panama Canal can be



JUST A REMINDER OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE
From the *Journal* (Sioux City)



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SENATOR LODGE, OF MASSACHUSETTS

made to promote our shipping interests and to make our trade with other countries more extensive and profitable than it has been in recent years.

*A Timely
Notice*

It was in the same spirit of national self-protection,—the spirit that justifies a strong navy and full control for all purposes of the Panama Canal,—that the Senate last month passed the following resolution by a vote of 51 to 4, on motion of Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts:

Resolved, That when any harbor or other place in the American continents is so situated that the occupation thereof for naval or military purposes might threaten the communication or the safety of the United States, the government of the United States could not see, without grave concern, the possession of such harbor or other place by any corporation or association which has such a relation to another government not American as to give that government practical power of control for naval or military purposes.

The newspapers have referred to this resolution as either an extension or an application of the Monroe Doctrine. It would be better, however, to consider it as an expression that, while in perfect harmony with the Monroe Doctrine, would in any case be justified upon its own terms. Having built the Panama Canal on our own territory, it would not be agreeable to us to allow any great maritime power, whether European or Asiatic, to come into control of a strategic point on Mexican, South American, or Caribbean coast lines, that could at any time in the future make it more dangerous or difficult for us to protect ourselves or to guard the general peace and welfare. There is no reason to assert in a disagreeable way that any foreign government has definitely intended to obtain control of Magdalena Bay. But if private interests have been endeavoring to dispose of lands and harbor rights to some foreign corporation that would pave the way for future foreign control, it is proper and timely that our objection should be stated clearly before the consummation of any such project. The four Senators who did not concur, did not dissent from the principle and purpose of the resolution. They objected chiefly because they would have had the words in which it was phrased more definite and explicit.

Governor Woodrow Wilson's formal speech accepting the Democratic nomination for the Presidency was made at his summer home on the New Jersey coast on August 7, which was the culminating day of the so-called "Bull-Moose" convention at Chicago. Since this speech was by far the most important statement of views and principles that the Democratic candidate can give to the country,—and since the chief practical value of it lay in its reaching the largest possible number of readers under the most favorable circumstances,—it was not quite fortunate that it should have made its appearance in the morning newspapers of August 8. It should have been delivered to the Notification Committee a week earlier. It was, from a campaign standpoint, a decided mistake to have allowed the whole country to read the great Roosevelt and Beveridge speeches and the declaration of faith made to the Progressives at Chicago a day or two before the Democratic candidate declared himself upon the issues of this remarkable political year. Even some anti-Roosevelt papers, friendly to Wilson, put the acceptance speech on an obscure page.

*As to
Catching the
Public Eye*

Mr. Taft's acceptance speech, which attracted even less notice, was made on Thursday, August 1, at a time when the eyes of the country were fixed upon the groups of Progressives in every State who were completing their local organizations and starting for the great convention at Chicago. This was a year when candidates and political committees should have moved with great promptitude, in order to have impressed themselves upon the public attention. The Taft support, with its ample control of newspapers, and the Democrats, with their powerful and sincere organs of publicity, have not shown the best talent in the choosing of their times and seasons. This, for the Taft support, is perhaps no great loss. There are situations in which comparative silence is the best resort. But this is not the case with the Democrats, who are making their appeal to the country with a fine ticket, a virile platform, and a recent record that is highly favorable in contrast with the orthodox Republican record.

*A Fine
and Worthy
Utterance*

Woodrow Wilson's speech of acceptance is so fine a product of a public man of right convictions, lofty intelligence, and rare gifts of clear expression, that the day for its appearance in the newspapers should have been carefully chosen. Its greatest significance lies in its appeal for the emancipation of our political life from its domination by private interests and by a class of men who are in politics for their own personal benefit. There is no unfair attack or allusion in this great speech. It was all of it legitimate political discussion, upon a high plane. The quality of the pronouncement can best be shown by quoting its opening paragraphs:

We stand in the presence of an awakened nation, impatient of partisan make-believe. The public man who does not realize the fact and feel its stimulation must be singularly unsusceptible to the influences that stir in every quarter about him. The nation has awakened to a sense of neglected ideals and neglected duties; to a consciousness that the rank and file of her people find life very hard to sustain, that her young men find opportunity embarrassed, and that her older men find business difficult to renew and maintain because of circumstances of privilege and private advantage which have interlarded their subtle threads throughout almost every part of the framework of our present law. She has awakened to the knowledge that she has lost certain cherished liberties and wasted priceless resources which she had solemnly undertaken to hold in trust for posterity and for all mankind.

It is in the broad light of this new day that we stand face to face—with what? Plainly, not with questions of party, not with a contest for office, not



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GOVERNOR WILSON AND GOVERNOR MARSHALL, AT
THE NOTIFICATION CEREMONIES LAST MONTH

with a petty struggle for advantage, Democrat against Republican, liberal against conservative, progressive against reactionary. With great questions of right and of justice, rather—questions of national development, of the development of character and of standards of action no less than of a better business system, more free, more equitable, more open to ordinary men, practicable to live under, tolerable to work under, or a better fiscal system whose taxes shall not come out of the pockets of the many to go into the pockets of the few, and within whose intricacies special privilege may not so easily find covert.

At such a time, and in the presence of such circumstances, what is the meaning of our platform, and what is our responsibility under it? What are our duty and our purpose? The platform is meant to show that we know what the nation is thinking about, what it is most concerned about, what it wishes corrected, and what it desires to see attempted that is new and constructive and intended for its long future. But for us it is a very practical document. We are not about to ask the people of the United States to adopt our platform; we are about to ask them to intrust us with office and power and the guidance of their affairs.

The platform is not a program. A program must consist of measures, administrative acts, and acts of legislation. The proof of the pudding is the eating thereof. How do we intend to make it edible and digestible? From this time on we shall be under interrogation. How do we expect to handle each of the great matters that must be taken up by the next Congress and the next administration?

What is there to do? It is hard to sum the great task up, but apparently this is the sum of the matter: There are two great things to do. One is to set up the rule of justice and of right in such matters as the tariff, the regulation of the trusts, and the prevention of monopoly, the adaptation of our banking and currency laws to the varied uses to which our people must put them, the treatment of those who do the daily labor in our factories and mines and throughout all our great industrial and commercial undertakings, and the political life of the people of the Philippines, for whom we hold governmental power in trust, for their service not our own.

The other, the additional duty, is the great task of protecting our people and our resources and of keeping open to the whole people the doors of opportunity through which they must, generation by generation, pass if they are to make conquest of their fortunes in health, in freedom, in peace, and in contentment.

*Wilson on
the Tariff*

The speech continues with a discussion of the tariff question, demanding immediate revision, and a careful and deliberate movement toward the principle of a tariff for revenue only. Of course it is one thing to discuss tariff reform lucidly and fairly, and it is quite another thing to have the high sense of duty and moral

strength, as President of the United States, to stand up against the influences which have made the tariff, as Woodrow Wilson says, a system of favors to private interests. Even Mr. Taft, in the period of his candidacy in 1908, talked candidly about the tariff—not so boldly, to be sure, as Governor Wilson, but in terms of the public interest. The trouble, however, was that when he became President, however good his intentions might have been, he surrendered completely and made his alliances with those self-seeking interests that have corrupted American politics. One is reminded of the man who boasted of his strength and his courage, and finally stated that he was strong enough to stand up against anything except temptation. Woodrow Wilson is unquestionably a man of fine political conceptions and of philosophical grasp. He has given us much reason to believe that he has also the courage of his convictions, and that he cares more for what he believes to be right than for finding an easy and comfortable way by which he may personally move along through practical difficulties. This has been clearly shown by his record as Governor of New Jersey.

*Will the
Machines Help
Wilson?*

The situation in the Baltimore convention made it clear that the Democratic party, like the Republican party, is to a great extent under the control of special interests and professional



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GOVERNOR WILSON DELIVERING HIS SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE FROM THE PORCH OF HIS SUMMER HOME AT SEA GIRT, N. J., ON AUGUST 7

politicians. In a State like New York the names "Republican" and "Democratic" have for a long time been merely a cloak behind which the politicians and corporations have played their own game in comparative harmony. The fight at Chicago in June was mainly between the citizens of the country who had in good faith called themselves "Republicans" and the combination of interests that desired to control the Republican machinery. As a matter of fact, these machine politicians in the Democratic party will never give real and hearty support to Woodrow Wilson unless they believe that he can be made ultimately to accommodate himself somewhat to their necessities. They have seen how Mr. Taft, who started out with the language of reform on his lips, went over more completely to the machine politicians than any President or prominent holder of office in the history of the United States. Until now it has been the current belief that the selfish and disreputable type of politicians must be tolerated, and in fact that one must do business with such people in order to have any chance to be useful in public affairs. This is not true in other civilized countries. The significance of the political fight of the present year lies in our determination to rid ourselves of the boss system and the domination in our political life by machines or special interests. Such domination, long endured, has at last become intolerable.

*Internal Reform
of the Dem-
ocratic Party*

This reform is fundamental, because, until we get men in public life who will stand absolutely upon their convictions, we cannot deal as we ought to with the tariff, the trusts, or any other great issue. The accident of Taft's success in the Republican convention of June made this issue clear as respects the Republican party. If Roosevelt and the Progressives had not been deprived of their rights in the Republican convention, the process of cleaning up the Republican party would have been a more gradual one. The tremendous work of Mr. Bryan at Baltimore, the nomination of Woodrow Wilson, and the promulgation of such a document as his speech of acceptance would seem to show that the Democratic party will emancipate itself and make itself over into a real and true political body. But in order to achieve this end it will have to deprive the well-known Democratic bosses of the power and influence they have held through their improper methods and their essentially dishonest practices. The attempt to rid the party of boss control in New

York State was last month creating one of the most significant situations of the entire political year.

*Parties
and Their
Purposes*

In most countries where men govern themselves, a party consists of a body of leading and responsible public men who are supported by a considerable mass of private citizens holding like views. The party exists at a given time for given purposes. If it has served its ends, its existence is justified; and it matters little whether its life be long or short. There seems a good deal of confusion about the meaning of parties in this country, because our great political organizations have become crystallized institutions rather than mobile associations of citizens. To the minds of some men, the mere name of the party has such a hold that to act in politics under any other name or emblem would seem like a kind of apostasy, as if one were deserting the church of his fathers. That is why the great division has gone on so long within the Republican party without the complete and final break. Each side was contending for the control of the name and the trade-mark. The popular side had fairly won the right to keep that name and trade-mark, by virtue of the results of the great series of primary elections. But the other side retained possession through sharp practice that could not be defended from any standpoint of honor or of moral right.



A REAL UPPER-CUT
From the Jersey Journal (Jersey City)



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THEODORE ROOSEVELT, OF NEW YORK

HIRAM JOHNSON, OF CALIFORNIA

THE CHOSEN LEADERS OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

(This picture was taken on the day of their nomination at Chicago, August 7)

*Founding
the New
Party*

The Progressive movement has been as real as any political development in our history. To say now that it is merely a one-man affair, improvised to serve the ambitions of Theodore Roosevelt, is to ignore the whole course of our political history during the past four years. The movement has indeed been fortunate in securing Mr. Roosevelt to take the field just now as its chief advocate and leader. He is a leader in exactly the same sense that

Mr. Gladstone was a leader of the great forces of advanced Liberalism and Radicalism in England. The movement there was real; Mr. Gladstone did not create it. John Bright and his associates, and their successors, would have made their movement and their party strong and successful, even if Mr. Gladstone had remained a Tory. This movement is not of Mr. Roosevelt's invention, and it is ridiculous to say that it hangs upon the thread of his personality alone.

*Plenty of
Virile Leaders*

There are probably more men in the Progressive movement to-day who are forcible enough to come forward as national leaders than remain in the orthodox Republican fold. Whatever position men like Senator Cummins and certain of his associates in Congress may seem to have taken as to the organization of a new party, it would be flying in the face of the most obvious facts to separate such men from the movement which they themselves have, more than any other individuals, made both possible and inevitable. Cummins, Dolliver, Beveridge, LaFollette, Bristow, Bourne, Clapp, Dixon, and a number of other Senators, were openly and ostentatiously read out of the Republican party by Taft and his cabinet two or three years ago. These Senators have not pretended to act as Republicans for a long time. They have had a separate caucus, and have been as distinctly a third party as any separate group in the French or German parliaments. They were seriously conferring in regard to the launching of a third party throughout the country before other men began to see the need and the opportunity. They have been constructive and courageous. They have held the balance of power in the United States Senate, and they are responsible, more than any other group of men, for such public work at Washington in recent years as has been intelligent, high-minded, and creditable. The rank and file of the Progressives who are now supporting the ticket of Roosevelt and Johnson are the people who have stood behind the work of Cummins, Bristow, and the rest.

*Hiram
Johnson's
Emergence*

Critical times bring out men of courage and quality very rapidly. Hiram Johnson has come before the country as a great national figure. Mr. Roosevelt very truly said at Chicago last month that Johnson was the kind of man to name for the Vice-Presidency, because he was wholly fit at any moment to occupy the higher place. Men like Bristow and Stubbs in Kansas, like Beveridge in Indiana, and many others, are capable of strong leadership. But more important than that is the great body of intelligent and sincere men and women who have gone into this movement from conviction. The people who filled the convention hall at Chicago last month were not of the sort who would abandon their convictions and give up their political activity merely because they were without the leadership of one particular man. Nevertheless, it has been plainly true that Mr. Roosevelt's great



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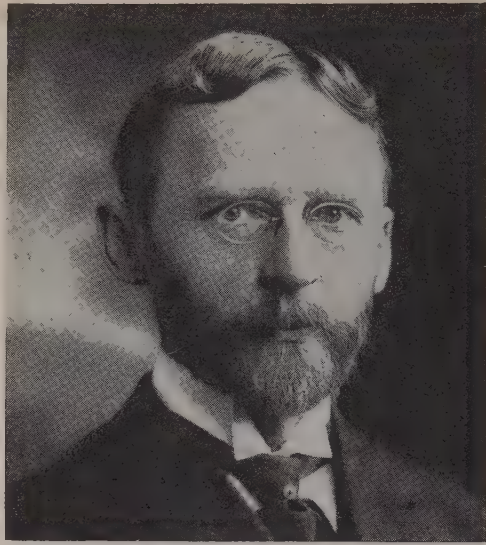
HON. ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE OF INDIANA

(The leading spokesman of his State for the Roosevelt forces, and the Progressive candidate for Governor)

campaign in the primaries made him the undisputed leader for the present period. Let it be remembered that he became a candidate and went before those primaries, last spring, only because a group of distinguished Progressives, conspicuous among whom were a number of governors, urged him to take the field.

*Party Names
and
Their Value*

It is of little importance whether at some time in the future the Progressives recapture and resume the name of "Republican," or not. The movement already embodies the heart and soul of the Republican party. As Professor Macy shows in his article which we publish this month, the names "Republican" and "Democratic" have a peculiar history. He believes that in the nature of the case we shall evolve some real parties in this country to take the place of the two which have not recently been parties in the normal sense, but have been



Photograph by Alman, N. Y.
DEAN GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY, OF THE LAW SCHOOL
OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



Photograph by Gutekunst, Philadelphia
DEAN WILLIAM DRAPER LEWIS, OF THE LAW SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

TWO LEGAL AUTHORITIES WHO HELPED TO DRAFT THE PROGRESSIVE PLATFORM

merely rival organizations striving for the emoluments of office and the advantages of power. He believes that the Democratic party is likely to be made over into a conservative body, and the Republican into a more advanced and constructive body well characterized by the name "Progressive." It happens that the Progressive party has come on with a rush, because the Republican party has fallen into the hands of unworthy leaders. The Democratic party, on the other hand, has now had the good fortune to fall into the hands of leaders who are worthy of it, both in character and in intelligence and patriotism. Its transformation will therefore come about by a less violent process and will be more gradual.

Progressive Party Characteristics The great mark of the Progressive convention at Chicago was its sincerity. Its positions were clear and explicit. Its appeal to the country is without ambiguity. First of all, it stands for the reform of American politics. The sneering criticism of the enemies of the Progressive movement would have the country think that these men and women were either sentimental fools or else prating hypocrites, who were promising to usher in the millennium as the result of a single campaign. Yet every newspaper man who watched the proceedings of the Progressive convention, even though sent by his employers to scoff, was

impelled by his own qualities of intelligence and honesty to express admiration. The convention was orderly and businesslike. It was made up of men and women of high character, great experience and fine intelligence. The membership of this convention was representative of the most valuable elements in American society. The speaking was of a high order, and it was directed squarely at existing political and social conditions. Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, as presiding officer, made a speech of remarkable eloquence and power, in which he analyzed our political and business conditions and demanded a reform in our affairs that would give us a real government of public opinion, delivered from the control of elements and forces that he characterized as the "*invisible government*."

Colonel Roosevelt's Address Colonel Roosevelt, in an elaborate speech before the convention, reviewed the party crisis of the present season, and expressed his views upon social problems and public issues. First, he demonstrated the need of direct political methods, and, next, the need of having the people rather than the courts of law determine their own fundamental policies. Then followed his views upon social and industrial justice to wage-workers and to farmers. Perhaps the ablest portion of his address is its very remarkable and extended statement of the best way to deal with trusts



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

THREE PROMINENT DELEGATES IN THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY CONVENTION

MRS. CHARLES BLANEY, OF CALIFORNIA; MRS. H. M. WILMARTH AND MISS JANE ADDAMS, OF ILLINOIS

and large corporations. Colonel Roosevelt demands an interstate commission to deal with industrial corporations on a method analogous to that of the interstate commission that now regulates the railroads. Upon this question of dealing with trusts, it seems to us that the position of the Progressive party is, by far, more intelligent and correct than that of either of the other parties. Colonel Roosevelt, in discussing the tariff, holds to the principle of protection, but demands a thoroughgoing revision, schedule by schedule, and believes in having a real and properly constituted tariff commission. Upon various topics of the day his expressions of opinion were explicit and consistent.

A Definite Platform

The platform of the Progressive party is to be commended for its definiteness. In that regard it is far superior to the platforms of either of the other parties. Very careful work was be-

stowed upon it by men of ability and conviction. Among these men were Dean Kirchwey, of the Columbia University Law School, and Dean William Draper Lewis, of the Pennsylvania Law School, the latter being chairman. The finished platform was the result of great study and very wide coöperation, so that it comes much nearer the desideratum of being a thought-out expression of many minds than is usual in platforms, whether national or State. The planks for the most part are commendably brief and unequivocal. The Payne-Aldrich tariff is condemned, and immediate downward revision is demanded. A "strong federal administrative commission of high standing, which shall maintain permanent, active supervision over industrial corporations," is demanded as a means of regulating trusts. The Aldrich currency plan is opposed in so far as it would place the currency in private hands. It is maintained that American coastwise trade should use the



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

WOMEN OF THE MASSACHUSETTS DELEGATION TO THE PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL CONVENTION

(Left to right: Mrs. Lewis J. Johnson, Mrs. Richard W. Childs, Mrs. Elizabeth Towne, Miss Mabel Cook, Miss Helen Temple Cook)

Panama Canal without paying tolls, and the railroad companies should not be allowed to use the canal. A graduated inheritance tax is commended, and the pending income-tax amendment is approved. Warfare is deplored as a barbaric survival, and peaceful remedies for international troubles are commended. The policy of building two battle-ships a year is endorsed until an international agreement for the limitation of naval forces can be secured.

"Flat-footed" By far the most fundamental provision in the platform is the one which declares for woman suffrage. It reads as follows:

The Progressive party, believing that no people can justly claim to be a true democracy which denies political rights on account of sex, pledges itself to the task of securing equal suffrage to men and women alike.

It seems that there was no opposition at all to the adoption of this plan. The suffrage

movement has made extraordinary gains within a few months. The Ohio constitutional convention adopted a suffrage clause in the new instrument which will be voted upon at a separate election, on September 3; and in perhaps half a dozen States the people are to express themselves in November upon this issue. A number of women were in the Chicago convention as delegates, and they were accorded the highest deference and respect. Miss Jane Addams, of Chicago, made one of the speeches seconding the nomination of Colonel Roosevelt; and Miss Alice Carpenter was the Massachusetts member of the committee on platform. Several New York women were delegates. There has been no desire among broad-minded and sincere men to withhold the ballot from women in the United States. Many such men have felt, however, that certain fundamental political reforms must be worked out before the voting of women could be made effective or useful. It may turn out that such reforms can be

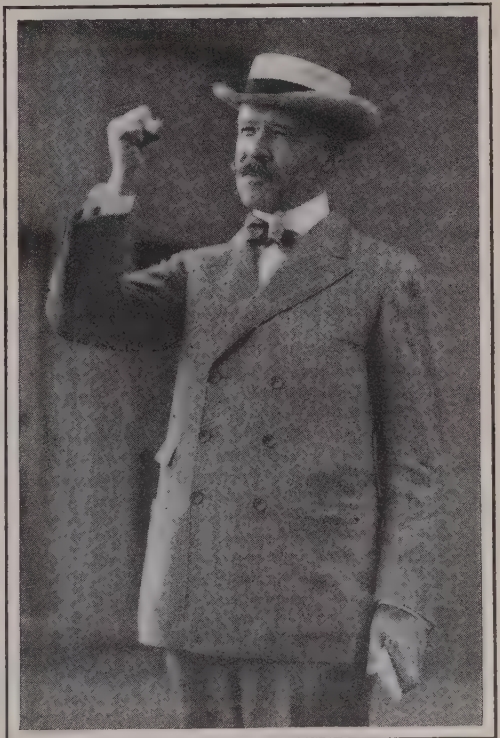


SENATOR DIXON OF MONTANA
(Who is directing the Roosevelt campaign)

accomplished more quickly than was anticipated in association with the very act of conferring the franchise upon women.

*Simplifying
Our
Elections* One of the greatest necessities lies in the direction of simplifying government and reducing the number of elective offices. In the State of New York, Mr. Hotchkiss, chairman of the Progressive party, has come out boldly for the so-called "short ballot," favoring the election of a governor and lieutenant-governor, but leaving all other State offices to be filled by appointment. If we are to increase the number of voters, we must reduce to simple and clear terms the matters about which the ballot is to be exercised. In England, the citizen has nothing whatsoever to do in national affairs, except to vote for his member of Parliament in the district or constituency where he lives. In municipal affairs in England, the citizen has nothing to do except to vote for the member of the town council who represents his ward or voting district. Participation in politics is at least forty times as complex in the United States as it is in England. This is the chief reason why we have bosses and machine politicians and crystallized organizations, and why it is so very difficult for the people to get at the management of their own public affairs. The phraseology of

this woman-suffrage Progressive plank may be bad, but the practical intention is plain. Having a "true democracy" does not depend so much upon votes, whether of men or of women, as upon the responsiveness of government to the public will and demand. Giving the suffrage to women in Colorado may indeed in the end have helped to produce a "true democracy." But the true government of the people has arrived only when the government is completely and directly responsive to public opinion. All of the parties this year are anxious to secure the favor and coöperation of women, and both the Republicans and Democrats have established auxiliary campaign committees with women at their heads. The Wilson committee is under the guidance of Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, of New York. As for the Progressives, they have women connected with all of their committees, both general and local. It was unofficially announced last month that Miss Jane Addams would be named as a member of the executive committee of the Progressives' National Committee—a position of responsibility which she is eminently qualified to fill. In this campaign new qualities of leadership are demanded.



MR. GEORGE W. PERKINS
(Of the executive committee of the Progressive party)



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MR. WILLIAM G. McADOO OF NEW YORK
(Vice-Chairman of the Democratic National Committee)

Campaign Management The Progressives declared at Chicago that there was to be no delay about their campaign operations. Colonel Roosevelt and Governor Johnson were duly notified, and made their acceptance speeches while on the ground. Senator Dixon of Montana was made national chairman, while it seemed to be understood that Mr. George W. Perkins, of New York, would be chairman of the executive committee. The Taft campaign is to be managed under the nominal chairmanship of Mr. Hilles, by an executive committee of strong politicians, with William Barnes, Jr., of New York, as chairman and real head. The Wilson campaign is in charge of an executive committee, headed by Mr. William F. McCombs, with the close coöperation of a group of able associates among whom Mr. William G. McAdoo, of New York, is regarded as the most active and authoritative. The Roosevelt campaign is to engage the unremitting platform efforts of the candidates,

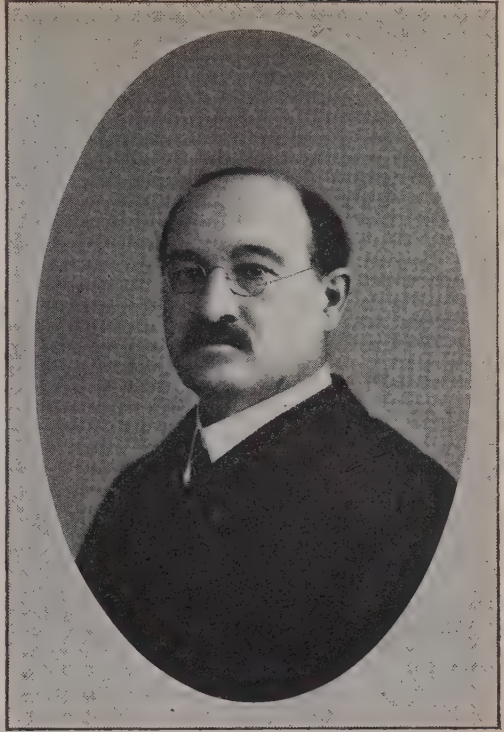
and it is known that both Colonel Roosevelt and Hiram Johnson will speak in all parts of the country, from one ocean to the other. The Taft campaign will be more of a "still-hunt," and the Wilson plans have not been fully disclosed, although there will undoubtedly be a great deal of public speaking.

Roosevelt on the Race Question The race question came forward in a somewhat puzzling way at the Progressive convention, but Colonel Roosevelt met it in a direct and frank manner that is at least understandable, although it is open to easy attack and much misrepresentation. In effect, Colonel Roosevelt holds that the attitude of the Republican party toward the negroes in the South has been mostly humbug. He holds that the negroes in the North should have their due recognition in the Progressive party, but that in the South the new party should be so controlled and directed as to be able in the long run to work out wise solutions for both races. There can, of course, be no valuable political future for Southern negroes if they depend upon alliance with a party in the Northern States that has no strength through the greater part of the South. Colonel Roosevelt's letter to Julian Harris, of Atlanta, followed by his talk at the convention in Chicago, will not have pleased certain people who care more for an abstract theory than for practical justice. But Colonel Roosevelt's position is a sincere attempt to state the problem as it actually is, and to deal with it in a statesmanlike way.

The Early Elections, —Maine

The interest in national politics this year is overshadowing; yet the voters throughout the country are keenly alive to their local situations. More than two-thirds of the States choose governors in "Presidential" years. In Arkansas, Maine, and Vermont the State elections are held early in September, and for many years the country has looked upon these contests,—particularly those in Maine and Vermont,—as indicative of the sentiment that may prevail in November. These States are once more in the midst of their campaigns. The situation is somewhat more complicated than usual this year, for the wave of anti-Republican sentiment which swept over the country in 1910, following the general dissatisfaction with the first year and a half of the Taft administration, cut in two the usual Republican majority in Vermont, and wiped it out completely in Maine.

Frederick W. Plaisted, who had served as mayor of Augusta, was elected Governor of Maine,—the first Democrat to serve in that office for thirty years. His administration has evidently pleased the Democrats of his State, for he was renominated without opposition in the primary of June 17. The Republican candidate is William T. Haines, a prominent lawyer of Waterville, who has served in the State Senate and as Attorney-General. The Progressives have indorsed the regular Republican candidate. Mr. Haines is very popular, whereas Governor Plaisted seems to have lost the confidence of some Republicans and independent voters who supported him in 1910. The contest, as usual, hinges upon the liquor question; and it will be remembered that the amendment to the State constitution, which had passed the Democratic Legislature last year, failed of ratification by the people.



WILLIAM T. HAINES

(Republican nominee for Governor of Maine, who has been indorsed by the Progressives)

Trying to
Convert
Vermont

In Vermont there are three tickets in the field, the Progressives having nominated the Rev. Fraser Metzger, pastor of a church at Randolph, who entered the fight a month or so later than his opponents. The Republican candidate is Allen M. Fletcher, of Cavendish, and the Democratic standard-bearer is Harland B. Howe, of St. Johnsbury, who has served in the Legislature. While it is difficult



REV. FRASER METZGER

(Progressive candidate for Governor of Vermont)

to see how the success or failure of the "third party" in Vermont, on September 3, under the Rev. Mr. Metzger, can seriously affect Mr. Roosevelt's campaign, it is possibly true that the comparative strength of the Democratic vote in both Maine and Vermont may afford some indication of the response of the country to the party's appeal for votes on November 5. The chiefs of the Progressive party had decided to appear in Vermont. Campaigns open late in Massachusetts, and the candidates and platforms will not be before the public until some time in the present month. It seems likely that Governor Foss will run for a second term, and the Connecticut Democrats will undoubtedly renominate Governor Baldwin at their State convention on September 11.

The Triangular
Fight in
New York

The campaign in the State of New York will undoubtedly be a stirring one, and its outcome is beyond any man's prediction. The Progressives will take the field several weeks before the other parties name their candidates. Thus the Progressive convention is to be held at Syracuse, September 5, and the leaders promise that it will be a great occasion. Con-



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CONGRESSMAN JAMES M. COX

(Who, as the Democratic candidate in a three-cornered fight, seems likely to be the next Governor of Ohio)

troller Prendergast, of New York City, is more frequently named than anyone else as the nominee for Governor. The Republican convention will be held at Saratoga on September 25. The former Speaker of the Assembly, Mr. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., will probably be nominated for Governor. The Democrats will hold their convention at Syracuse on October 1, and their nomination will be controlled by Mr. Murphy and Tammany Hall. Immediately following this convention will be that of the Empire State Democracy, which will put a ticket of its own in the field if its leaders are not satisfied with what is done at Syracuse. At the head of this sincere movement to reorganize the New York Democracy into a true political party are men like the Hon. Thomas M. Osborne and State Senator Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The "Washington Party" in Pennsylvania

In Pennsylvania, where the Progressives had won their fight and nominated Roosevelt electors in the primary contest of April 13, it has been decided not to have the Roosevelt electors run under the Republican heading, but in a separate column, which for technical reasons of the Pennsylvania law will be known as the "Washington" ticket. As a delightful illustration of the way the political game is played

this year by the Taft people, it should be explained that the President's friends in Pennsylvania, immediately after the grand fiasco of the Republican convention at Chicago, made a list of every name that the Roosevelt people could well use, including the names "Progressive," "Roosevelt," and various others (about seventy-five in all), and filed them under the law, as preëmpted, in order to keep the Progressives from using any one of them. Tricks of this petty nature are so common in American politics that the public temper has become half reconciled to them; and the average American citizen seems not to realize that the people are a generation or two beyond such things in every other civilized country. We make this statement because otherwise some of our readers might wonder why the Progressives will be officially known in Pennsylvania this year as the "Washington party." Let it be added that if the citizens of Pennsylvania do not give a tremendous vote for this same Washington ticket, they will have grown weary in well-doing since they showed their mettle in the April primaries.

The Split in Ohio

In Ohio, the Democratic nomination for Governor has been given to a well-known and able member of Congress, the Hon. James M. Cox, of Dayton. The Republicans nominated Judge Edmond B. Dillon on July 2, but after a careful study of the situation for nearly a month, Judge Dillon declined to run. It was left to the State Central Committee to fill the place, and it was supposed that the Hon. Ulysses Grant Denman, who is United States Attorney at Cleveland, would be acceptable to both factions. But the Taft group chose Gen. R. B. Brown, and the Roosevelt group, headed by Mr. Walter F. Brown, State Chairman, withdrew and prepared to put a third-party candidate in the field. It had been intended to print the name of Mr. Denman upon both the Republican and the Progressive State tickets. But such an agreement being impossible, the situation seems altogether likely to result in the election of Mr. Cox as Governor.

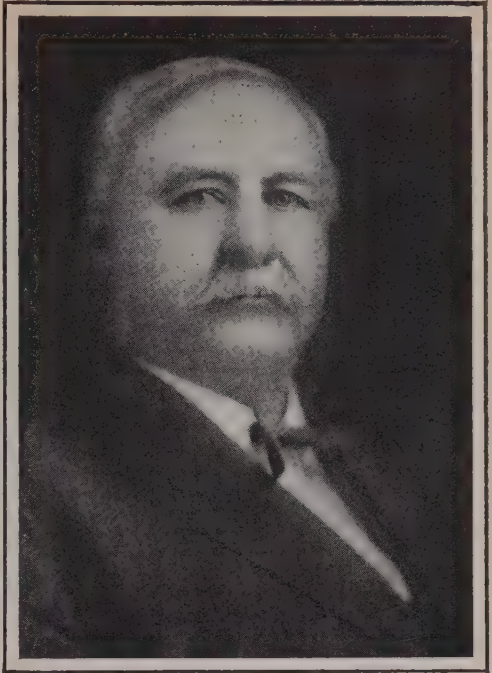
Three Tickets in Illinois

In Illinois, it will be remembered that Governor Charles S. Deneen was renominated on April 9, in the Republican primary, and that Edward F. Dunne, on the same day, was nominated by the Democrats. In view of the fact that Colonel Roosevelt carried the primaries for Presidential candidate, Governor Deneen

and his associates were for Roosevelt in the national convention. But after Taft's victory, although not approving of the methods by which it was secured, Governor Deneen preferred to keep his so-called "party regularity" and not to identify himself with the Progressive party movement. The situation thus created led the Progressives, in their State convention on August 3, to name State Senator Frank H. Funk for the governorship. At the present moment the chances seem favorable for the Democratic nominee, although both Funk and Deneen are strong men and exceptionally good campaigners.

*Beveridge
and the
Hoosiers*

There will be stirring times among the voters of the important State of Indiana this fall. The Roosevelt following was victimized by the Republican machine in the choosing of delegates to Chicago; and the National Committee supported the high-handed methods that were exposed by the contestants. This fact had its influence in helping the Progressives to start a strong Indiana organization immediately after the Chicago split. In their convention at Indianapolis, on August 1, they named ex-Senator Beveridge for Governor and the Hon. Fred K. Landis for Lieutenant-Governor. Mr. Beveridge is a campaign



HON. SAMUEL M. RALSTON
(Democratic nominee for Governor of Indiana)

speaker who knows how to speak alike convincingly to business men, farmers, and mechanics, and he is strongly supported. On August 6 the Republicans nominated ex-Governor Winfield T. Durbin. The Democrats had, last March, nominated the Hon. Samuel M. Ralston to succeed Governor Marshall, who is Woodrow Wilson's so-called "running mate."



HON. FRANK H. FUNK
(Nominated by the Progressives for Governor of Illinois)

*Shall Kansas
Be Dis-
franchised?*

In Kansas a curious situation, and one difficult to explain, has come about in the endeavor of the Progressive Republicans to keep their candidates for Presidential electors on the ticket as Republicans. In Kansas the Progressive element is in full control of the Republican party and its machinery, and the Taft people ought, of course, to have been consistent enough to recognize their own irregularity and nominate their electors by petition. In order to make no mistake about it, the Roosevelt people had agreed with the Taft forces to go before the voters in a second primary, on August 6, to decide whether Taft electors or Roosevelt electors should go on the ticket. The Roosevelt Republicans won by a majority of 25,000. The Kansas courts uphold the Roosevelt men, but the Taft people are now trying to get the Supreme Court of the United States to interfere. The case cannot come

before the Supreme Court before the middle of November.

*The Facts
and Their
Bearing*

As we explained in the opening pages of the REVIEW last month, parties have their only legal organization in the States. The Republicans of Kansas have an inalienable right to name their own list of Presidential electors and to put them on the ticket as Republicans, even though they should have instructed them to vote for Woodrow Wilson or for Debs, rather than for either Taft or Roosevelt. The use of the name "Republican" in Kansas, and the choice of candidates, is a matter of purely local concern. Mr. Taft is the Republican candidate in certain other States, because he has been so accepted. But he is not the Republican candidate in Kansas, because the Republicans of that State have decided otherwise. Nevertheless, there are a great many citizens in Kansas who wish to vote for Taft, and they ought to lose no time in getting their list of electoral candidates duly nominated by petition, precisely as Roosevelt supporters will have to do in various other States. In the primary election for United States Senator, Governor Stubbs was successful as against the present incumbent, Senator Curtis. Mr. Arthur Capper, a Progressive, was nominated for Governor by the Republicans, and Mr. George H. Hodges won the Democratic nomination. The new party movement could not immediately disclose its possibilities in many of the States, and it will be several weeks before any intelligent review can be made of its further plans and prospects.

*The Stanley
Committee on
the Steel Trust*

Early in August were published the findings of the Stanley Committee appointed by Congress to investigate the United States Steel Corporation. The nine members of this committee had been at work for fifteen months taking a voluminous mass of testimony in sittings held in different cities. Practically every noted figure in the steel industry and its financial alliances had appeared before the committee, —Mr. J. P. Morgan being the conspicuous exception. The rather startling recommendations of Mr. Gary and Mr. Perkins, in the course of their testimony, that the federal government should control the great corporations to the point of fixing prices to the consumers had aroused widespread interest and discussion, and the lively differences among themselves of the members of the committee, five of whom were Democrats and four Republicans, had kept the investigation much on



HON. WALTER R. STUBBS

(The progressive Governor of Kansas, who recently won the Republican primary nomination for the United States Senate)

the public mind. The majority report now made public is signed by the five Democratic members, with a reservation as to certain particulars by Mr. Littleton, of New York. The report abounds in aggressive phrases and bitterly assails the whole history and present organization of the Steel Corporation, its promoters, officers, and largest stockholders. It is scathing in its account of the absorption of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company in the panic of 1907, and of Mr. Roosevelt's failure to block that operation. Mr. Stanley and his Democratic colleagues maintain that the Steel Corporation was capitalized for just about three times as much as it was worth; that J. P. Morgan & Co. made an excessive profit of \$62,500,000 from the promotion of the great combination; that the famous "Gary dinners" were nothing more nor less than a device for fixing steel prices agreeable to the trust; that the corporation is the foe of organized labor and is oppressive in its treatment of workmen; that its deliberate purpose has been to dominate the steel industry by obtaining control of the major portion of the



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MEMBERS OF THE STANLEY COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING THE STEEL TRUST

(From left to right: Representatives Young, Bartlett, Stanley [chairman], Beall, Littleton, McGillicuddy. Chairman Stanley and Messrs. Bartlett, Beall, Littleton, and McGillicuddy signed the majority report)

country's ore reserves and of the transportation lines serving the ore fields.

Remedial Legislation

That the tone and findings of the majority report of the Stanley Committee are somewhat colored by the political convictions of the members is suggested by the terms of the minority report, signed by Representatives Gardner, Danforth, and Young. The minority report is not only much more restrained in style but differs from the Democratic findings in such important figures, deduced from the same data, as those in the estimate of "water" in the Steel Corporation's securities, which the Republican members place at "nearly one-half." If, after fifteen months' consideration of the same body of testimony, the Democratic members of the committee figure that the corporation was capitalized at 300 per cent. of its actual assets, and the Republican members figure nearly 200 per cent., the public cannot but conclude that, even in the findings of fact, the Stanley Committee's report must be read with due allowance for business judgment and political bias. In the matter of recommendations for remedial legislation the majority and minority reports are still further apart. Mr. Stanley and his Democratic colleagues advocate drastic legis-

lation looking to the dissolution of great combinations. The majority report recommends that any corporation dealing in articles handled in interstate traffic that controls 30 per cent. or more of the output shall be by that fact deemed a monopoly. It advocates shifting the burden of proof, in suits alleging a restraint of trade, from the Government to the defendant corporation, that is, that the corporation should have to prove its restraint of trade reasonable. Mr. Stanley would forbid interlocking directorates, by which officers or directors in the steel industry are also officers or directors in railroads, and would forbid the ownership of railroads by industrial companies. His report advocates giving an injured private party the right to institute suit to prevent the organization of a combination in restraint of trade. Representative Littleton dissented from certain portions of these recommendations.

Constructive Program of the Minority

The Republican members of the committee advocate, not a disintegration of the trusts, but their control by the federal government. Corporations with \$50,000,000 or more of capitalization should, according to the minority report, be chartered by the United States, and should be capitalized at their actual

value. An Interstate Commission of Industry would, under this plan, secure publicity from the great corporations and would recommend changes in prices that are found unreasonable. If this does not suffice to protect the public, the Interstate Commission of Industry is to be given power to decree maximum prices.

*The Press
and the
Public*

At the first National Newspaper Conference, which closed a three-days' meeting at Madison, Wisconsin, on August 1, problems were presented and discussed which have perhaps never before been broached in a public meeting by responsible American journalists. The question of the influence of advertisers upon the conduct of great newspapers was frankly debated. While it was admitted by experienced newspaper publishers that large advertising revenues enable them to spend more money for news and to secure better editorial service, it was denied that advertisers caused the coloring of news. Other members of the conference, however, took the ground that the proper course for a great newspaper was to make circulation profitable and to regard advertising as a mere by-product. Still others raised the question whether the newspaper could play its due part in social advance if it were run simply as a business proposition. The consensus of opinion seemed to be that the ethical standards of modern journalism are neither higher nor lower than those of society in general. Two radical propositions were advanced,—one for an endowed newspaper, and another for publicly-owned newspapers in every city, the latter scheme having a concrete illustration in the *Municipal News* of Los Angeles. Before adjourning, the conference adopted resolutions requesting the University of Wisconsin to call a second conference next summer.

*Graft
Disclosures*

The murder, in July, of a well-known New York gambler who had threatened to reveal the secrets of police extortion may lead to a more complete exposure of the so-called "system" of metropolitan graft than the gambler living could have brought about. The confession already made by members of the "gang" implicated in the murder, after due allowance has been made for the willingness of men of this type to inculcate others, indicates a prevalence of corruption that is appalling. A police lieutenant who is under arrest in the murder case is accused of receiving enormous sums of "protection" money collected from

gambling houses throughout the city. Deplorable as such a situation is, the community cannot honestly express surprise at the disclosures. These conditions have in fact been known to exist for many years. The laws as they are administered, it must be admitted, give ample opportunity for the building up of just such a system. The law in fact makes it possible for the police to practise extortion with impunity. In the city of Detroit a somewhat different form of graft was uncovered last month when fourteen aldermen and the secretary of the Common Council were charged with accepting bribes for their votes and influence in the passing of a bill affecting city property recently transferred to the Wabash Railroad. Meanwhile, in South Carolina, graft accusations against Governor Blease have figured largely in the Governor's campaign for renomination. The charges date back several years to the time when the State maintained a liquor dispensary system.

*Events in
Caribbean
America*

Political and economic conditions in Caribbean America have not been tranquil during recent weeks. Orozco continues his rather ineffective but disturbing rebellion against the Madero government in Mexico. A new revolution broke out in Nicaragua early in July and caused some uneasiness for the safety of American interests in that turbulent republic. The suppression of the revolt in Cuba has been followed by sharp political discussion centering around an alleged conspiracy to force the reelection of President Gomez. Efforts are being made also to bring about pressure on the part of the United States government to force Cuba to discharge certain financial obligations having to do with expenditure for public works and sanitation in Havana. The Cuban congress, however, has passed a resolution declaring that an American commission to inquire as to Havana's sanitary condition would be welcomed. A revolt in Santo Domingo and a boundary dispute between the Dominican Republic and Haiti was followed unexpectedly, on August 8, by a fire caused by the blowing up of the presidential palace at Port au Prince, in which President Leconte lost his life. An American commission of inquiry will visit and investigate the Putumayo rubber districts in Peru where outrages extending over a long time have been committed upon the natives. On another page this month we set forth at length the situation in the Peruvian rubber fields and its international aspects.

*The British
Imperial
Conference*

The third British Imperial Conference was held in London on July 16. - This gathering of representatives of the British dominions, formerly known as the Colonial Conference, met this year principally for the purpose of discussing the question of imperial defense. Premier Borden of Canada, addressing one of those banquets given during the course of the conference, at which, frequently, more formal statements of policy are given out than in the regular meetings, made a notable declaration regarding the position and prospects of Canada in the British imperial system. The people of the British oversea dominions (Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa), said Mr. Borden on this occasion, are beginning to see more clearly every day the fact that the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland is no longer, in the highest sense of the word, an Imperial Parliament. Its composition is mainly determined by domestic questions in which the dominions have no concern. For their part, the dominions, having become of age and assumed control of their own affairs, claim only the right to give their views on matters which concern the Empire as a whole. Therefore it is primarily to discuss questions which, in the last resort, mean peace or war, that representatives of the British nations gather in the capital of the Empire for discussion.

*How Will
Canada
Contribute?*

The Canadian Premier has been fêted and dined in London, and the British press has been claiming that his visit amounts to an announcement that Canada will supply several dreadnaughts to the British navy. It is not difficult, however, to see, from Mr. Borden's public utterances in London, that, while the Dominion assumes responsibility for her share in the Empire's defense, she "wants to be consulted about what the Empire's defense requires and the manner in which the defense shall be conducted." Mr. Borden was accompanied on his visit to London by the Canadian Ministers of Marine and Justice and the Postmaster General. Although no announcement is made of the fact, it is understood that, in addition to the matter of imperial defense, the Canadian statesman discussed with the British Government the question of the possible effect upon the Canadian railways of Panama legislation. On his way home, Mr. Borden visited Paris to discuss trade relations with the French Government and the question of steamship connection between France and the Dominion.

*British
Parliament
Adjourns*

The British House of Commons adjourned on August 7 for two months. While no very noteworthy measure was enacted into law at the session just closed, a great deal of important work was done in getting ready for the autumn session, which will begin on October 7. The government program will then be fully carried out, a number of important measures already having been passed in the Commons and others to the second reading. These include bills for Irish home rule, Welsh disestablishment, reform of the franchise, and a virtual repeal of the law enacted some years ago forbidding trades unions to contribute to funds for the support of labor members of Parliament. All these measures have been already fully explained in these pages. Each of them has been pushed along steadily by a solid government majority against an ineffectual fight by the opposition. Irish home rule has encountered less opposition than was expected. All England, as well as all Ireland, is awaiting what Ulster will do, and Ulster has announced that she will fight. It seems probable, however, that after some preliminary "ructions" Ulster, whose interests are properly safeguarded in the proposed legislation, will loyally submit to an imperial law, and that a better day will dawn for a united Ireland.

*Progress
of
Legislation*

The new franchise reform bill does three things. First, it extends the suffrage practically to all adult males; second, it simplifies the procedure of legislation; third, it abolishes plural voting. Its general effect will be to enlarge the British electorate from eight to ten millions. When this has become a law, the government proposes to attack the problem of distribution of Parliamentary seats, which are now on a very irregular basis. An amendment extending the suffrage to women is certain to be introduced in the last stages of the discussion of this bill, and lively times may be expected. The other two principal measures, Welsh disestablishment and granting the right to trades unions to look after their representatives in Parliament, have encountered less general opposition, and are likely to pass into law without such spectacular denunciation as the other measures.

*The Lloyd-
George Insur-
ance Law*

The much-discussed insurance act, drawn up and piloted through the House of Commons by Chancellor Lloyd-George, went into effect on July 15. As we have already fully described it in



MOUKTAR PASHA, THE NEW TURKISH GRAND VIZIER

these pages, it will be only necessary to recall its general provisions. It is a measure for insuring working people against illness or disability by means of a fund to which the workers themselves, their employers, and the government contribute in certain specified proportions. It will affect more than 13,000,000 persons of all ages, sexes, and occupations. At the age of seventy the insurance stops, because then the working person begins to enjoy the benefits of the Lloyd-George old-age pension law of 1909. The measure is of necessity a highly complex one, and will take some time and patience to get it into smoothly running order.

*Why the
Doctors
Object*

Considerable opposition was manifested when the law began to operate. The dock strikers at Liverpool burned a copy of the act, and in London an organization of protest was launched by housewives who, "if compelled to pay insurance for domestic servants, will reduce wages." A more serious difficulty in the way of the smooth working of the law is the opposition of the doctors, represented by the British Medical Association, who are unwilling to attend the insured workmen at the rates of pay offered by the government. It will be January 15 next before any benefits can accrue to those who are insured, and it

seems probable that in the mean time the doctors and the government will come to some working agreement. Meanwhile the Asquith government has been suffering a series of defeats in the by-elections. Since the general elections of 1910 the Unionists have won back eight seats, and it is now being freely predicted that the Liberal Ministry cannot retain its power for the two years necessary to override the almost certain objections of the Lords to home rule and other big measures upon which the government has set its heart.

Hardly had the announcement been made of the meeting between the German Kaiser and the Russian Czar (to which we referred in these pages last month), when the press of Europe began to express concern over the projected visit to St. Petersburg of the French Premier, and, a little later, over the publication of the main purpose and accomplishment of the recent trip of the Japanese Premier, Count Katsura, and Baron Goto to the Russian



GETTING TOO MUCH FOR HIM

THE KEEPER OF THE GATE (the Dardanelles): "Heretofore I have had to watch open-peace breakers in the daytime (referring to Russia's attempt to open the Straits). Now I must also keep an eye out for burglars at night" (meaning the Italian attack on the forts).

From Kikeriki (Vienna)



Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

MR. ASQUITH IN IRELAND, THE FIRST ENGLISH PREMIER IN OFFICE TO VISIT THE EMERALD ISLE

(In this group at the Lodge of Chief Secretary Birrell, in Phoenix Park, Dublin, are included—reading from left to right—standing, Sir H. Verney, Mr. Asquith, Jr., the Master of Elibank, Mr. Asquith, 3rd; seated, Lady Verney, the Premier, Mrs. Asquith, Chief Secretary Birrell, Miss Violet Asquith)

capital. It was explained that M. Poincare, who has done rather better as Premier than was expected of him, was going to Russia to arrange for the complete rounding-out of the alliance between the two nations. The armies of the two allies have long been included in the terms of the compact. The naval forces are now to be merged in case of an attack on either one of them.

*Will the
Dardanelles
be Opened?*

It is believed, however, that other motives, not published to the world, prompted the visit of the French statesman to the capital of France's Russian ally. It seems probable that this visit was really intended to give France's answer to the Russian contention that the Czar might now demand the abrogation of that portion of the Treaty of Paris which closed the Turkish Straits to Russia's Black Sea fleet. The Czar's government is determined to create a new navy. The last session of the Duma was forced to sanction the appropriation of the vast sum of \$642,500,000 for the naval program extending over the next five years. Many of the new ships are being built at the Crimean yards in the Black Sea, and Russia is naturally anxious to open the Dardanelles. It was Great Britain and France that closed them at the end of the Crimean War, but now

they have urgent reasons for welcoming Russian warships to restore the balance in the Mediterranean.

*A Russo-
Japanese
Entente*

Some time in the early part of July an agreement was concluded, although not yet signed, between the Japanese and Russian governments, Dr. Sassonov, Russian Foreign Minister, and Baron Motono, Japanese Ambassador to St. Petersburg, acting for their respective countries. It consists of two parts. The first deals with the determination of the spheres of influence of the two countries in Mongolia and Manchuria. This is similar in character to the agreement between England and Russia of 1907 regarding Persia. The second part sets forth the duty of the two powers for a joint defense in case either is attacked. Ever since the war of 1905, Japanese diplomacy has persistently urged upon the Czar's government the great benefits that would accrue to each country if a close coöperation could be established between them. The Japanese statesmen pointed out that Japan being an ally of England, and Russia being in accord with the same power, an entente between the governments of Tokyo and St. Petersburg would be logical and highly desirable. It is understood that the terms of the

agreement will not be made public, but that "all the aims and objects of an alliance can be and are secured by verbal exchange of views without the drawbacks which are inseparable from a formal compact."

Is the New Agreement Anti-American? The interests of the two nations in China run parallel, and it seems likely, at least so the prominent statesmen of both countries believe, that henceforth Russia and Japan will hold the same mutual relationship in the Far East that Germany and Austria do in Europe. From now on, says the St. Petersburg correspondent of the New York *Sun*, "Russia and Japan must be looked upon and dealt with as the Political Syndicate of the Pacific, the chief results of whose activity will be to prevent the commercial and industrial interpenetration of the Far East by the United States." That our own State Department is not unaware of the underlying intent and scope of this Far Eastern agreement is shown by the appointment of Secretary Knox to attend the funeral of the late Emperor of Japan on September 13. It is understood that Mr. Knox will go to Tokyo this month, primarily, of course, to pay respect to the memory of the Emperor Mutsuhito. His visit, however, will also serve as a notice issued to China and

Japan and all the European governments interested in the Far East that the United States Government and the American people are vitally concerned in the problems of the Pacific and that they claim the right to be heard in the settlement of these problems.

Fall of the Turkish Cabinet

The resignation of the Turkish Cabinet, on July 17, immediately after an overwhelming vote of confidence in the Chamber of Deputies, was among the political surprises of the month. The truth is that the Young Turk party, after its electoral victory in April, was driven from its dominant position into one of defense. The government had a majority in the Chamber, but there is evidence that this majority was obtained by methods not strictly constitutional. On another page this month (see Leading Article entitled "The Ottoman Press on the Political Changes in Turkey") we quote from representative Turkish journals giving the details of the situation. The Minister of War, Mahmoud Shefket Pasha, had incurred the enmity of a number of powerful military leaders, principally because of his harsh methods in suppressing the Albanian insurrection, and had been forced to resign. The Minister of Marine also left the cabinet. Not succeeding in getting successors to these ministers, the Grand Vizier, Said Pasha, handed in his own resignation. Tewfik Pasha, the Ottoman Ambassador at London, was requested to form a new ministry, but he declined. Ahmed Mouktar Pasha, the veteran commander of the army of Asia during the war of 1877, was prevailed upon to step into the breach. The aged Kiamil Pasha, eighty years of age and well known as an admirer of England and an advocate of an understanding with that nation, was made President of the Council of State.



A TOUCH OF NATURE IN THE TURCO-ITALIAN WAR
(The Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish forces in Tripoli, with his baby boy)

A Defeat for the Young Turks

The new cabinet is regarded as a strong one. The Turkish army, however, has been gradually acquiring undue influence in affairs of state. It has attempted to dictate the policy of the empire toward the Albanians; it also was the chief instrument in the dissolution of Parliament on August 4. As for the Young Turks, or the party of Union and Progress, it has come out defeated but not destroyed. The Young Turks are rich in talents and energy, but they lack experience. Even their opponents, however, admit that they have handled a difficult task very well. The faults of the Young Turks, their own journals are now pointing out, are the results of patriotic im-

patience in endeavoring to hasten too quickly the material progress of the country.

*The Puzzle of
Chinese
Finance*

The way of the new Chinese Republic continues to be a hard one to travel. Hardly had President Yuan Shih-kai been firmly established in the Presidential chair, when the financial problem assumed such proportions that it threatened to overthrow the new government. For more than two years representatives of certain foreign financial groups, with more or less backing from their governments, have been endeavoring to arrange with the Chinese authorities for a loan to meet the pressing obligations of the government, necessitated by the reform schemes, the payment of the soldiers, and the establishment of all the machinery of representative institutions. The difficulty seems to lie in the impossibility of an agreement as to the joint administration or supervision of the loan, which will be for more than \$300,000,000.

*Is Chinese
Independence
Threatened?*

The representatives of the foreign banking houses—English, French, German, Russian, Japanese, and American—insist upon participating in the application of the loan. Chinese public



THE SECOND PREMIER OF THE CHINESE REPUBLIC,
LU CHENG-HSIANG

opinion, on the other hand, which has been thoroughly awakened, will not tolerate foreign supervision of the national finance. The Chinese negotiators are reported to have intimated that, in their opinion, the foreign demand for supervision of the loan would be the beginning of the partition of the Empire. Recognition of the republic (not yet accorded), they claim further, is being delayed until these great financial groups can get the new government absolutely under their control. In an interview reported in the *Clarion*, the labor organ of London, Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who was Provisional President before Yuan Shih-kai, is reported as saying that at the beginning China must "take thought for the future, lest, by and by, capitalism, permitted to develop, may prove an oppression worse than the despotism we have just thrown off."



THE RAPE OF THE LOCK
(Young China being modernized)
From the *Sphere* (London)

*China Learning
to Walk
Politically*

Meanwhile, one ministry, that of Tang Shao-yi, has fallen on this troublesome question, the premier with six of his colleagues having gone out of office rather than yield to the foreign terms. President Yuan Shih-kai is showing repeated evidence of his political and patriotic keenness. Late in July he received the leaders of the three parties in China, the conservative, the liberal, and ultra-radicals, and gave them a lecture on practical politics. The new republican government, he told them, is too weak to stand the strain of a party struggle for place and power. The western countries



A NEW PORTRAIT OF YUAN SHIH-KAI, PRESIDENT OF
THE CHINESE REPUBLIC
(From a photograph taken soon after his inauguration)

have been used to parliamentary struggles, but China "cannot live at all unless her feeble and undefined forces can be consolidated on some other basis than the ambition of a faction." On August 6 it was announced that Lu Cheng-Hsiang had been appointed premier to succeed Tang Shao-Yi, and that the first general Chinese election would be held in November. The voters will elect members of a Parliament, and the Parliament will elect a President. Yuan Shih-kai is at present Provisional President.

The Change of Rule in Japan Measured by the progress and expansion of his country during his reign, Mutsuhito, late Emperor of Japan, was one of the greatest of modern rulers. It has been pointed out that the vast, silent crowds that surrounded the Imperial palace in Tokyo for ten days before the death of the Japanese Emperor on July 30 (29th in the United States) were people of a nation modern in every respect, whereas the assemblage rejoicing over his birth sixty years before, represented a country bound by ancient, oriental customs and governed by medieval feudalism. The reign of Mutsuhito is called by the Japanese Meiji, the "Era of Enlightenment," and this phrase aptly characterizes it.

Character of Mutsuhito

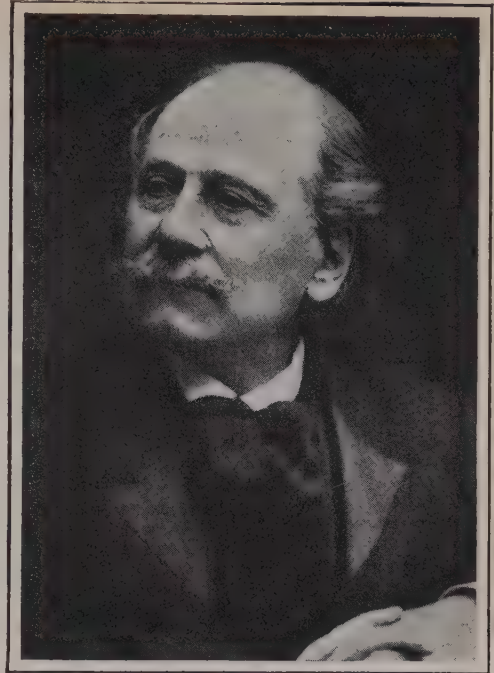
In 1868, when feudalism was abolished in Japan, the Samurai leader and reformer, Okubo, declared: "Since the Middle Ages our Emperor has lived behind a screen and never trodden the earth." Mutsuhito emerged from behind the screen, was present at meetings of the Council of State, and took active part in all the minutiae of government. He was the representative of the oldest reigning dynasty in the world, and was regarded as semi-divine by his people. He did not himself abolish the medieval customs of his country, but he gave to all these reforms the sanction and invaluable support of the throne. As soon as he became of age he put himself at the head of the progressive movement, and personally coöperated in the framing of the Japanese constitution, although that instrument deprived him of many of his hereditary rights and prerogatives. As a man he was not broadly educated in the Western sense of the word, but he was familiar with oriental culture. Comparatively little is known of his personality. The most complete sketch of him that we have seen appears in this number of the REVIEW, from the pen of a Japanese writer and student.

The New Emperor

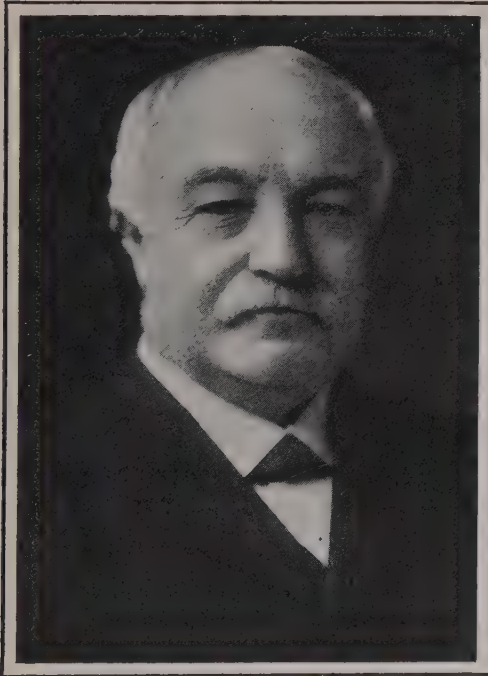
Under Mutsuhito, sagacious, self-effacing, and always willing to take advice from his statesmen, western civilization was assimilated by Japan in fifty years and the Island Empire from being a completely insignificant feudal state has become a great modern power. The credit for this achievement is, of course, due chiefly to the able, patriotic leaders and a homogeneous people, but it has been also due, in large part, to the wisdom and character of the monarch who has just passed away. The generals of Japan's army in Manchuria were perhaps not without reasonable justification when they ascribed their victories on the battlefield to the "virtue of his Imperial Majesty." The new Emperor, Yoshihito, acceded on the day of his father's death, although the crowning ceremonies will not take place for some months. It is not expected that the death of Mutsuhito will bring about great changes in the government of Japan. One of the most eminent historians of that country has said: "It is not the personality of the Emperor, but the unique history and tradition of the Imperial throne on which the strength of the Japanese monarchy depends." Under Yoshihito Japan will be as loyal as under his father.

*The Eminent
Dead of a
Month*

Men of world fame in statesmanship, scholarship, science, and art passed over to the great majority last month. To Mutsuhito, Emperor of Japan, we have paid tribute elsewhere. Of some of the fine, delicate, literary gifts of Andrew Lang, the British fairy story teller and critic, we have also spoken. Among scholars, in the true sense of the word, Dr. Horace Howard Furness, who passed away in his seventy-ninth year, always occupied the front rank. He was one of the ablest and best known Shakespearean scholars of the century. The work that he accomplished in his invaluable "Variorum" edition of Shakespeare showed his sympathetic and penetrating critical gifts. It will be a monument to his memory as an American scholar. It was in 1871 that he published the first volume of this edition. He added to it continually, having published eighteen of the plays since that time. He became vitally interested in Shakespeare when he heard Fanny Kemble interpret some of the characters many years ago. An eminent actress is quoted as saying, when she heard of his death, "Perhaps only we people of the stage can rightly appreciate



JULES MASSENET, THE LATE FRENCH COMPOSER

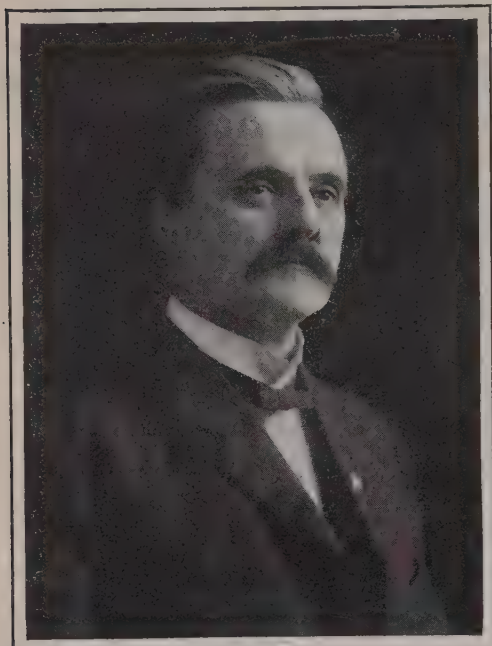


DR. HORACE HOWARD FURNESS, THE SHAKESPEAREAN SCHOLAR, WHO DIED LAST MONTH

Dr. Furness' Shakespeare as a practical guide to stage craft." Three eminent Frenchmen belong in this list of scholars: Jules Massenet, the well-known musical composer; Jules Poincaré, world famous mathematician and cousin of the French Premier; and Anatole Leroy Beaulieu, writer on politics and economics. Massenet has been called the flower of the academic teaching of French music. He won many prizes. He was professor at the Paris Conservatory, and a composer of many modern operas. Those best known in this country are "Manon," "Thais," "Werther," "Le Jongleur de Notre Dame," and "La Navarraise." Massenet was a musical prodigy, and it is said of him that he played the piano with spirit and accuracy at the age of four. He was in his seventy-first year when he died. The veteran Bishop Warren, of the Methodist Church, past eighty-two, and one of the most distinguished preachers of the Methodist denomination, died on July 23. Finally, although a far cry from the good Bishop, General Cincinnatus Leconte, President of the black Republic of Haiti, perished (on August 8) in a fire caused by an explosion which destroyed the presidential palace at Port-au-Prince.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From July 16 to August 14, 1912)



Photograph by Harris & Ewing, Washington

REPRESENTATIVE GEORGE W. NORRIS, OF NEBRASKA
(Who analyzed the Republican convention contests and declared that the Taft delegates were wrongfully seated)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

July 16.—The Senate organizes itself into a court of impeachment and summons Judge Archbald to appear before it on July 19. . . . The House passes a measure making it unlawful to deal in cotton "futures."

July 17.—The House passes bills creating a Department of Labor and a commission to investigate causes of industrial unrest.

July 18.—The Senate adopts the conference report on the Rivers and Harbors appropriation bill.

July 19.—Judge Robert W. Archbald, of the Commerce Court, appears before the Senate and is given until July 29 to prepare his answer to the articles of impeachment. . . . The House agrees to the conference report on the Rivers and Harbors appropriation bill.

July 22.—In the Senate, Mr. Fall (Rep., N. M.) charges that the State Department has neglected to furnish proper assistance to Americans who have suffered outrages during the recent uprisings in Mexico.

July 23.—The Senate adopts an amendment to the Sundry Civil appropriation bill, providing funds for the continuance of the Tariff Board; the Post-Office appropriation bill, reported from committee, includes provision for a parcels post.

July 24.—The Senate passes the Sundry Civil appropriation bill and the measure creating a single-chambered legislature of sixteen members for the Territory of Alaska.

July 25.—The Senate adopts, as a substitute for the House bill revising the wool schedule, the La Follette measure which President Taft vetoed in August, 1911.

July 26.—In the Senate, the Democratic Excise (or income) Tax bill is passed by a vote of 37 to 18, with amendments creating a permanent tariff commission and repealing the Canadian reciprocity act.

July 27.—The Senate passes, as a substitute for the House Free-Sugar bill, a measure proposed by Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) fixing the duty at 1.6 cents a pound.

July 29.—The Senate, sitting as a court of impeachment, receives Judge Archbald's formal answer to the charges made against him.

July 30.—In the Senate, Mr. Burton (Rep., Ohio) speaks on the causes of the high cost of living.

August 2.—The Senate, by vote of 54 to 4, passes the resolution of Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) designed to extend the principle of the Monroe Doctrine to the possession by foreign corporations of territory on the American continent suitable for conversion into military or naval bases. . . . The House receives the report of the special committee, under Mr. Stanley (Dem., Ky.) which was directed to investigate the United States Steel Corporation; the bill revising the cotton schedule of the tariff is passed, reducing the duties by approximately 21 per cent.

August 3.—The Senate withdraws the amendment to the Steel bill which repealed the Canadian reciprocity act. . . . The House adopts the conference report on the bill revising the wool schedule of the tariff law.

August 5.—The Senate adopts the compromise wool bill prepared by the conference committee.

August 7.—The Senate refuses to strike from the Panama Canal bill the provision exempting American ships from payment of tolls; the conference reports upon the Agricultural and the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial appropriation bills are agreed to.

August 8.—In the House, the General Deficiency appropriation bill is passed and the conference reports upon the Agricultural and the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial appropriation bills are agreed to; Mr. Stanley (Dem., Ky.) reviews the report of the steel investigating committee.

August 9.—The Senate passes the Panama Canal bill.

August 10.—The House passes a measure requiring that all ocean-going vessels shall be equipped with lifeboats sufficient to accommodate every person on board.

August 12.—The House, by a partisan vote, unseats Theron Catlin (Rep., Mo.) because of excessive expenditures in connection with his election.

August 13.—The Senate adopts the Post-Office appropriation bill. . . . The House passes the Wool bill over the President's veto, by vote of 174 to 80.

August 14.—In the Senate, the Progressive Republicans and Democrats pass the House bill revising the cotton schedule of the tariff; the Army appropriation bill is again passed with certain provisions, objectionable to the President, eliminated. . . . The House passes the Steel and Iron tariff-revision bill over the President's veto.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

July 16.—Herbert Knox Smith resigns as Commissioner of Corporations. . . . Herman Rosenthal, a confessed gambler about to give evidence concerning graft in the New York police department, is shot and killed by five men, who escape in an automobile.

July 20.—Michigan Progressives meet at Jackson, indorse Whitney Watkins for Governor, and adopt a noteworthy platform. . . . Governor Cole L. Blease, of South Carolina, replies in detail to the charges of graft recently made against him.

July 22.—United States District Judge Cornelius H. Hanford, of Washington, some of whose decisions were being investigated by the House of Representatives under an impeachment resolution, sends his resignation to the President, and the case is dropped.

July 23.—The first convention of the Progressive party in New Jersey is held at Atlantic City.

July 24.—The Democratic members of the House of Representatives, in caucus, refuse to accede to the Senate's demand for the authorization of at least one battleship. . . . The first Iowa Progressive convention meets at Des Moines and adopts a platform severely condemning President Taft.

July 26.—Nine members of the Common Council of Detroit, including its president and secretary, are arrested on charges of accepting bribes.

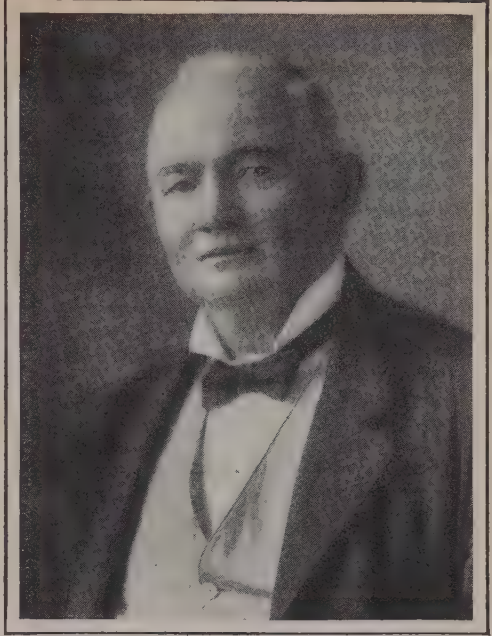
July 27.—Judge Dillon declines the Republican nomination for Governor of Ohio. . . . In the Texas Democratic primary, Governor Colquitt is renominated and Congressman Morris Sheppard is chosen to succeed United States Senator Bailey.

July 28.—In a document given out at the White House, the Taft explanation of the seating of contesting delegates at the Republican National Convention is given in detail.

July 29.—Lieut. Charles Becker, of the New York police force, is indicted for instigating the murder of Herman Rosenthal, who was about to testify to police corruption. . . . Montana Progressives meet in their first State convention at Helena.

July 30.—The government's investigation into sugar-customs frauds in Philadelphia is dropped upon payment by the companies of \$250,000, the full amount of the shortage. . . . Conventions of the Progressive party are held in Arkansas, Connecticut, Minnesota, Missouri, and West Virginia.

August 1.—President Taft is formally notified, at the White House, of his renomination for President; his speech of acceptance outlines the issues of the campaign. . . . Albert J. Beveridge, formerly United States Senator, is nominated as the Progressive candidate for Governor of Indiana. . . . The Colorado Progressive convention meets at Denver and chooses a complete State ticket, headed by E. P. Costigan.



HON. W. A. MASSEY

(Appointed United States Senator from Nevada, Mr. George Wingfield having declined the appointment, to succeed the late Senator Nixon)

August 2.—The Congressional committee which investigated the United States Steel Corporation makes its report to Congress and suggests legislation to control combinations. . . . Colonel Roosevelt makes public his views concerning the relation of negroes to politics, particularly in the South.

August 3.—Frank L. Funk, State Senator, is chosen as the Progressive candidate for Governor of Illinois at the State convention.

August 5.—The first national convention of the Progressive party assembles in the Coliseum at Chicago (see page 310); Albert J. Beveridge, in his address as temporary chairman, outlines the party's aims.

August 6.—Colonel Roosevelt addresses the convention of the Progressive party at Chicago, after an outburst of cheering lasting fifty-seven minutes. . . . In the Kansas primaries, the voters choose Roosevelt electors to appear on the regular Republican ballot in the November election; Governor Stubbs defeats Charles Curtis in the contest for the United States Senate; Arthur Capper (Rep.) and George H. Hodges (Dem.) are nominated for Governor. . . . In the Missouri primary, Elliott W. Major (Dem.) and John McKinley (Rep.) win the gubernatorial contest. . . . Winfield T. Durbin is nominated for Governor of Indiana at the Republican State convention. . . . Rolla Wells, formerly mayor of St. Louis, is selected as treasurer of the Democratic National Committee.

August 7.—The Progressive party, in session at Chicago, unanimously nominates Theodore Roosevelt for President and Governor Hiram Johnson, of California, for Vice-President. . . . Woodrow Wilson accepts the Democratic nomination for the Presidency, at Sea Girt, N. J., in a speech setting forth his views on national problems.



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HON. ROLLA WELLS, OF MISSOURI
(Treasurer of the Democratic National Committee)

August 9.—President Taft vetoes the bill revising the wool schedule of the tariff, holding that its low rates would bring disaster to home industries. . . . The President appoints Luther Conant, Jr., as Commissioner of Corporations.

August 10.—Gen. R. B. Brown is selected as Republican candidate for Governor of Ohio.

August 14.—President Taft vetoes the Steel and Iron tariff-revision bill, maintaining that it does not sufficiently protect American industries. . . . The Democrats of the House, in caucus, agree to recede from their position and authorize the construction of one first-class battleship.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

July 16.—In the British House of Commons, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs outlines his government's attitude in the matter of Panama Canal tolls.

July 17.—It is announced at Peking that Prof. Jeremiah W. Jenks, the American economist, has been asked to become financial adviser to the new republic. . . . The Turkish cabinet resigns; Tewfik Pasha, ambassador to Great Britain, is appointed Grand Vizier.

July 18.—Premier Asquith receives a hearty popular welcome in Dublin upon his first visit, as Prime Minister, to Ireland. . . . Gen. Pedro Ivonet, the Cuban negro rebel leader, is killed in an engagement near Nueva Escocia.

July 19.—The Sultan of Turkey issues a proclamation exhorting the army not to mix in politics. . . . Premier Asquith, addressing an immense audience in Dublin, promises the early passage of the Home Rule bill. . . . The Chinese National Assembly vetoes all of President Yuan Shih-kai's nominations for cabinet portfolios.

July 20.—The Swedish Government decides to expel all proselytizing Mormon elders. . . . Much anxiety is caused throughout Japan by the critical illness of the Emperor Mutsuhito. . . . A band of Mexican rebels attacks a train at Parres, near Mexico City, and kills forty passengers and forty-four escorting soldiers.

July 21.—Tewfik Pasha declines the premiership of Turkey, and Ghazi Mukhtar Pasha, president of the Senate, is appointed Grand Vizier. . . . The Albanian revolutionists capture the town of Pristina.

July 22.—Winston Churchill, First Lord of the British Admiralty, delivers a noteworthy speech before the House of Commons upon the government's new plans for a larger navy, to meet Germany's preparations. . . . The new Turkish ministry takes steps to establish peace with the rebels in Albania.

July 24.—Former Premier Clemenceau, in an open letter addressed to Premier Poincaré, criticises the government's electoral-reform bill.

July 26.—The Chinese National Assembly finally confirms the cabinet nominations of the President.

July 29.—General Mena, Nicaraguan Minister of War, refuses President Diaz's request that he resign, and is deposed by force.

July 30.—Mutsuhito, for forty-four years Emperor of Japan, dies in the imperial palace at Tokio, and Crown Prince Yoshihito ascends the throne (see page 322). . . . The findings of the British Board of Trade's commission investigating the *Titanic* disaster are made public at London; the accident is held to have been due to excessive speed, but no one is directly blamed. . . . The Turkish Chamber of Deputies, by vote of 113 to 45, expresses confidence in the new ministry after announcement had been made of the government's willingness to enter into peace negotiations with Italy.

August 1.—Dr. George Ernest Morrison, Peking correspondent of the *London Times*, is appointed adviser to the President of China. . . . The Peruvian cabinet, formed less than a year ago, resigns.

August 2.—More than a hundred Bulgarians at Kotschana, European Turkey, are massacred by Mussulmans.

August 5.—The Turkish Parliament, which had refused to recognize the new cabinet, is dissolved by imperial decree.

August 7.—Mrs. Mary Leigh, the suffragette who threw a hatchet at Premier Asquith recently, and Gladys Evans, who set fire to the Theater Royal at Dublin, are sentenced each to five years imprisonment. . . . The British House of Commons adjourns until October 7.

August 8.—Tancrede Auguste is chosen President of Haiti by the National Assembly, following the death of President Leconte.

August 9.—Mulai Hafid, Sultan of Morocco, abdicates his throne owing to ill health. . . . The Chilean cabinet resigns, and a new ministry is

formed with Antonio Huneus as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

August 10.—The new National Congress of Ecuador assembles at Guayaquil and chooses Senor Moreno, president of the Senate, to serve as head of the government until the inauguration of President-elect Leonidas Plaza. . . . Mulai Youssef is designated to succeed his brother, Mulai Hafid, as Sultan of Morocco.

August 11.—The Nicaraguan rebel forces under Gen. Luis Mena, the deposed Secretary of War, begin a bombardment of Managua, the capital. . . . Thirty-six soldiers and more than twenty passengers are killed by Mexican insurgents following an attack upon a train near Ticuman.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

July 18.—It is reported at St. Petersburg and Peking that a new defensive alliance is about to be concluded between Russia and Japan.

July 19.—A fleet of Italian torpedo boats, attacking the forts at the entrance to the Dardanelles, is repulsed, the Turks alleging that two are sunk.

July 25.—The extra United States marines which had been sent to Guantanamo, Cuba, during the recent disturbances, are ordered home.

July 27.—An agreement is reached in the dispute between Mexico and the United States over the boundary near El Paso, the land to be purchased by the United States.

July 29.—Spain refuses to expel Portuguese Royalists who have taken refuge just over the border.

August 1.—In reply to an inquiry in the British House of Commons, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs declares that Great Britain and the United States will send consular representatives to the Putumayo rubber district, in Peru, to investigate alleged barbarities.

August 4.—A detachment of American sailors and marines is landed near Managua, Nicaragua, to protect American citizens during the revolution.

August 6.—The Italian naval and military forces occupy Zuara, said to be the last town on the Tripoli coast held by the Turks.

August 8.—The Central American Court of Justice takes steps to end the Nicaraguan rebellion.

August 10.—It is announced at the White House that Mr. Knox, Secretary of State, will represent the United States at the funeral of the late Emperor Mutsuhito, of Japan. . . . Montenegro appeals to the powers to intervene in the boundary dispute with Turkey.

August 13.—Jacob Gould Schurman, president of Cornell University, is nominated by the President to be United States minister to Greece.

August 14.—American soldiers in the legation at Managua assist in the defense of the city during an attack by the revolutionists.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

July 19.—The leaders of the dock strike in London cable an appeal for funds to the American Federation of Labor, alleging that the men and their families are starving.

July 20.—The National Packing Company, the so-called Beef Trust, makes public its plan of dissolution. . . . An earthquake destroys a large portion of the city of Guadalajara, Mexico.



HON. MORRIS SHEPPARD
(Congressman from Texas, who won the Senatorial primary for Senator Bailey's seat)

July 24.—Prof. Herschell Parker and Belmore Browne arrive at Tolovina, Alaska, and report that they ascended Mt. McKinley to within 300 feet of the summit. . . . More than sixty persons are drowned by cloudbursts and floods in Pennsylvania and West Virginia. . . . British consols establish a new low record of 73½ for cash.

July 27.—The public sessions of the Board of Arbitration, in the wage dispute between the locomotive engineers and the Eastern railroads, come to an end at Manhattan Beach, N. Y. . . . The strike of dock workers in London is called off for lack of funds. . . . Capt. Ejnar Mikkelsen, the Danish explorer, arrives at Aalesund, Norway, after two years exploration in Greenland.

July 29.—The *Uncle Sam*, under Capt. H. E. Honeywell, wins the balloon race from Kansas City, landing at Manassas, Va., a distance of 925 miles. . . . The Boston street-car strike ends in a victory for the employees. . . . The first National Newspaper Conference, attended by prominent writers and educators, assembles at Madison, Wis.

July 30.—An increase of 10 per cent. in wages is offered to the discontented longshoremen of the port of New York.

August 2.—A consular report received at the State Department alleges that a system of peonage prevails in the rubber districts of the Peruvian Amazon.

August 5.—Fire destroys the old summer palace of Peter the Great, on Petrovski Island, Russia. . . . The price of beef at the Chicago stockyards reaches more than \$10 a hundred for the first time known. . . . The Danish-American National Park at Aalborg, Denmark, the gift of Danes in the United States, is formally presented to the government.

August 7.—The thirty-five foot motor boat *Detroit* arrives at Queenstown, having crossed the Atlantic from New York in twenty-five days.



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LUTHER CONANT, JR., OF NEW YORK, WHO SUCCEEDS
HERBERT KNOX SMITH AS COMMISSIONER
OF CORPORATIONS

August 8.—An explosion in a powder magazine under the Haitian national palace, at Port-au-Prince, kills President Leconte and many other persons. . . . More than 100 miners are killed by an explosion of fire damp in a mine near Bechum, Germany.

August 9.—A severe earth shock occurs on both sides of the Dardanelles, Turkey, causing the death of nearly 1000 persons.

August 10.—Twenty thousand regular troops and members of the National Guard begin an immense sham battle in Connecticut, having as an object the defense of New York City.

OBITUARY

July 17.—Jules Henri Poincaré, the famous French mathematician, 58.

July 18.—Robert Shaw, noted for his historical etchings and paintings, 53. . . Goodwin Brown, of New York, an authority on the care of the insane and dependents, 60. . . William Lindsay Scruggs, formerly minister to Colombia and to Venezuela, 75.

July 20.—Andrew Lang, the noted British writer, 68 (see page 375). . . Gen. Walter Cass Newberry, a veteran of the Civil War and former member of Congress from Illinois, 76. . . Capt. Henry R. Jones, U. S. A., retired, proprietor and editor of the *New Hartford Tribune*, 75.

July 21.—Dr. Gerrit Smith, the organist and composer, 52. . . Thomas W. Phillips, of Pennsyl-

vania, a former member of Congress and author of the bill creating the Industrial Commission, 77. . . Charles Harrison Page, a prominent Rhode Island lawyer and former member of Congress, 69. . . Dr. Heneage Gibbs, formerly a well-known pathologist, 80.

July 23.—Bishop Henry W. Warren, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 82 (see page 287). . . Prof. Gustave LeGras, of the department of mathematics at the College of the City of New York, 62. . . Haldor E. Boen, formerly a member of Congress from Minnesota, 62.

July 24.—John Alsop Paine, of New York, a noted archæologist, 72.

July 25.—Rev. Dr. Griffith John, of London, the first Christian missionary in Central China, 81.

July 26.—William A. Richards, formerly Governor of Wyoming, 63.

July 27.—Rev. John R. Herrick, ex-president of the South Dakota State University, 90. . . Henri Ramondou, official secretary to President Fallières at the Elysée, 52.

July 29.—William Drew Washburn, the flour-miller and former United States Senator from Minnesota, 81.

July 30.—Mutsuhito, Emperor of Japan, 59 (see page 322). . . Cardinal Hubert Antonio Fischer, Archbishop of Cologne, 72.

July 31.—Dr. Maurice Howe Richardson, the noted Boston surgeon, 60.

August 1.—Rev. Samuel F. Hotchkin, registrar of the Episcopal diocese of Pennsylvania, 70. . . Dr. John Jay Taylor, of Philadelphia, a widely known medical publisher, 58. . . Capt. H. E. Bixby, the oldest pilot on the Mississippi River, 86.

August 2.—Rev. Dr. Samuel Macauley Jackson, a prominent writer and editor of religious works, 61. . . Gen. John H. Baldwin, a member of Lee's staff in the Civil War, 83.

August 3.—Alfred S. Campbell, a pioneer in the art of photography, 72.

August 5.—John W. Herron, a prominent Cincinnati lawyer and father-in-law of President Taft, 85. . . Eugene Lamb Richards, professor emeritus of mathematics at Yale University, 74.

August 6.—Bishop Patrick Anthony Ludden, of the Roman Catholic diocese of Syracuse, 76. . . Ira Haworth, known as the "grandfather" of the Republican party in Illinois, 85.

August 8.—Gen. Cincinnatus Leconte, President of Haiti. . . Isaac Nelson Ford, London correspondent of the *New York Tribune* 64. . . Dr. Frederick Earl Beal, professor of physical diagnosis at the Polyclinic Hospital, New York, 44.

August 9.—Rev. Alexander P. Doyle, a widely known member of the Paulist Fathers, 55.

August 10.—Lewis Ormond Brastow, formerly dean of the Yale Divinity School, 78.

August 13.—Julien Emile Frederic Massenet, the noted French composer, 70 (see page 287). . . Dr. Horace Howard Furness, of Philadelphia, the well-known Shakespearean scholar, 78 (see page 287). . . John McClure Wiley, a former member of Congress from New York, 70. . . Dr. T. B. McClintic, of the Public Health and Marine Hospital Service, 37.

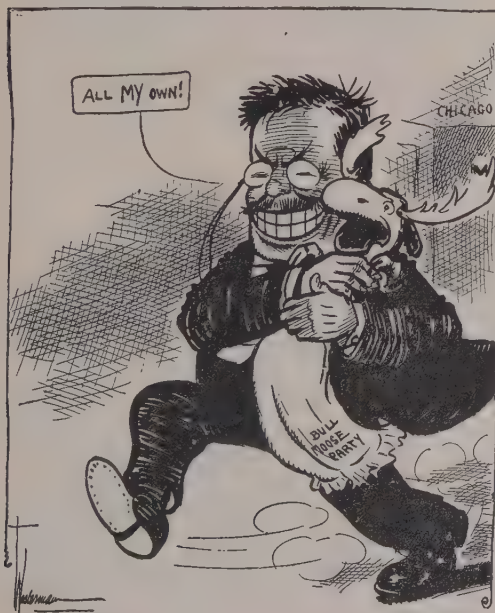
CARTOONS OF THE MONTH



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THE CHALLENGE
(Adapted from Landseer)
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)

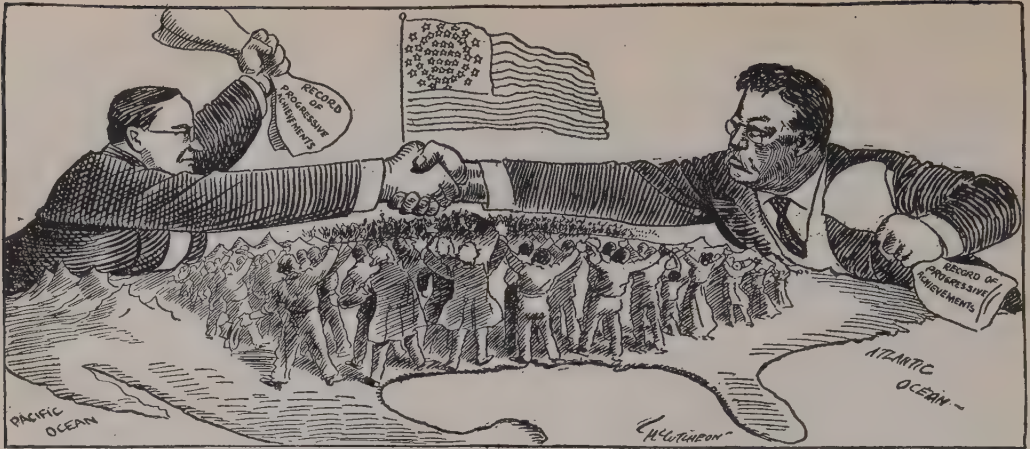
THE great political event of last month was the Progressive convention at Chicago. With the formal birth of the new party, its platform and ticket for the Presidential campaign were launched. Thus the "Bull Moose" (which has come to be the popular designation of the Progressive party) has issued its challenge to its rivals—the G. O. P. elephant and the Democratic donkey. The moose, by the way, with its free spirit, its splendid physique and handsome horns, makes a strong appeal to the cartoonists as a sturdy American animal. It is not a bad party emblem.



AT LAST, T. R. HAS A PARTY ALL HIS OWN
From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus)



FROM THE COCOON TO THE BUTTERFLY
From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland)



Copyright by John T. McCutcheon ROOSEVELT AND JOHNSON—HANDS ACROSS THE CONTINENT
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)



BUTTIN' IN

Teddy gets into the game—and he's got a chip on his shoulder too!

From the *Star* (Indianapolis)



THE NOTIFICATION COMMITTEE DID NOT WAIT
UNTIL AFTER THE CONVENTION
From the *Post* (Pittsburgh)



"THE I'S HAVE IT"

From the *Advertiser* (Montgomery)



"THERE NEVER WAS A FIGHT BETTER WORTH MAKING
THAN THE ONE IN WHICH WE ARE ENGAGED"

—COLONEL ROOSEVELT

From the *Spokesman-Review* (Spokane)



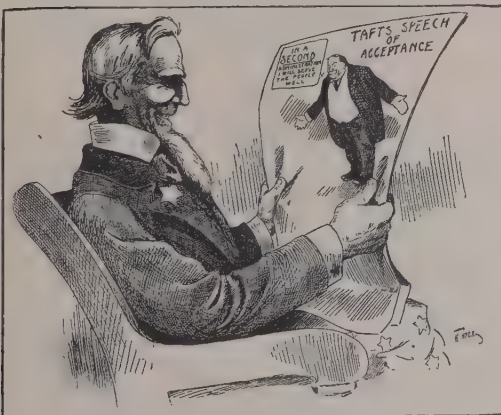
THE PRESIDENT: "JUST MY LUCK, BLAME IT ALL"
From the Register and Leader (Des Moines)



PLEASE ACCEPT THIS BEAUTIFUL BOUQUET
(Referring to the notification of President Taft of his nomination)
From the Jersey Journal (Jersey City)



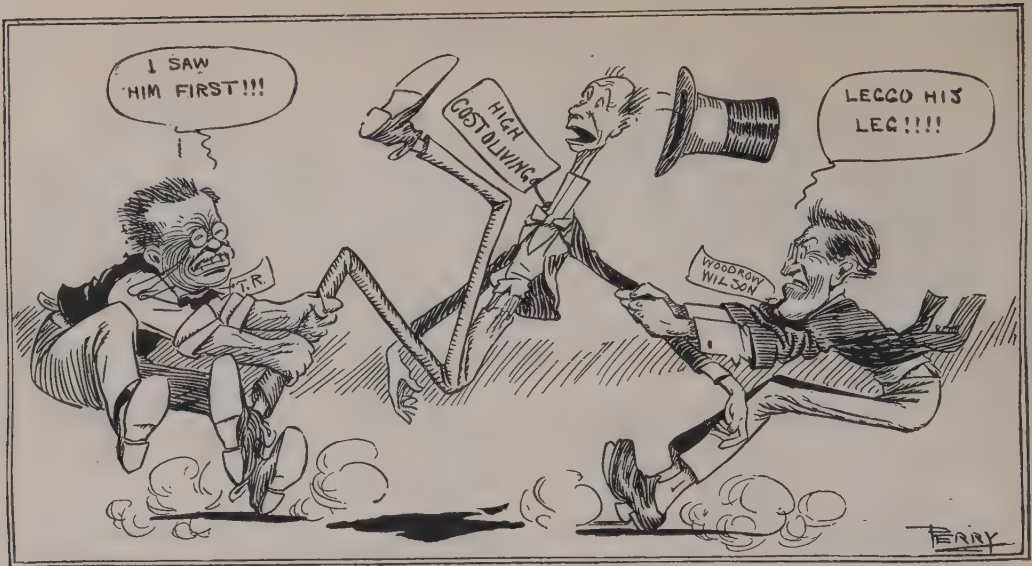
A FINE DISCRIMINATION (AGAINST BARNES)
From the Associated Newspapers (New York)



SMILES!
"In a second administration I will serve the people well"
From the Post (Pittsburgh)



HE HAS ONE FRIEND, ANYWAY
From the Pioneer Press (St. Paul)



BOTH KNOW A GOOD CAMPAIGN ISSUE
From the *Journal* (Sioux City)



"AW, WHO WANTS A DURN SCHOOL TEACHER FUR PRESIDENT?" From the *Advertiser* (Montgomery)



"GO AS FAR AS YOU LIKE, PROFESSOR"
From the *Star* (Indianapolis)



AN' OL' BRER WOODROW, HE DON'T KNOW WHICH END
TO COME OUT
From the *Herald* (New York)



THEY'RE OFF!

From the *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City)



DESERTED

From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus)



AN UNCOMFORTABLE POSITION FOR THE CONGRESSMAN
From the *Journal* (Sioux City)



THE DOUBLE-RIDING STUNT
From the *News* (Dayton)



THE OHIO G. O. P.: "SAY, WHERE AM I?"
From the *Dispatch* (Columbus)



INDIANA'S NEW LOVE
From the Star (Indianapolis)

Indiana, although represented at the Republican convention largely by Taft delegates, seems to be developing a strong affection for her new "Progressive" partner, the "Bull Moose." The chase of the voter is now on, and this month of September will see the contest beginning to wax warm. It is reported that Mr. Bryan, in his speaking tour, will follow closely on the heels of Mr. Roosevelt.



THE CHASE FOR THE VOTER IS ON
From the News (South Bend)



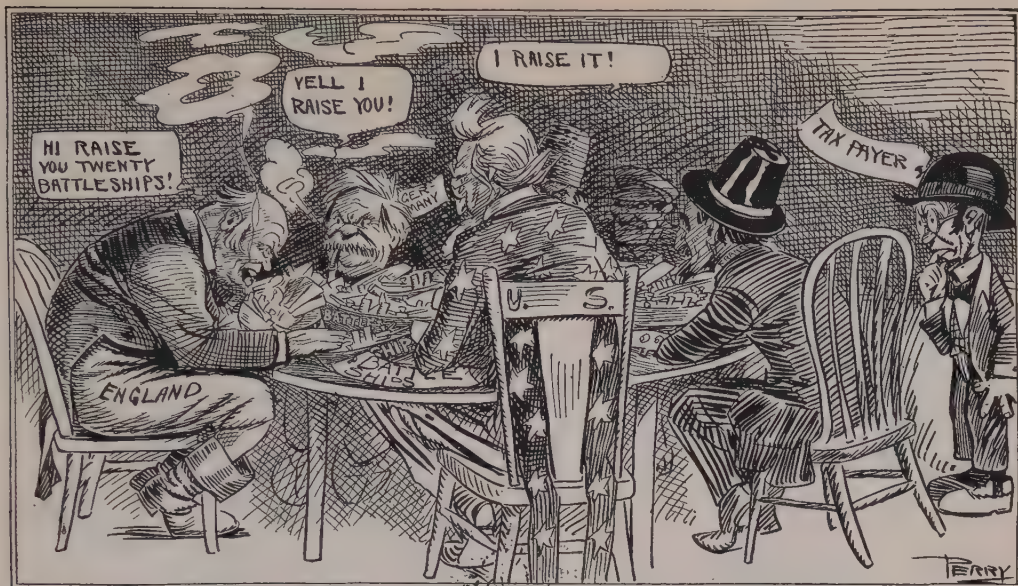
COÖPERATION BETWEEN BRYAN AND WILSON
From the Dispatch (Columbus)



HOW TOUCHING!
From the Ohio State Journal (Columbus)



T. R.'S "CONFESSION OF FAITH"
From the Pioneer Press (St. Paul)



TAXPAYER: "GOSH! ISN'T THERE ANY LIMIT TO THIS NAVAL GAME?"

From the Journal (Sioux City)

Naval construction programs continue. England plans a fleet of new ships and Germany quickly follows, with other nations panting along in the rear. The Peace Angel, fortunately, is not as yet harmed, but she really fears she may be, when her champions quarrel about defending her. Peace—as a dove—is glad to receive a few dollars for her support, but the tremendous naval appropriations completely submerge her.



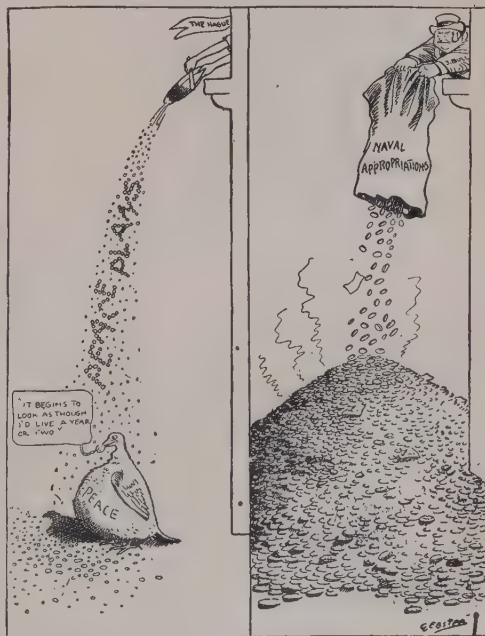
PEACEFUL PROVOCATION

GERMANY (challenging): "At all costs, I shall defend this lady (Peace)."

BRITAIN (calmly): "Same here, and a bit more."

PEACE: "Well, let's hope they won't quarrel, or there will be an end of me."

From Punch (London)



THE POOR PEACE DOVE

(One day it's milk and honey, and the next—it's naval appropriations!)

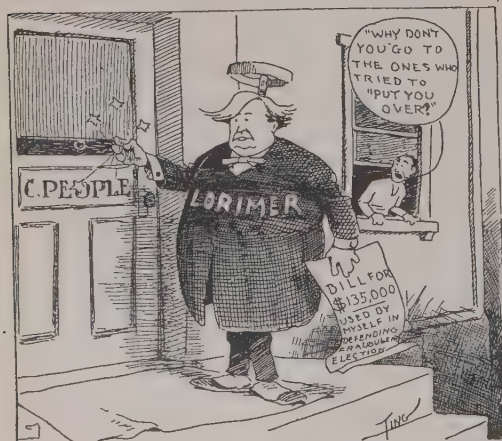
From the Globe (New York)



STARTING SOMETHING FOR EFFECT
From the *Dispatch* (Columbus)



THE BULLY AGAIN NEEDS ATTENTION
From the *Register and Leader* (Des Moines)

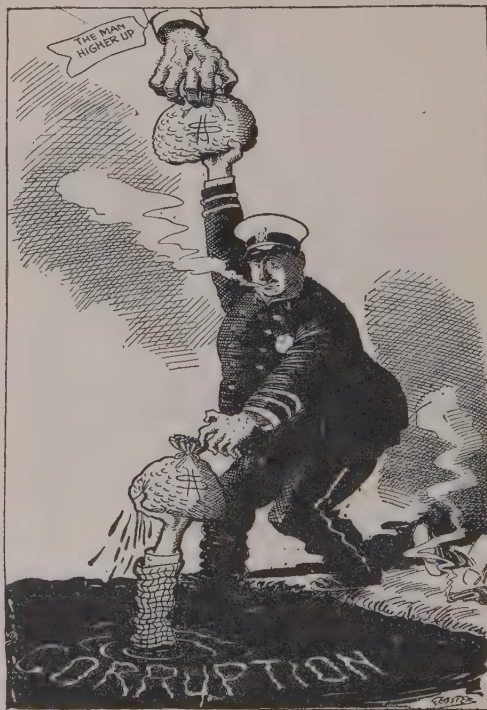


WILL HE COLLECT?
From the *Tribune* (South Bend)



CUTTING A MELON
From the *News-Tribune* (Duluth)

A variety of topics are touched on in the cartoons on this page,—the reassertion or extension of the Monroe Doctrine by the Lodge resolution, the expected large crops, the Mexican disturbance, and the New York police situation.



WHOSE HAND?
From the *Globe* (New York)



BIG MAN, BIG JOB, LITTLE GUN
From the *Oregonian* (Portland)

Uncle Sam, attempting to defend his Monroe Doctrine with an inadequate navy, is in the position of a big man, with a big job, but a mighty small gun. Several of the cartoons here shown relate to the Panama Canal, which came up prominently in Congress last month.



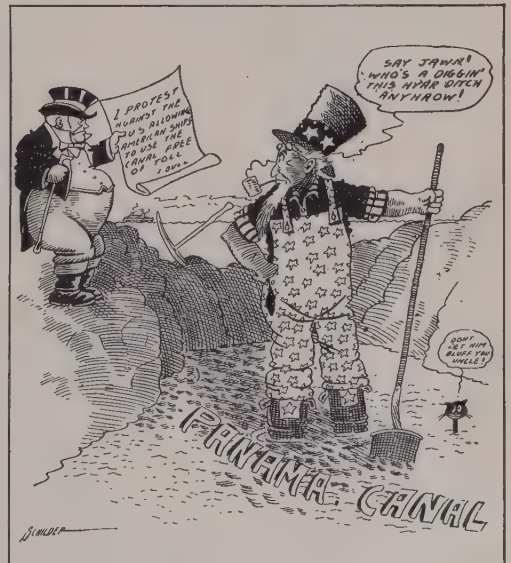
DISHONORING HIS OWN SIGNATURE
From the *Star* (Montreal)



AN OLD TRICK
From the *News* (Dayton)



HIS HAT (MONROE DOCTRINE) IS IN THE RING
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)



JOHN THINKS HE'S ABUSED
From the *Star* (Indianapolis)



PATCHING UP THE CRESCENT

(Sultan Mehmed V trying to repair the breaches in his polyglot empire)—From *Kikeriki* (Vienna)



RUSSIA'S TENDER SYMPATHY FOR THE TURK

(A news item reports Russia's policy to be to put its strong arms under Turkey and support her. This is *Kikeriki's* (Vienna) notion of the "support")



WHY ENGLAND IS PREOCCUPIED

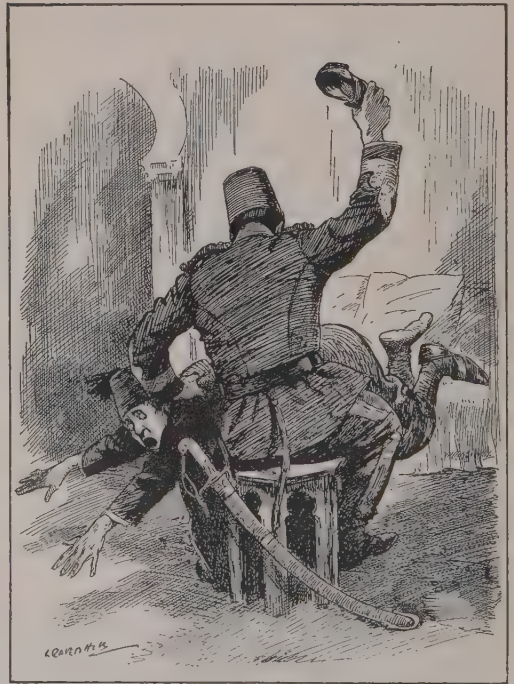
(The cartoonist of *Fischietto* [Turin] pictures England as borne down by taxes to support her navy)



MAINTAINING THE EUROPEAN STATUS QUO

(At the recent meeting of the German Kaiser and the Russian Czar at Baltischport, it was agreed,—so the Continental journalists tell us,—that these two monarchs would maintain the present balance in Europe. The cartoonist shows them balancing the continent)

From *Ulk* (Berlin)



A DOMESTIC TRIUMPH

TURKISH MILITARY PARTY (celebrating its victory over the Young Turk cabinet): "Ah, if this were only Italy!"

From *Punch* (London)

(Referring to the downfall of the Young Turk ministry last month,—for details of which see editorial paragraphs)

THE KEYNOTE OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S CHARACTER

BY A COLLEGE CLASSMATE

THE fundamental trait in Theodore Roosevelt's character is an earnest sincerity; he had this in his youth and has it to-day. *Fiat justitia ruat coelum.* Despite accusations of political rivals the fact remains; as a child, and as a youth in college, eager in his acquisition of facts, absorbed in his studies of geology and zoölogy, he manifested the same love of reality which, later in life, crystallized in his demand for "a square deal." This demand is only the application, in the field of human conduct, of the principles which he evinced in his study of the natural sciences.

The first time I saw him was in the transept of Memorial Hall, at Harvard, where he was holding his own, in a group of four, in the discussion of some question of athletics. Little did he himself look the athlete,—pallid, near-sighted, thin-chested, spindle-legged; but, as we early found out, on the football field and in the sparring-bouts, his frail body held an iron will. Game he was, to his last ounce of strength; a true sportsman always; and when W—, in the sparring contest, struck him after "time" had been called, and the crowd howled in protest at the "foul" blow, Roosevelt, with nose bleeding, shouted to the referee: "Don't rule him out! He didn't hear you. He couldn't have; he's all right." Then the anger of the crowd turned to admiration, and cheers went up for "Teddy Roosevelt."

His devotion to truth—as also his disregard of scholarship marks—was evident to classmates many a time as they met and frolicked in some student's room, Roosevelt sitting oblivious through it all, absorbed in some line of reading, perhaps quite outside the prescribed courses of study.

From the first he sought to remedy defects in himself—yes, and in others—in the most direct and effective way. In his Freshman year, when "tights" and "trunks" revealed his slenderness of calf and thigh, he procured a jumping-rope, and used it daily; his example was infectious, and a large number of students took up the exercise. Just what good they got from it I know not, but Roosevelt gained—what he was to need, greatly, in later life, in his fearless campaigns for

reform and progress—two good sturdy legs to stand upon.

Roosevelt's devotion to the natural sciences strengthened in him that respect and devotion to truth, reality, righteousness, which is fundamental with him. He cared less for philosophy, with its sophistries, and art, with its vagaries, than for the inflexible, inviolable truths taught by the exact sciences. His application to mathematics was an acquired taste, for discipline's sake; yet its eternal verities appealed to his nature—essentially a devout nature—like messages from "the God of things as they are."

Roosevelt's conquest of his physical defects, and his upbuilding of that corporeal frame which has stood him in such good stead through the stress and storm of public life—this has been a marvelous triumph of intelligence and will, a veritable victory of spirit over matter; and it carries ethical and sociological suggestions which cannot be developed in this article.

The ancient Greeks dealt in a summary fashion with weak and disabled infants; if a similar method had been followed in modern times, the world would never have heard of Alexander Pope, and the United States would have lacked Theodore Roosevelt.

Roosevelt has been called, frequently, by foes as well as by friends, a man of wonderful political sagacity. This astuteness of his is not the natural predilection of an insincere character; it is the application, to one field of action, of a phenomenally eager and earnest mind. If he had gone into academic or industrial pursuits his extraordinary powers of perspicacity and application would have put him in the lead. His natural diathesis is one of guilelessness; his mastery of the technique of statesmanship is a simple case of "protective coloration," accessory to his aims but not vital to his character. He has never taken practical heed of Talleyrand's "mot" that "speech is given man to conceal his thought"; nor does he follow that monumental Machiavellian maxim of Bismarck's and "speak the truth in a hesitating manner," but he speaks it frankly, boldly, as it is given him in that hour; and, in some later hour, if

his understanding of the subject has changed, he utters his revised opinion, then and there, with entire candor. This characteristic puzzles the politicians. A portrait painter, who was allowed to set up his easel in Roosevelt's office, at the White House, and "catch" the then President as best he might, has told me that he was vastly amused at the confusion exhibited by many office-seekers and lobbyists, as they tried to get ear of the President "in strict privacy, sir, on a very special matter."

"Speak out, my dear sir!" Roosevelt replied, in scores of cases. "You can say anything you wish, just as we are." And the visitor, with furtive glances toward the artist, would perforce unfold his request as best he could.

It is this essential sincerity of our great American that wins him votes when he addresses an audience. It was said of Abraham Lincoln that once, by a speech at Manchester, New Hampshire, he gained for himself 120 votes. And Theodore Roosevelt, with few of the graces of conventional oratory, but with Lincoln's earnestness and directness, is a convincing and persuasive speaker.

One of Roosevelt's great assets, as a candidate for popular suffrage, is his fearlessness,—physical, intellectual, and moral. His career at college prophesied the splendid courage of his subsequent public life; in sports, especially in sparring, he would face any antagonist, however unequal the contest, and, if worsted, accept the decision without a grumble, and usually with a smile. In the classroom he always followed the instructor's line of thought to its ultimate; if any point had not been made evident, he asked question after question until all was clear to him. At first, certain instructors thought this ceaseless questioning a sign of dulness; later they learned that while many of the class were letting obscure explanations pass, half-grasped, Roosevelt wished the whole truth.

The little that young Roosevelt wrote for the college publications shows the moral factor very prominent. He was much influenced, himself, by the simple test, "Is this measure just?" "Is this thing right?" And he was sometimes greatly puzzled because some of his college mates did not put equal stress upon the "right" of the case.

While an undergraduate at Harvard, Roosevelt became a Sunday-school teacher, in a church near the college. He was put in charge of a class of boys. One Sunday a boy appeared with his eye somewhat discolored. "What is the matter, Tommy, with your

eye?" asked his teacher. And the boy replied reluctantly that Billy Brown had struck him.

On further inquiry by the teacher, Tommy stated that Billy had pinched his (Tommy's) sister. "I told him not to do that again," said Tommy, "and he did it again; then—then we had a fight." The collegian-teacher reflected, and then gave judgment. "It is wrong, very wrong for boys to fight, Tommy; but, Tommy, you might take this!" And he gave the chivalrous youngster a half-dollar.

This judgment in equity foreshadowed Roosevelt's position about all courts; he would have the literal judgment modified by extenuating circumstances, technicalities ameliorated by considerations of individual rights.

Theodore Roosevelt has the courage of his convictions; he reasons rapidly, he feels quickly and intensely, and he acts promptly. One night, in 1878, the half-dozen students who roomed, as did he, in a private dwelling in Cambridge, were aroused by the neighing of a horse in an adjacent stable. The animal's cries indicated distress. The young fellows called to one another, from their rooms, and, after some debate, two of them donned their garments and went down stairs and across to the stable. When they reached the place they found Roosevelt, in night clothes, struggling to get the animal's leg out of a hole in the partition. Always prompt to act, having heard the horse's cries, he had gone at once out of his window in the second story, climbed down a waterspout, and set about relieving the distressed animal.

That act was a prototype of many of his subsequent acts; he has mastered inertia, abhorred needless delays, and thrown himself unaided into many reforms, relying only on his own unclouded heart of sympathy, and the might of right, as he saw it. Who that witnessed it can forget his splendid daring in his address on Commencement Day in 1905? An assemblage of nine hundred men, chiefly lawyers, in Memorial Hall, and our class of '80, twenty-five years out of college. Roosevelt read a carefully prepared address, which was repeatedly applauded. At one point he spoke this sentence: "What a pity it is that so large a proportion of our college men, after graduating from law-schools, go out into the world, to steer corporations and trusts as near the edge of criminality as possible, without quite going over it!"

As the intrepid speaker paused, an ominous silence settled over that very legal assembly; whereupon Roosevelt lowered his manuscript

and remarked, with his characteristic smile, "The applause seems somewhat lukewarm at this point; I will repeat that last sentence." And he did it; and the dauntless daring of the man drew a loud outburst of applause.

This was the same virile courage, beloved of man and woman, which he manifested several years later, at Denver, before a strongly "Silver" audience. "I am for gold," said Roosevelt, as the audience quieted, after their hearty welcome.

At once a tumult of hostility broke out,—cries, catcalls, whistles and the like; it lasted several minutes, and was distinctly coercive. But no sooner did it die down enough to allow Roosevelt to be heard than he called out, "I'm for gold, just the same." No wonder that the fearless spirit of the man brought that audience under his will.

And at that other public meeting, where stout-hearted Judge Ben Lindsey, of "Juvenile Court" fame, should rightfully have been given a seat upon the platform, Mr. Roosevelt, the guest, glanced about him and noted the judge's absence; then he asked the reason for it, and some lame excuse was given; whereupon he spoke, "Unless Judge Lindsey is brought upon the platform to-night, I go off it." And the committee knew that he would keep his word; they knew he would do the very "erratic" and "rude" thing of leaving the house and its expectant multitude without a word from him, if the "just little judge" was not brought forward; and they escorted Judge Lindsey, promptly, to the platform.

These are examples of the vigorous aggressive righteousness, the "little heroics amid our commonplaces," which stir men's hearts to admiration; and their loyalty to Theodore Roosevelt is vital. Thousands of citizens who are fully aware of this man's defects are aware also that every man is imperfect, and that this great man must be allowed "the faults of his qualities."

Little as the matter has been emphasized, it is true that Mr. Roosevelt's phenomenal love of struggle and strife is one of his greatest assets as a reformer and a "Progressive." He is not only courageous, he is distinctly pugnacious; he "scents the battle afar," and gets into it if he can, and always on the side of "right" as he sees it. Other Presidents of the United States have mildly preferred the right to the wrong, in most exigencies; and they have been willing to fight "graft" and other

iniquities, with moderate energy, for a limited period of time; but Roosevelt will fight whatever seems to him iniquitous or ill-advised, at any hour of the day or night, and continue the contest—as he did in his sparring-bouts at college—so long as he has an atom of strength left in him. Fighting, on the whole, seems to keep his robust spirit, in its now robust physical frame, in prime condition; he thrives on it; and such a temperament as this is a priceless asset in the chief-magistrate of our strenuous nation, in this strenuous age.

That is a significant sentence, in Chittenden's "Memoirs of Abraham Lincoln," where the writer confesses, naively, "If I had only known, when I was with Mr. Lincoln so intimately, how great he was, I could have set down many more of his words and acts than I have done." That has often been the case with diarists and annalists; familiarity has bred—if not contempt—at least indifference; it was much to Boswell's credit that he "knew a great man when he saw him." Many people do not; they need to stare at post-mortem wreaths and tablets before they recognize greatness. And Theodore Roosevelt is one of the world's greatest men to-day; probably he is the one greatest and truest democrat, among the democratic and republican multitudes of earth; for a democratic spirit is not shown by boorishness, by crudity of address or manner, or by a defiance of conventional manners and customs; it is shown by a man's sympathetic outlook upon his fellow men; by his readiness and even eagerness to find points in common between the "masses" and himself; the essential of a truly democratic spirit is its synthetic attitude toward men and women apparently dissimilar from itself. This is the high-grade test which tarnishes much pinchbeck metal, but brings out the pure gold of Theodore Roosevelt's broad, generous character with new luster. The enthusiastic Texan cowboy declared that his county could not only return a Presidential vote for Colonel Roosevelt, but it could even make him sheriff of the county itself. This last was the hardest test; it implied that power of personality which has always been characteristic of the world's greatest leaders of affairs; and this power is strongly marked in Theodore Roosevelt, the foremost living man of his nation and the world.

BRADLEY GILMAN.





HIRAM JOHNSON, POLITICAL REVIVALIST

OVER the heads of the two candidates nominated for President and Vice-President of the United States at Chicago, on August 7, was a huge banner inscribed:

ROOSEVELT AND JOHNSON
NEW YORK AND CALIFORNIA
HANDS ACROSS THE CONTINENT

Also the verse from Kipling:

For there is neither East nor West,
Border, nor breed, nor birth,
When two strong men stand face to face,
Though they come from the ends of the earth.

Theodore Roosevelt and his strength we know. Of Hiram W. Johnson, Governor of California and Vice-Presidential nominee of the Progressive party, the country has only begun to hear.

Ever since the beginning of the Presidential primary campaign in California, the finger of destiny seemed to point to Governor Johnson, calling upon him to take second place with Theodore Roosevelt and to spread his presence and his great voice all over the country.

Hiram Johnson is a simon-pure product of the Golden West, square-jawed, rough and ready, a political fighting man who burst above the horizon of 1910, when he made his campaign for Governor of California against the political machine of the Southern Pacific Railroad. He won by a majority of more than 22,000 votes.

Out in California they say that he has Johnsonized the State and they like him immensely. He knows well, better than any other living man perhaps, the old order of things that has ruled the West politically.

Before the Taft convention at Chicago, the *California Outlook*, a Progressive weekly of Los Angeles and San Francisco, in a number booming Johnson for the Vice-Presidential candidacy, published an article by Francis J. Heney, graft-hunter of California, setting forth Johnson's qualifications. For the first time in the history of the nation, Mr. Heney pointed out, the Atlantic coast would be joining hands across the continent with the Pacific coast. Furthermore, the Progressive movement, so called, was born in the West, and it would be meet that a Western man should back up Roosevelt. Johnson, continued Mr. Heney, "possesses a clear conception of the causes which lie back of the defects of the old machinery of government, and of the modern remedies which he, more than any other man, caused to be adopted in California for the removal of the causes of such defects. No speaker whom I have heard can make these things plainer to an audience. Moreover, he understands the social and economic problems which are most urgent, and has already done much, in California, to relieve the pressure of them upon the poor and weak. No speaker can give a clearer exposition of them."

All of Johnson's education and environment tended to keep him in the old régime. His father, Grove L. Johnson, was one of the most adroit members of the California bar, and had been accused of being a tool of the



GOVERNOR HIRAM JOHNSON, OF CALIFORNIA, CANDIDATE OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY FOR THE VICE-PRESIDENCY, ADDRESSING A POLITICAL MEETING

Southern Pacific Railroad. Early in his life Hiram learned all about the science of wire-pulling. Later, as a lawyer, he understood what made the inside wheels of the political machine go round.

It was only slowly that public attention was drawn to this man, who was to so upset California politics. He had held some small municipal position in Sacramento, but his public career may be said to have begun at the time his friend Heney began the graft prosecutions in San Francisco. After some work with Heney, Johnson dropped out. Friends endeavored to win him back, but he refused. It was the attempt upon Heney's life that made him change his mind. One day, while a lawyer acquaintance was arguing the case with him, the door of the office opened and, according to P. C. Macfarland, writing in the *Metropolitan Magazine*, the following dramatic scene ensued:

While the two men gazed at each other in a sort of stubborn silence the tinkle of a telephone bell sounded faintly in the adjoining room, followed

by a muffled exclamation. The door opened softly a moment later. Johnson's private secretary, Dennis Duffy, pale and disturbed, stood before them.

"Heney has been shot down in open court," he gasped.

Sullivan glanced at the pale-faced secretary and then looked at the face of Johnson and noted that it was even paler.

"Are you sure?" Johnson inquired anxiously.

"The report has been confirmed," said the secretary.

Sullivan is a man who knows how to keep silent. He had not uttered a word. Only he looked questioninglly at Johnson.

"That settles it!" exclaimed Johnson, with a gesture of finality. "I don't want any fee. I'll take up the case with you, Sullivan. We will finish Heney's work for him. We will send Abe Ruef to jail."

As the whole country knows, Johnson was as good as his word.

As a result of the graft prosecutions, the State League of Justice unanimously selected him as its candidate for Governor. He did not want to accept. In fact, the Progressives all over the State were stirring before he agreed to lead them. It was Heney who finally persuaded him. He made a seven months' campaign of the State, going to every hamlet and village in his automobile. The campaign was unprecedented in the history of California. His one issue was the grasp of the Southern Pacific machine on the State. His task was to convince the people that he could break it; to convince them he had to see them. California is more than 800 miles long and 300 miles wide. But Johnson took his automobile and went the rounds. The first inkling that the villagers and farmers would have of his approach would be the sound of the cowbells he had strung to his motor car. He hammered away on the one issue, and closed nearly every speech by saying:

"And remember this, my friends: I am going to be the next Governor of California; and when I am, I am going to kick out of this government William F. Herrin and the Southern Pacific Railroad. Good night!"

At first the opposition did not notice that the big man in the little automobile was making converts rapidly. When they did wake up, there was no stopping him. The votes were counted, and Johnson's majority was more than 22,000. In his inaugural address he told the legislators that if they did not fulfill to the letter all the promises of their platform, he would personally go into every district and hold each member up to the fire of his constituents. He put out of office every official suspected of an alliance with the big corporate interests. He got through the Legislature twenty-three amendments to the State constitution, and had nearly all of them approved by the people in the election that followed.

The direct State primary law of 1909 was passed by the Legislature, although at that time of reactionary tendencies, by the force of public opinion, engineered by Governor Johnson. In accordance with this law the people of the State voted upon the question of sending delegates to the national nominating convention of 1912, and at the same time the Progressives found themselves in possession of the government of the State. Governor Johnson controlled the situation in his State; but believing, as he always has, in the will of the people, in the latter part of 1911 he called an extra session of the Legislature and brought about the enactment of a Presidential preference primary law (a law, by the way, which was clearly to the advantage of the stand-pat Republicans, since it gave them an opportunity to stand up and be counted). It was under this law that the voters of the State expressed their opinion upon the candidacies of Theodore Roosevelt and President Taft. On May 14 the result was a majority of 77,000 votes for Colonel Roosevelt. The story of the California contest at the Chicago convention of June 18, of how the delegation of 26 elected at large by the decisive majority for Roosevelt was changed into 24 for Roosevelt and 2 for Taft by the National Committee, on alleged evidence repudiated by California, has been set forth in the daily press. It was vigorously told to the people of California by Governor Johnson himself. "I object," he shouted at Chicago, "to having California's title to rightful goods stolen from her, determined by those who stole the goods." It was in June, at Chicago, that Johnson first secured widespread recognition for his fighting voice. Those who attended that convention can never forget that voice. They agree that, in the words of an editorial in *Current Literature*,

The first notes of his voice keyed up your nerves to a fighting pitch. We can't imagine anyone's listening to Johnson for five minutes without wanting to fight—either to fight with him or to fight against him. His voice sounds just as an east wind feels. It grates and snarls and pierces, and puts you all on edge. The whole man goes with the voice. Every posture and gesture is one of intensity. His hands are nearly always clenched. His jaw, a good strong fighting jaw, is set. His muscles are tense. He talks rapidly and with no gradations of volume or tone, without any embellishments of rhetoric, without any appearance of self-consciousness. He gives you the impression of a man carried away entirely on the flood of his own feelings.

Johnson in action has been called (by a writer in *McClure's*) "a political revivalist, a moral fervor fusing his audience into an almost spiritual frenzy." As to how he looks

when speaking, we find this characterization by Edmund Norton, in *La Follette's*:

He stands there, flat-founded on the platform, square-shouldered, short-necked, deep-chested, and slightly rotund—very much like a boxer ready for the bout. . . . Johnson gesticulates very little, but when he does, "Every little movement has a meaning of its own." Sometimes he shoves a thought out with a closed left fist; then with a clenched right fist; now with both hands he shoves it into place—where he means it to stay. He is a mechanic, a constructor; and—is he an idealist? Wait and we shall see. Then he hammers the thing down, as on an anvil; fashioning it; first one fist, then the other, and finally both, as if tamping the roadbed solid for the coming of the freight.

Johnson is elemental. He gives immediate opinions and calls for immediate action. Despite his legal training and attainments, says Congressman William Kent, of California, writing in the *Outlook*, "he has much more the attitude of an Arab sheik rendering justice off-hand from under a palm-tree than of a conventional 'civilized' judge scraping dust and cobwebs from musty precedent before expressing an opinion."

Johnson is a Progressive who believes in all the things that Colonel Roosevelt believes in. He is of the Roosevelt stripe. In the course of his speech accepting the nomination of the Progressive party for President, on August 7, Colonel Roosevelt said:

I have a peculiar feeling toward Governor Johnson. Almost two years ago, after the elections of 1910, when what I had striven to accomplish in New York had come to nothing, and when my friends, the enemy, exulted—possibly prematurely—over what had befallen me, Governor Johnson, in the flush of his own triumph, having just won out, wrote me a letter which I shall hand on to my children and children's children because of what the letter contained and because of the man who wrote it; a letter of trust and belief, a letter of ardent championship from the soldier who was at the moment victorious, toward his comrade who at the moment had been struck down. In Governor Johnson we have a man whose every word is made good by the deeds that he had done. The man who as the head of a great State has practically applied in that State for the benefit of the



A SNAPSHOT OF GOVERNOR JOHNSON AT CHICAGO IN AUGUST

people of that State the principles which we intend to apply throughout the Union as a whole. We have nominated the only type of man who ever ought to be nominated for the Vice Presidency; we have nominated a man fit at the moment to be President of the United States.

No man throughout the entire western land, says the *Los Angeles Express*, editorially, has achieved such tremendous results for all the people as has Governor Johnson of California. His leadership "redeemed the State from machine government and railroad oligarchy. He literally freed the people from a tyranny of misrule unequalled in the annals of State history and gave back to California "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

He is a strong man, a full-sized man, fit to stand beside Colonel Roosevelt in his task of winning the government of America back to its people.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

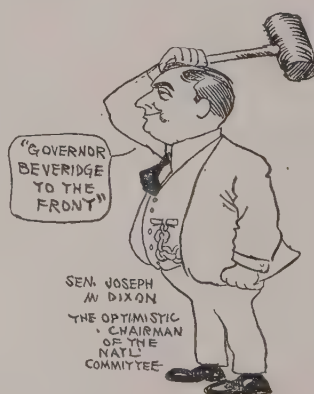
COLONEL ROOSEVELT ADDRESSING THE PEOPLE IN FRONT OF THE CONGRESS HOTEL ON HIS ARRIVAL AT CHICAGO ON AUGUST 5

THE PROGRESSIVES AT CHICAGO

BY WILLIAM MENKEL

CHICAGO has been the scene of many political gatherings, but never of one like that of August 5, 6, and 7 last. The nearest approach to it was probably the convention that nominated Lincoln in 1860. Some two thousand men and women, moved by the new "progressive" spirit, came together in that city from all parts of the country, constituting what might well be called a "committee on the State of the Union." The occasion was, of course, a political convention, and the members of the gathering had been duly elected delegates; but how different this from the ordinary political convention. "A family reunion," some called it; "a prayer meeting," said others. It really was much like a gigantic revival meeting, with its old-fashioned enthusiasm, its prayers, hymn-singing, patriotic songs, and all the inspiration and fervor of a great body of earnest people moved by a common cause. And such a cause—not the perfunctory rati-

fication of a prearranged program of party bosses, with the object of winning a purely partisan victory; but the aroused determination of earnest, God-fearing citizens to make their government truly the servant of the people and their country a better place in which to live.



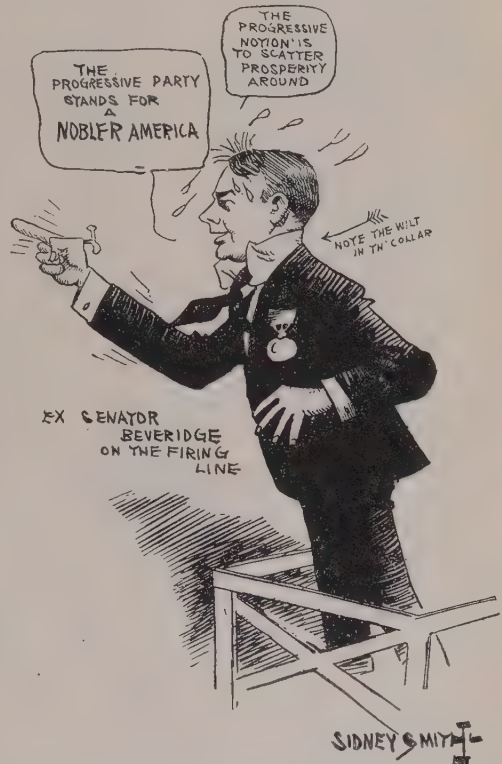
And how different these delegates from those ordinarily assembled at political conventions. "Not a saloon-keeper in the crowd" commented a newspaperman. Here indeed was a far truer and broader representation of

American citizenship than is usual at political conventions. Many of these people had never before taken part in politics. Nor was it the motley crew of malcontents that gathered with David in the cave of Adullam. In the place of the usual party workers and convention "rounders" there were the plain American business man, clean-cut and successful looking,—assuredly not the type of individual who accepts a gold brick either in business or politics,—the farmer, the manufacturer, the minister, the doctor, and, of course, the lawyer. Prominent, also, were the teacher, the sociologist, and "uplifters" of various sorts. Nor could these people be classed as cranks or impractical idealists, riding impossible hobbies. They were men and women who had labored long and ardently for social and industrial betterment, and their opinions were the result of knowledge and experience. Women delegates were present to the number of more than a score, among them such prominent social workers as Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, Chicago, Mrs. William Grant Brown, Miss Mary Drier, and Miss Frances Kellor, of New York, and Miss Helen Temple Cook, of Dana Hall, Wellesley, Miss Alice G. Carpenter, and Mrs. Lewis J. Johnson, of Massachusetts, and others.

It was a sort of plain folks' convention, too. The galleries were noticeably lacking in the usual array of the families of officialdom and protégés of plutocracy. The great Roosevelt States had the place of honor in the front row—California and Pennsylvania on oneside and Ohio and Illinois on the other. New York also had her usual place down front next the center aisle. The Washington delegates proudly wore badges announcing that they had "come back" (this delegation had been thrown out of the Republican convention). Other States that also "came back"—and were vociferously glad of it—were Texas and Arizona.

Although this was the first national gathering of a new party, there was nothing ama-

teurish about it. The arrangements were perfect and business was transacted in a most orderly manner,—Chairman Beveridge, by the way, discharging his duties with courtesy, dignity, and dispatch. It was, in fact, a real convention, and one that would have done credit to the best efforts of those who



WM. A
PRENDERGAST
FROM N.Y.
WAS
ONE OF THE
BEST LITTLE
LISTENERS
THERE



have been managing these affairs for the old parties for many years. The interior of the great Coliseum differed in some details as between this occasion and the convention of six weeks ago. For instance, adorning the guest box over the main entrance was a large handsome moose head, which certainly was not there at the time of the Republican convention. Also, there seemed to be present only a fraction of that immense army of policemen that had been detailed to the scene on the former occasion for the purpose of preventing stampedes or riots! The convention hall was a vast patriotic picture. Hundreds of American flags hung from the girders of the roof and the balconies were draped with bunting. At the other convention, the intense factional feeling made it seem prudent to omit the pictures of famous statesmen from the decorations of the hall. This time, however, the delegates and spectators gazed at the portraits of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln



GEORGE W. PERKINS.

feature was the great sounding board suspended above the platform—a decided improvement and most necessary in such a huge hall.

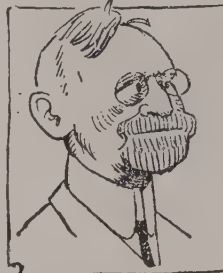
The "show" was exceedingly well staged. There were many dramatic features. To the right of the platform, in plain sight of all, was the little group of G. A. R. veterans, with their fifes and drums. There was the one-armed Confederate veteran carrying four bullets in his body (as duly announced) who made one of the seconding speeches. The high-perched band dispensed patriotic music with the startling novelty of a revolver shot accompaniment to the playing of the "Star-spangled Banner." Boy Scouts were also present, symbolizing, with the veterans, the patriotism of youth and age. Interesting, too, was the unfurling at this convention of the first American flag having the new arrangement of the forty-eight stars, typifying, as Chairman Beveridge said, that the Progressive party is a party of the present and the future. American flags, State flags, and improvised bandana flags were everywhere. California's two banners that had done service at the Republican convention again appeared,—the gold one, inscribed "Let the People Rule" and "76,000 for Roosevelt," and the blue one with the gold Teddy bear at the top, which this time had a bandana pinned across it. Other flags and streamers announced the "Delaware Progressives—Watch us Grow," "Colorado for Roosevelt," and various descriptions breathing defiance to political bosses. "Hat in the Ring" standards also were not lacking. Add to this the whole-souled singing of hymns and pat-

(which were also on the official badges) in the place of honor at the front of the hall, while on one side was Jackson, and on the other side Hamilton. At the rear of the hall was a large portrait of Theodore Roosevelt. Two yellow "Votes for Women" banners hung prominently from the balconies. A new

riotous songs, the waving of thousands of red bandanas, and the cheering of enthusiastic delegations as they stood on chairs or marched through the aisles of the hall, and you have a scene such as is seldom witnessed in any assembly. And such congregational singing as there was there. "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and "Onward, Christian Soldiers" rang out with all the fervor of a great national crisis, while "America," the "Star-spangled Banner," and "Dixie" were repeatedly sung. And these people actually

knew the words of these songs, and of the Lord's Prayer too!

The great feature of the first day's session was the speech of ex-Senator Albert J. Beveridge, of Indiana, as temporary chairman of the convention. It was a magnificent address. Although taking upward of an hour and a half to deliver, it was listened to throughout with the utmost



GEORGE W. KIRCHWAY
OF THE COLUMBIA
UNIVERSITY LAW
SCHOOL
WHO HELPED MAKE
UP THE PLATFORM

attention. From his opening sentence, "We stand for a nobler America," every finely phrased and telling point—and there were many of them—was heartily applauded. Particularly strong was the response to his declaration that the Progressive party would free the South from partisan bondage. His phrase "the invisible government behind our visible government" was caught up and repeated by other speakers. His Progressive motto—"Pass prosperity around"—became instantly popular and appeared the following day on large streamers draped from the balconies. Beveridge's splendid peroration, concluding with a stanza of "The Battle

Hymn of the Republic," thrilled the great gathering and started a tremendous demonstration.

The second day of the convention was marked by the delivery by Colonel Roosevelt



FRED LANDIS
PROGRESSIVE
NOMINEE FOR
LIEUTENANT GOV.
OF IND—



OSCAR
S.
STRAUS

LOANED
DIGNITY TO
ALL THE
SURROUNDING
SCENERY

of his "Confession of faith" address. Mr. Roosevelt had been duly invited by resolution of the convention on the previous day to appear before it. His speech was awaited with keen interest. The appearance of Colonel Roosevelt was the signal for the beginning of a demonstration that lasted almost an hour. The convention, with the coming of its great leader, was now really beginning to "find" itself, and its spirit merged in full and harmonious expression. Chairman Beveridge briefly but impressively presented Colonel Roosevelt to the convention with the words "The hour and the man."

Colonel Roosevelt used a printed copy of his address, but, as usual, he did not hesitate to make interpolations. It was a long address, but the speaker and the subject combined to make every bit of it interesting. With his long and varied experience in public life, and his wide knowledge of American

conditions, he stood there as the very embodiment and exponent of a militant and righteous Americanism. Questions from the floor had no terrors for him. He answered them fully and frankly. Those who expected

him to be embarrassed by a query regarding the negro's relations to the new party were doomed to disappointment, for he met the question squarely and answered it in detail. His stand on all the important questions of the day was heartily approved. Again and again the applause amounted to a demonstration. His designation of the Progressive platform as a "contract with the people of the United States" made a decided hit. Another sentence that struck home was "We intend that the national committee of the new party shall fulfill the functions of a servant and not of a master." "The state law," said he, "will be obeyed, rather than the will of the national committee." "The real danger to special privilege," he declared, "comes from the new party and from the new party alone." A sentence that brought out a storm of applause was "I am advocating a corrective to socialism and an antidote to anarchy." His utterances on the tariff, the trusts, the

Panama Canal, an adequate navy, the minimum wage for women, and woman suffrage were all warmly indorsed.



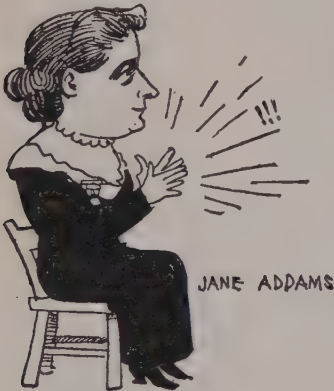
ROOSEVELT WAITING FOR THE STORM OF APPLAUSE TO PASS

The main business of the third day's session was the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President. There was, of course, not a shred of doubt as to who would be chosen to head the ticket. The delegates could hardly restrain their eagerness to get to the business of nominating. A great cheer, therefore, went up when, at the very beginning of the roll call of States was heard the reply, "Alabama gives way to the State of New York," and Mr. William A. Prendergast of that State ascended the platform and in a splendid speech put Colonel Roosevelt in nomination. "My candidate is more than a citizen," declared Mr. Prendergast; "he is a national asset." When he concluded with the words, "I present to you the lion-hearted American" the storm again broke. The band

played, bandanas waved, delegates cheered and shouted, standing on chairs or marching around the hall, and the cry, "We want Teddy," and choruses were raised in various parts of the hall. When order was restored the second speeches began. North and



South, East and West, Union and Confederate veterans, former Democrats and Republicans, united in indorsing the nomination.



Miss Jane Addams was made much of at the convention. She received a tremendous ovation when she arose to second Colonel Roosevelt's nomination. The chairman introduced her as "America's most eminent and most loved woman." Her speech, delivered modestly yet firmly, was brief and keenly to the point, one of the best of the entire convention, in fact. The enthusiasm that was displayed at the close of her speech increased when she took up a large yellow "Votes for Women" banner and led the Illinois delegation in a march around the Hall. Mr. Hamilton, of Georgia, a forceful Southern orator, gave thanks that there was a "Dixie land," because Mr. Roosevelt's mother had been born there, and "if she had not been born there, we would not have the reform we are going to have." General McDowell, of Tennessee, a prominent Confederate veteran, was wildly cheered when he declared, "I am here to second the nomination of a man who can do more to wipe out the sectional lines of this nation than any other." But, as one of the speakers remarked, these seconding speeches were a mere formality, because the entire convention heartily seconded the nomination. No other names were presented and no ballot needed to be taken. Theodore Roosevelt was unanimously acclaimed the candidate of the Progressive party for President.

What uncertainty there had been earlier in the convention's sessions as to who would be the nominee for Vice-President completely disappeared when the nominating speeches began. Governor Johnson, of California, Judge Lindsay, of Colorado, and John M. Parker, of Louisiana, had been mentioned as possibilities, with the tide running strongly to Johnson. When it was seen that Mr. Parker himself made the speech nominating Governor Johnson, and that Judge Lindsay seconded it, it was plainly apparent who the nominee



would be. One of the most popular seconding speeches was that by Mr. Wheeler of Governor Johnson's own State of California, who caught the fancy of the audience when, referring to the fact that the head of the ticket comes from the Atlantic coast and his running mate from the Pacific coast, he ended up with Kipling's lines:

For there is neither East nor West,
Border nor breed nor birth,
When two strong men stand face to face,
Though they come from the ends of the earth.

And indeed these were strong men. Never had such a pair been nominated on any ticket in the history of American politics. Again the nomination was made by acclamation and another demonstration began in which delegates and spectators alike joined in a wonderful tribute to California's popular governor. How different this scene from that which usually

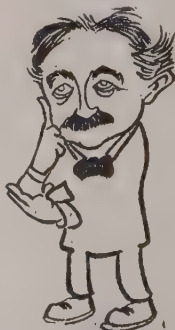
accompanies the nomination of a Vice-President! Often this business is treated as a mere perfunctory detail, the candidate's name being presented to an uninterested and impatient remnant of the delegates. It has even been rumored that at a certain recent convention they almost forgot to nominate a candidate for Vice-President at all. At last the great assembly quieted down again, for it had been

announced that the candidates would shortly appear and accept the nomination right before the assembled convention. This was certainly an interesting innovation. The committee, having duly notified the candi-

dates, they soon stood on the platform facing the large audience. Then came the greatest demonstration of the entire convention: A large banner with the names of the nominees and the lines from Kipling on it was lowered from the rafters. The band played and the bandanas again waved. The people stood up and cheered. Delegations



TWO STALWART PROGRESSIVES
Ex-Governor Fort, of New Jersey, and Governor Vessey,
of South Dakota





Photograph by Burke & Atwell, Chicago

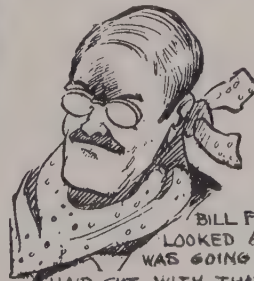
COLONEL ROOSEVELT DELIVERING HIS "CONFESSION OF FAITH" ADDRESS AT THE CONVENTION

marched around the hall singing and shouting to their hearts' content. Frantic yells of "We want Teddy" arose from different parts

of the hall. Civil War veterans, spying each other's G. A. R. buttons, rushed together with effusive greeting. The immense hall full of people seemed to be deliriously and harmoniously happy. Truly this was an outpouring of the spirit, a veritable torrent of fervent enthusiasm, and there were not lacking those whose tears streamed down their cheeks.

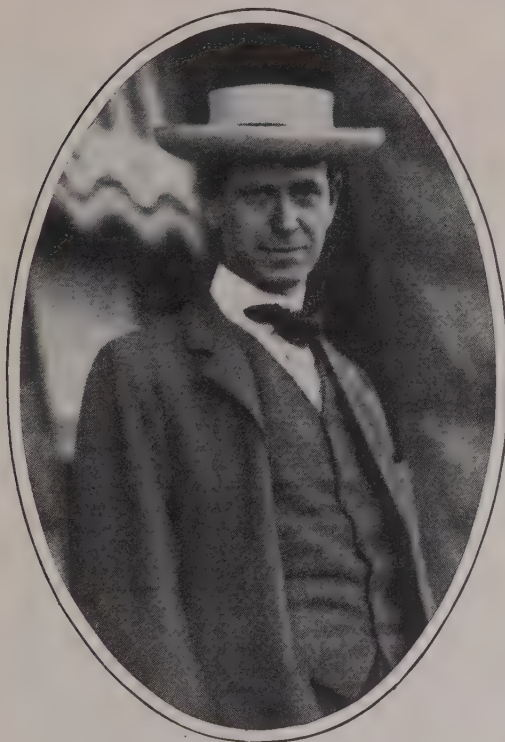
Colonel Roosevelt's speech of acceptance was brief and characteristic. He had been President of the United States and had seen and experienced much, but this, he said, "is the greatest honor of my life," and "of course I accept." He paid a high tribute to his comrade on the ticket, declaring Governor Johnson to be well qualified for the office of the

Presidency itself. Many were present who had not had the privilege of hearing Governor Johnson speak, but these were soon convinced of the



BILL FLINN
LOOKED AS IF HE
WAS GOING TO GET A
HAIR CUT WITH THAT BANDANA

strong and sturdy character and the splendid fighting qualities of California's great governor. He provoked a storm of applause when he declared, "I would rather go down to defeat with that man [pointing



MR. MEDILL MCCORMICK, OF CHICAGO

(One of the leaders of the Progressive movement. He was chairman of the Rules Committee)



ED MACK -
CONGRESS
MOSES

CECIL LYON,
HE CAME ALL THE
WAY FROM TEXAS
TO HELP THE "BULL
MOOSE" ALONG.

to Roosevelt] than go to victory with any other Presidential candidate."

Then more applause and standing on chairs and cheering and singing; then order again and the passing of a few routine resolutions and the business of the convention was over. The benediction was pronounced, the Doxology soulfully sung by the entire audience, and the first national convention of the Progressive party passed into history.

Delegates and spectators gradually streamed out of the hall, some lingering to snatch up song sheets and programs as mementoes. On every hand, one heard expressions of strong feeling about what had happened. People seemed to realize that they had been present at a great and solemn occasion and that it had been good to be there.

The convention had undoubtedly exceeded the greatest expectations of its most enthusiastic supporters. Few would have predicted that within a few short weeks there could be gathered together

such a large and representative body of citizens from all over the country for a successful national convention. Many probably came out of curiosity, and some who came to scoff, remained not only to pray, but resolved to go forth and preach.

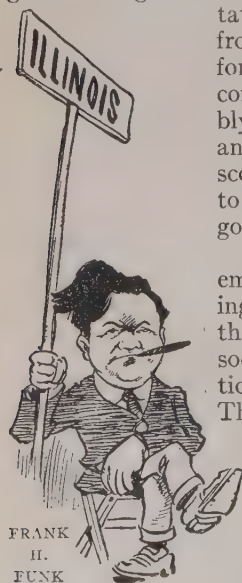
The four distinct points emphasized at this gathering were a united country, the rule of the people, social and industrial justice, and prosperity for all. The terms "human rights"

and "the welfare of the people" were much on the lips of the speakers as well as prominent in the platform. These sentiments did not



come to the front noticeably at Chicago or Baltimore, where one heard rather those other terms "The Constitution" and "Representative government" which have somehow gotten into the minds of people as being opposed to social and industrial progress.

There was a decided difference in the reception of the platform at this convention and at other previous conventions. Usually this is a wearisome performance, the planks being droned out tediously to an inattentive audience. This Progressive platform, however, was listened to with intense interest, and the individual planks heartily applauded. Evidently these people had some firm convictions on the questions of the day, and found their convictions reflected in the platform that was being read. Also, it should be remarked, they had all had an opportunity to help in making it for the sessions of the Committee on Resolutions were free and open to all.





THREE PROMINENT PROGRESSIVES

(Mr. A. P. Moore and Mr. William Flinn, of Pennsylvania, and
Mr. J. L. Hamilton, of Illinois)

The new party rules were heartily indorsed, for many of them were framed with the idea of remedying some of the evils of the old party organization. The rule limiting seconding speeches to five minutes, though an excellent one, was, however, mostly honored in the breach at this convention.

will be remains, of course, to be seen, but it cannot be denied that the men and women who met together in Chicago in August, and adopted a platform and nominated a Presidential ticket to the accompaniment of the singing of hymns and patriotic songs were thoroughly in earnest and meant business. They will carry on a strong crusade.

How successful this new Progressive party

The sketches accompanying this article were taken from the *Tribune*, the *Record-Herald*, the *Inter Ocean*, the *Examiner*, the *Daily News*, and the *Evening World*, all of Chicago.



WOMAN SUFFRAGISTS ASSEMBLING ON THE STEPS OF THE FIELD MUSEUM, CHICAGO,
PREVIOUS TO THEIR GREAT PARADE ON AUGUST 5

THE LOGIC OF THE COMING PARTY ALIGNMENT

BY PROFESSOR JESSE MACY

(Author of "Political Parties in the United States" and "Party Organization")

THE present party situation will be better understood if reviewed on broad lines. The conflicts between the two parties have in recent years been practically effaced on account of more radical divisions within the ranks of each party. This condition can be best understood by viewing it as a part of a world-wide movement toward a new and more radical democracy. The rapid increase of wealth and the new methods of organizing wealth have threatened the people of all civilized countries with a more enduring and more dangerous form of tyranny and oppression than has ever before been known.

THE NEW WORLD-WIDE DEMOCRACY

To meet the greater peril an insistent and aggressive form of democracy has arisen. In Switzerland, England, Canada, Australia, and other states the new, unchecked democracy is already triumphant. But the people of the United States have labored under special handicaps. First, there is a much lauded and venerable constitution devised to prevent the people from gaining direct control of their government. Second, there exists the largest aggregation of wealth which the world has ever known, available as a corruption fund. Third, the two political parties which serve as an intermediary between the people and their government have largely passed into the power of predatory wealth. Within each party men have risen up and attacked their own party organizations, because that seemed the most direct way to secure their rights.

DEMOCRATIC CONSERVATISM

We may assume that in the not distant future Americans will at least regain control of their party machinery and that both parties will be directed by those who believe in the new democracy. This will involve a complete party reorganization. There will be practically two new parties. The old machines which have held sway for fifty years will have become a memory.

In the first place, the conditions call for an entirely new conservative party. Hitherto conservatism has meant the continuance of old institutions which are opposed to democracy. It has been even reactionary, offering determined resistance to the trend of political thought toward a new and real democracy. The new conservative party will be as democratic as the radical party.

ENGLAND'S "TORY DEMOCRACY"

In England this revolution took place a generation ago under the leadership of Disraeli and Lord Randolph Churchill. Tory democracy is thoroughly committed to the support of direct popular rule. It asks for no protection against the people. On the contrary, the Tory party has taken the lead in the demand for the referendum. The direct vote of the people is accepted as a truly conservative agency in lawmaking. No Englishman dreams of appealing to any law, any constitution, any court, or any institution of any sort as a protection against the direct action of the English democracy. So out of our own present effort at party readjustment there should arise a real conservative party of the modern type.

A NEW CONSERVATIVE PARTY IN AMERICA

In recent years much has been said about the conservation of natural resources. In the new conservative party stress will be laid upon the economy of energy in human government. If it is a crime to destroy the people's forests, it is likewise a crime to fail to utilize dearly bought experience in the difficult task of free government. The conservative party will not oppose new experiments in government, but it will oppose, and will seek to oppose effectively, the ignorant repetition of useless and wasteful experiments. The party will assume as its special mission the scientific comparative study of the ever-widening field of free government. It will aim to utilize and to economize past and present political experience in its search for

a just and righteous state. It will be preëminently the party of education, in close alliance with the schools and with all agencies for collecting and disseminating knowledge.

A RADICAL PARTY TO CONFRONT IT

A party whose peculiar function it is to prevent waste and economize accumulated experience cannot at the same time address itself to the exploration of new fields and the trial of new experiments. Such a party can scarce escape the stigma of appearing to deem itself better than others, of being out of touch with the poor, the ignorant and neglected classes. There is need, therefore, that the conservative party be confronted by a radical party less hampered by precedent, less bound by scientific formulas, in close touch with all the neglected classes. Such a party will look after the spoiled children of tyranny and inspire them with a sense of their own rights and their own spiritual possibilities. Such a party will naturally initiate new processes to supply new needs.

The new democracy is not dependent on a dual system of responsible party government. The people have other means of making their will dominant in the state. But if party government is to be continued, then division into conservative and radical parties, such as I have described, is desirable. Each of these parties answers to a real need which all good citizens recognize. Any intelligent citizen could with perfect good conscience become a member of either party, for in ultimate aim the two parties would be identical, each supplementing the other, each giving emphasis to a necessary part of the process for attaining a common end.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY A NUCLEUS FOR A NEW CONSERVATISM

Under present conditions the Democratic party is best suited to furnish the nucleus for the new conservative party, since it is farthest removed from the old-fashioned, reactionary conservatism. It is the one party whose organization has stood the test of time. Under the leadership of Jefferson and Jackson it was distinctly the people's party. For fifty years (save for the two Cleveland administrations) it has been out of power and has hence escaped, in the eyes of the people, damaging association with predatory wealth. Just now the party has chosen for its leader an eminent educator well equipped for the task of giving direction to the new conservative organization.

REPUBLICAN RADICALISM

To the attainment of a new radical party the path is not so clear. The long and continuous tenure of office of the Republican party during the time of the growth and strengthening of great abuses serves as a disqualifying factor for the fulfillment of the function of either party in the immediate future. It is thoroughly disqualified for leadership in the new conservatism. If, however, out of the Republican party there could be extemporized at once an aggressive radical party which would outstrip the Democratic party in its bid for radical support, the result would be in many respects ideal.

There would be advantages also in having the new party bear the name "Republican." The present Republican party began as a radical party. It received large accessions from the old party of the same name. Thomas Jefferson was the patron saint of both the old Republicans and the new. Jefferson was at heart a democrat, but in his day both the name democrat and the thing democracy were so despised by the ruling classes that he was induced to adopt the more conservative term republican. If out of the present imbroglio there should emanate a conservative Democratic party and a radical Republican party, Jefferson would receive poetic justice and the two parties would have equal historical prestige. Each would appear as a "grand old party" having equal claims to the glories of the past. The question, however, of party names and the particular method of attaining the new party alignment is of minor consideration. The important thing is that in some way the new democracy becomes speedily and effectively organized

FREEBOOTERS IN POLITICS

The new parties which I have described make no provision for the old-fashioned conservatives and the reactionaries; yet these exist among us in considerable numbers and their influence is not to be despised. We have reason to believe that a considerable number of the so-called conservatives do not belong to the party on account of personal conviction. They are simply ordinary knaves who profess to have a great veneration for ancient sacred institutions on account of the facility which those institutions furnish for continuing a safe process of public robbery. By conviction many of these persons are already Democrats. Deprived of the power of wrongdoing some of them would speedily become

useful citizens capable of rendering efficient service in either of the new parties.

THE DANGEROUS REACTIONARY CLASS

There remains, however, a considerable body of citizens who from profound and unchanging conviction are opposed to popular government. They believe that human nature is such that the masses of the people must ever be governed by the strong hand. These are they who furnish the tragedy of history. They constitute the one really dangerous class.

Between these and the believers in popular rule there always has been and there always must be continuous conflict which threatens to become a war of extermination. The difference cannot be settled by argument, because the parties to the dispute have no common standing ground. They do not agree in definitions. They use common words and phrases, such as "government," "liberty," "representative government," with contradictory meanings. Government, to one party, means forcing men to do things they do not wish to do; to the other it means enabling them to do more effectively the things that they want to do.

On account of the diverse meanings given to words and phrases, the opposing disputants seem to each other to be lying or indulging in sophistry much of the time. An attempted debate degenerates into vituperation. The situation is essentially one of war, whether the weapons used are swords or words. Conscious wrongdoers may be adjusted to the new democracy with comparative ease; but those who religiously believe that the people must be forced to walk in the ways dictated by their rulers furnish a different problem. Few of these are ever converted. The apostle Paul furnished the one conspicuous instance in history of an instantaneous conversion.

It is, however, in one sense an advantage that the reactionaries have for almost a hundred years been induced to use the vocabulary of democracy. The old Federalist party was frankly and openly anti-democratic. No party since has held such a position. Great confusion has resulted from the adoption of a common term to describe opposite views, yet we may believe that the habit, now well

established, of talking like democrats will make it easier to persuade the enemies of democracy to act like democrats, and thus practical conversion will be reached by a process of evolution.

When the Federalists lost control of the government at the beginning of the last century, there followed a radical party realignment with a change of party names. Again, at the middle of the century came a break-up of parties and a new adjustment. In each case radicals were pitted against conservatives and the radicals triumphed. But the questions at issue involved only incidental reference to the principles of free government.

ARE WE TO HAVE A REAL DEMOCRACY?

In the present party crisis the only real question at issue is whether the people of the United States will free themselves from the trammels of a plutocratic oligarchy and join with those of England and Switzerland and other free states of the old world in the working out of direct, thoroughgoing democracy. Until this issue is settled all differences as to specific policies are of minor and trivial importance.

Out of the present reorganization there should come two real parties, evenly balanced, making independent appeal to the voters. This condition thus far has never been attained. For the first sixty years of the last century the Democrats were in power almost continuously and the other party under various names was a mere adjunct to the ruling party. Since that time the Republicans have ruled and the Democrats have held the minor place. This is a travesty on party government. All the corrupt and reactionary influences in the country will now be directed to continue the system of minor and major parties. It is difficult to imagine a system better adapted to deceive and debauch an intelligent and honest people. Corrupting interests control each party and divide the spoils. It is now the turn, in regular order, for the Democrats to enter upon a long career of continuous rule. Good citizens of every name should expect out of the present confusion of parties to secure a more equal balance between them.



A GREAT TEACHER OF POLITICS

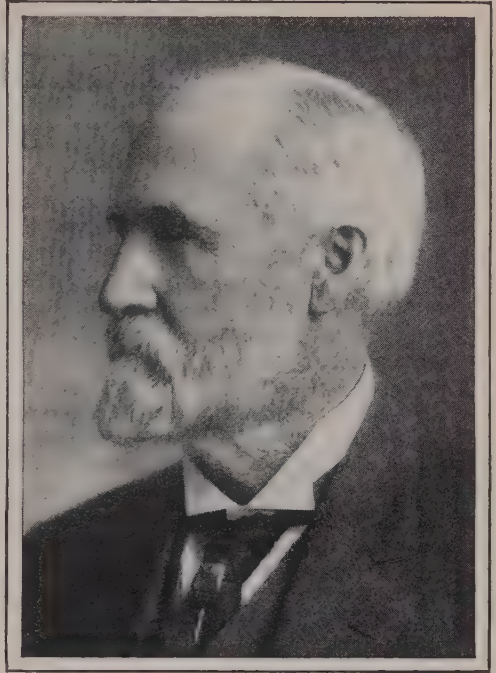
PROFESSOR MACY, in the article that occupies the pages preceding this, has given the best analysis that we have anywhere seen of the party conditions existing in the United States to-day as compared with those in other countries. Mr. Macy has not only been a teacher of politics and political science, but he has been a close practical observer for many years.

At the recent commencement at Grinnell College, Iowa, he retired from active teaching work upon attaining the age of seventy years, after having served his college as instructor and professor continuously for forty-two years. He began his political writing with text-books and articles based upon the actual working of local institutions. In due time he became a student of larger political structures and of comparative politics, particularly throughout the English-speaking world. He wrote a valuable book upon the English constitution, not from the standpoint of legal theory but from that of the actual working of government. And he wrote admirable volumes upon party history, and party organization and machinery, in the United States.

He is young at seventy, and while retiring on a Carnegie pension from active teaching, remains professor emeritus in his own college. He will be free to continue his studies and writing in the field of politics and government, and the article herewith presented to our readers sufficiently indicates the great value of the further work we may expect from his profound mind and his trained pen.

It is not a little due to Professor Macy's sound thinking, keen observation, and wonderful success as a teacher that the State of Iowa has brought forward so many men of the right sort of talent and power in politics. Senator Cummins is one of the trustees of his college, and Senator Kenyon was formerly numbered among Mr. Macy's pupils.

In this period of political crisis and reconstruction, the country is fortunate in having in the colleges so many men who are at once thoroughly informed and highly patriotic as teachers of American history and politics. Last month we published an article from the pen of Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart of Harvard, whose influence, power, and courage are an asset of real value to those who are fighting to emancipate our political life from its degrading control by private interests. Several months ago we published an article of similar value on the organization of the elec-



PROFESSOR JESSE MACY

torate, from Professor Folwell, of the University of Minnesota, a man of the same type as Professor Macy,—a great thinker and a great citizen. It is to this class of students of our political life that both Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt belong.

Among the younger men of like quality one finds Professor Merriam of the University of Chicago, Professor Commons of the University of Wisconsin, and Professor Potts of the University of Texas, whose valuable articles upon the convention system (published in our numbers for May and June) bore an appreciable part in the recent awakening of public opinion and the amazing rapidity with which party reform has proceeded during the past few weeks.

More than ever there is a place for the real "scholar in politics"; and hundreds of these men have this year sprung forward to do their duty as citizens and to aid in the inspiring work of improving our mechanism of government in the interests of a true and advancing democracy. To a veteran like Professor Macy, whose life has been devoted to the furthering of his political ideals, the immediate prospect must be a source of profound satisfaction.

A. S.

JAPAN'S LATE EMPEROR AND HIS SUCCESSOR

BY ADACHI KINNOSUKE

IN July, 1912, in Tokyo, died a man who was at once famous and unknown. So utterly unknown was he, especially to the Occident, that he was called by the obsolete title of "the Mikado." We Japanese have ceased to call our sovereign "Mikado" for fifty years past.

There is many a public character who must be bolstered up with adjectives and man-made titles. Then there happens along, once in a Blue Moon, a doer of things to whom it were the height of impertinence to add a single stitch of embroidery, save a catalogue of his own achievements. Nobody thinks of calling Washington President Washington, none insults Napoleon by calling him "General Bonaparte." Even so with Mutsuhito. And these are some of the things he had done:

Forty-four years ago, when he ascended the throne, Nippon was a house divided against itself—about as sadly as the new-born Republic of China is to-day. Out of the warring tangle he brought forth a race which on one occasion at least compelled a standard dictionary to revise the definition of "loyalty."

Mutsuhito found his people a semi-barbarous nobody amongst the nations of the world and gave them a place which is not so very lowly even in the eyes of Captain Hobson and the German Kaiser.

From a collection of picturesque junks gay with crested sails and streamers and shining with spear-heads and with no guns at all, to the 27,500-ton battle-cruiser *Kongo* armed with eight 14-inch and sixteen 6-inch guns (with no spear-heads and crested sails at all) is certainly a far cry. Yet that is precisely the distance which the Japanese navy traveled under the strenuous guidance of the Emperor.

This monarch who had been reared in the purple twilight of the Kyoto palace, in the bosom of absolutism, gave to his people the first, the only *bloodless* magna charta known to the history of the world.

At his death, the Emperor left his country a little wider than he had received it from his august ancestors—the dominant power in

the Far East, the only Asian state which can rank with the first-rate nations of the earth.

I know that the Emperor did not do all these and a thousand other things with his own two hands—any more than Togo fired all the guns at the Battle of the Japan Sea with his. There is an impression in America and Europe that the late Prince Ito was the real author of the New Nippon. That is, of course, absurd. Such men as the great Saigo, Okubo, and Shimazu, Lord of Satsuma, as well as Kido and Yamagata of Choshu and the princes Iwakura and Sanjo generated by the Emperor were the real authors of the New Nippon. But those of my readers who are inclined to look upon the late Emperor as a mere nice and properly behaved figurehead such as usually tenants the throne, should reflect on this one fact:

In the early days following the august New Era, the will, even the very person of the Emperor was almost divine in the eyes of the people and in those of the leaders of the state. It made no difference how wise a measure might have been, how noble its character, if the "dragon face" of the August Above darkened even by a single shade over it, the measure would have been forthwith chucked into a waste-basket. Saigo was undoubtedly the greatest military genius Japan has produced for many a long year, Okubo a born diplomat, and Kido the peerless constructive statesman. But had the Emperor shown his displeasure with any or all of them by so much as a shake of his head, they might as well have been so many mud peasants as far as their usefulness to the state was concerned.

Another thing: The measure of a great sovereign is his mastery in the art of commanding men. The abler the men the more difficult the task. Great men develop abnormally in certain faculties at the expense of others; they are almost unreasonably independent and uncompromising. How ably the Emperor drove his ministers in team work is to-day a matter of history. And this alone should rank Mutsuhito among the greatest rulers of the world.

Mutsuhito was an imperial miracle. Let us admit it from the very beginning. Otherwise, even a cursory study into his character would be a hopeless Sahara of wonders and impossibilities. Take for example, the famous five-articled Imperial Oath.

It was in the first year of Meiji (1868 A.D.) and the place was in the historic audience hall called Shishin-den in the Kyoto Palace. The Emperor was a youth of sixteen years—yes, younger by eight months. A purple curtain came down to his waist line; for in those days none might dare to look upon the uncovered face of the sovereign. And on that fourteenth day of the Third Moon, it was that the boy Emperor made his great speech wherein he laid down the foundation of the New Era he was destined to father. Not that the speech was long—compared to the after-dinner speeches of an American President; but it was the longest speech he had made since his ascension to the throne. Here it is:

1. Let the popular assemblies be established far and wide and let public opinion decide public measures.

2. Let the Above [the government] and the Below [the governed] be of one mind and united; let us devote ourselves to the cause of state.

3. Let the civil and the military administrations travel in harmony as along one road; let every citizen realize his aspirations through his endeavors so that the hearts of the people be full of activity without tiring.

4. Let us destroy the evil usages of the past; let us build on the foundation of the great principles of Heaven and Earth.

5. Let us seek knowledge throughout the world; and greatly elevate and extend the position of the Empire. We wish to bring about such changes as never were before in our country; and We ourselves shall lead the way. Therefore We have taken the oaths before the Divine Understanding of Heaven and Earth and wish to lay the foundation of state and establish the way of peace and welfare of Our people. Let them hear this Our will and coöperate in the work.

Here, then, in his own words, is the keynote of the man and the ruler. It was an astoundingly new note that the Emperor sounded in those early days. I have quoted at length, because the speech mirrors forth the sovereign in all his revolutionary views on the state and in his ardent emotional play. A mere toy could never speak such words if it tried a thousand years; a mere spoiled child could never sign such a letter even if the whole thing were written for him. More important still, his after life is a splendid embodiment of the epoch-making utterances of the young Emperor.

At the mention of an Oriental monarch the

Occidental imagination conjures up a half-witted devotee of pleasure murdering time in wreaths of smoke over a quaintly chiseled pipe in a padded harem. The life of Mutsuhito stood exactly at the opposite pole from such a life. He rose with the earliest birds in summer and long before the sun in winter. Immediately after the morning toilet it was his wont to call for a number of metropolitan newspapers. To keep in touch with the rapid progress of his time was not the least of his Majesty's ambitions. The remark of a court official that the Emperor's keen "nose" for news would surprise the editor of a great daily was no idle gossip. Precisely at eight he sat down to his morning meal—of a few pieces of buttered toast and coffee. Mendicants of an extreme school may be more rigorous than he in matters of food. The same severity of taste could be seen in his black frock coat which he usually wore, except at public functions. Precisely at ten the Emperor was at his spacious table in his study called Goza-sho—the August Seat. Every morning the large table was loaded with all sorts of documents and memoranda from cabinet officers and petitions from some of the humblest of his people. In the trying days of the Chinese and the Russian wars the light in the Goza-sho burned far beyond the midnight. So crowded became his working hours with the growth of the Empire, that of late His Majesty actually cut out his favorite recreation of horseback riding. In short, Mutsuhito was the sovereign who combined in himself the two definitions of genius—a man with infinite capacity for work and a soul aglow with the fire from the altar of the gods.

Yoshihito, the reigning Emperor, is the third child of Mutsuhito and was born on August 31, 1879, at the Aoyama Palace. In his babyhood days he was delicate in health. Later in life, thanks to careful rearing and extremely simple and sane habit of life, he has enjoyed exceptionally robust health. He has inherited the love for horses and dogs from his father and has been quiet but untiring devotee for outdoor sports. Hunting, fishing, swimming and mountaineering are some of his chief recreations. Like his father, he is rigorously simple in dress and diet. The one striking thing about the prince is his utterly frank democracy—to the eternal dismay and scandal of the elder school of the court officials. He was known to ride alone along a country road on a bicycle and to be rescued by an old farmer from the mud of a rice field into which he had plunged his



YOSHIHITO



SADAKO

THE NEW EMPEROR AND EMPRESS OF JAPAN

august person. The incident, by the bye, stunned the aged tiller of the field when he discovered some days later who the young man really was whom he had helped and whom he had rated soundly for his recklessness in the rough and frank manner of an old farmer.

The Emperor received his academic training at the Peers' School called Gakushu-in. There he was treated in exactly the same manner as the others on the expressed command of his imperial father. He distinguished himself in languages, especially in the mastery of Chinese classics and of French. His memory is said to be remarkable and his fondness for literature and art is still the talk of the school.

Yoshihito is the first of all the sovereigns of Nippon who has enjoyed the training of a constitutional monarch from his cradle. The first also who has had the advantage of receiving an academic education of international scope. It is too early in the day even to adventure a prophecy as to the new monarch's future. One thing is certain; he has ascended the throne in almost the birth hour of the Greater Nippon. His father had laid down the foundation of an empire which practically holds the key to the fate of the

Asian East. The stage is as big as any man's tallest dream could wish.

In his great work, the young Emperor has a splendid helpmeet in his consort. Empress Sadako is the daughter of Prince Michitaka of the historic house of Kujo. She was born on June 26, 1884, and after an ancient and admirable custom was reared among the simple folks in the country till she was five years of age. She received her schooling at the Peeresses' School. They have three sons. Hirohito, the Crown Prince, is in his thirteenth year, Yasuhito is ten, and Nobuhito, seven. Sadako is happy in finding a model in the noble career of the Dowager Empress.

For Haruko, the Dowager Empress has indeed "mothered the nation" in almost literal sense. She has made charity—and the severe economy for its sake—the reigning fashion among the ladies of court. No misfortune to her people was too low-voiced to claim her ears. She has left the measures of state severely alone. Her confidence in the ability of her august husband in political affairs was unbounded. She has specialized in letters and art and especially charity. She has devoted her energy to the development of the difficult science and art of wifedom and motherhood.



PERUVIAN INDIANS OF THE PUTUMAYO DISTRICT

(The torture of these rubber gatherers during the past few years has become an international sensation)

PERUVIAN RUBBER AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

TWO items of news in the London journals in the middle of last month, apparently unconnected, have come to complement each other in the international politics of international business. On July 13 it was announced that an appropriation had been made by the Brazilian National Congress for the establishment of a valorization of rubber similar to that already effected in the coffee industry. An account was also given of the widespread indignation in England over a report, then made public by the Foreign Office, on certain hideous cruelties practiced in the rubber district of the Putumayo in eastern Peru. The Peruvian Amazon Company, Limited, an English concern, has been collecting rubber in this district since 1907. Several years ago a disclosure of atrocities in this region was made by Sir Roger Casement. This British government officer, who some years before had startled the world with a report of atrocities in the Congo, had been sent to investigate the situation in Peru. His report was submitted to Sir Edward Grey, the British

Foreign Secretary, in January, 1911, and made public last month. The delay in giving the matter out, it is now stated, was due to the desire of Great Britain to "privately persuade the Peruvian Government to punish the criminals and to prevent a repetition of the atrocities."

The Indian natives of the Putumayo are usually described as a mild, inoffensive people, split up into a number of tribes whose languages differ as widely as English does from Chinese. They number only some 10,000. According to the well authenticated report of Sir Roger Casement, these natives have been subjected to tortures which baffle description, partly for a commercial motive—to compel them to bring in larger quantities of rubber—but partly, it would seem, out of the sheer lust of cruelty. It appears that thousands of natives have been maimed and murdered with impunity, since the district itself has never had proper police protection. The Putumayo, as it is known, already produces a large and increasing proportion of the rubber

of South America. The Peruvian Amazon Company, which has no title to the territory, does not allow anyone to enter this territory where it has the sole privilege of buying and selling all sorts of merchandise and products. It does not permit the Indians who work for it to buy from other except the company store. In exchange for the privileges granted it, the company was supposed to police its own territory, and it was hoped by the Peruvian Government that the English patrols would act as a first line of defense in case the government of Colombia should renew its effort, made some years ago, to obtain this coveted and disputed territory. At the time of going to press with this issue, the Colombian consul-general in New York asserted in a letter to the press Colombia's ownership of all lands between the Putumayo and the Caqueta rivers.

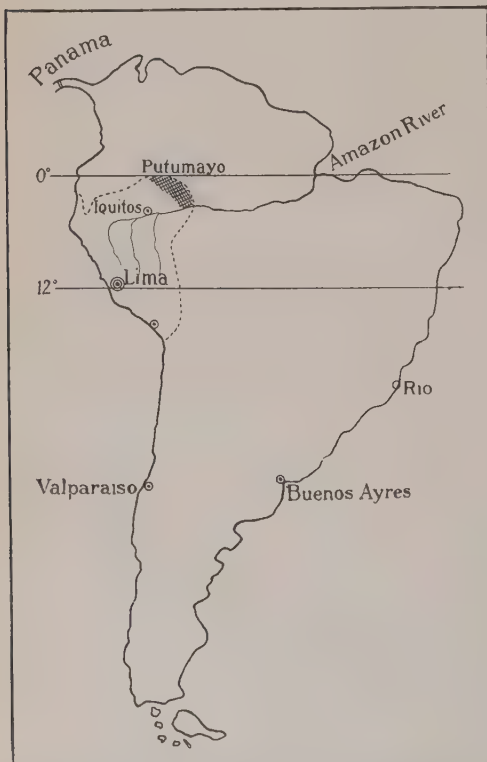
The publication of the Casement report, with the mass of official and diplomatic correspondence covering more than a year, indicates that the British Government's patience is at last at an end. The press in England has been calling for a prosecution of the company and justice to the native. The Peruvian

Minister at Washington, commenting upon the Casement report, has stated that the atrocities were committed not later than the year 1907 and insists that "things are very different now since the Peruvian Government is in entire control of the Putumayo district." On the other hand, the official statement of the British Foreign Office notes that rubber is still being exported from Peru at a rate only possible by a system of forced labor. Speaking in the House of Commons, on August 1, Sir Edward Grey declared that his government was "keeping in the closest touch with the United States Government in this matter." A number of British journals are demanding that the Monroe Doctrine be applied to stop the outrages. A prominent British churchman, Canon Henson, of Westminster, writing in the *Times*, says:

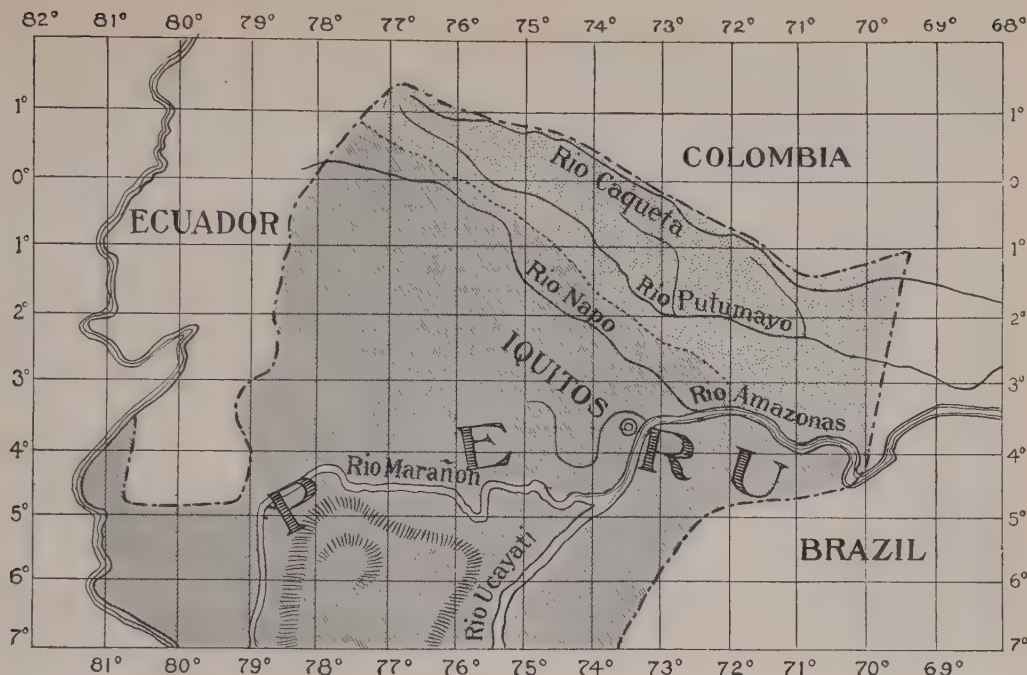
If the Monroe Doctrine carries to American minds any moral connotation, then the great Republic which fought the greatest civil war of modern times in suppressing slavery, cannot stand idle while the Republic of Peru fails in the alphabet of humane government.

Meanwhile the Peruvian Congress has appointed a commission to make a thorough investigation and a report is expected before the end of the present year. On July 31 Representative McCall, of Massachusetts, introduced a resolution in the House calling upon Secretary Knox for information about the Peruvian atrocities and asserting that the United States is "deeply obligated to remonstrate with Peru." The special commissioner appointed by the Peruvian Congress, Judge Romulo Paredes, is one of the few white men who have traveled over this district, 90,000 square miles of rubber forests whose few navigable streams are the only means of communication. He made a recent visit to all the most important trading posts and Indian settlements, and his findings confirm the Casement report in every detail. Judge Paredes is the proprietor of *El Oriente*, the leading daily newspaper in Iquitos, a port on the Amazon and the nearest city to the Putumayo district. He visited New York last month, and before he left on his official mission (on August 5) he set forth the Peruvian point of view to a representative of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS*. In his statement, which follows, he shows how the Monroe Doctrine may be made to subserve selfish private interests.

That the English Rubber Company was solely responsible for the atrocities committed in the rubber forest in the Putumayo district of Peru and that the English consul at Iquitos has been aiding the guilty parties in keep-



THE PUTUMAYO RUBBER DISTRICT IS ON THE EQUATOR AND NEAR THE HEART OF THE CONTINENT



THE PUTUMAYO RUBBER DISTRICT OF PERU, SHOWING ITS RELATION TO SURROUNDING COUNTRIES

(The Putumayo is the heavily shaded portion of the map between the dotted line and the Colombian-Brazilian-Peruvian boundary)

ing from the Peruvian Government an exact knowledge of what was taking place, is the contention of Peru.

The Putumayo region, said Judge Paredes, is one of the least known parts of the world. It extends from 1° North Lat. to 3° South Lat. and from 76° East Long. to 82° East Long. It is covered with equatorial forests practically inaccessible to white men. There are neither railroads nor ordinary roads across the jungle and the only means of communication are a few navigable tributaries of the Amazon. A glance at the map of the Putumayo, however, will show that those rivers are not very useful to Peru as means of penetrating into the rubber lands. Their course is practically parallel to that of the Amazon until they reach the Brazilian territory.

Policing such an immense wilderness inhabited by some 10,000 uncivilized aborigines is an arduous task. Evidence is not easy to gather, especially when you take into account that the natives are divided up into seven main tribes speaking as many unrelated languages and a few local dialects besides.

After several months of investigation I finally ascertained the names of many individuals, most of them English subjects, guilty of atrocious crimes against the Indians. One of them, Donald Francis, had done things which the spoken word cannot easily describe and was dealt with in accordance with the criminal law of Peru. Terrible charges were made also against one Armando Normand, a Bolivian, and Lavy, a man from Barbadoes. Both, however, had escaped before our mission reached

the Putumayo. Thirty-five foremen from Barbadoes were also implicated in the atrocities. Unfortunately the English company, informed of our coming, had supplied those criminals with transportation either to Barbadoes or to Colombia or Brazil, where they were perfectly safe. Peru has no extradition treaties with those two republics.

Mr. David Cazes, English consul in Iquitos since 1903, would have been in a good position to find out about the management of the rubber plantation. Iquitos, a port on the Amazon, is the door to the rubber land. All the rubber gathered in the Putumayo is shipped from Iquitos. No one can enter the territory of the rubber company without the permission of the company's representative in Iquitos. And yet he always swore that he knew nothing.

The twenty-one constables whom the Peruvian Government kept in the Putumayo in those days had been all bribed by the English traders and shut their eyes to what was happening in the jungle.

If the Peruvian Government had been informed of the way in which the English rubber merchants were abusing the privileges granted to them it would have taken long ago strenuous measures to stop those crimes. You must not imagine that the Indians are any less protected than the white people in Peru. The proportion of white people is only 17 per cent. and they do not constitute by any means a privileged class. Fifty-seven per cent. of our people are native Indians and the remaining 26 per cent. are half-breeds. Barring, of course, the times of the early Spanish conquerors, the native Indians have been treated very humanely in Peru.



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JUDGE ROMULO PAREDES, WHO HAS BEEN SENT
BY PERU TO INVESTIGATE THE PUTUMAYO
RUBBER ATROCITIES

No actual crimes have been committed on Indians, even by English traders, for several years, although the natives have been exploited in many ways by the Peruvian Amazon Company.

Collecting rubber is very hard work; scientific tapping gives only about twenty pounds of rubber a year and the trees are worked in estradas of 100 trees sometimes scattered over an area of 100 acres. The collecting cups must be emptied every day and the latex or sap treated as soon as gathered. Every fortnight the natives bring their output to the trading posts and receive, or are supposed to receive, from \$9 to \$15 for 100 pounds of rubber according to quality. In the Putumayo region, however, the Amazon Rubber Company has a monopoly of the sale of merchandise and the Indians are generally compelled to accept in payment for their fortnightly output of rubber the various goods imported by the company, upon which the traders place fanciful valuations. The result of this system of trading is that the Indians finally become indebted to the company and are forcibly taken from their villages and transported to places where labor is scarce. Many tribes have preferred to abandon their territories and move long distances across the equatorial jungle rather than to be set to work for the rubber merchants.

The Pro-Indigena league (the Peruvian Society for the Protection of the Natives) has been at work for several years in an endeavor to eradicate those

abuses. Plans submitted in 1909 to the Peruvian Government for civilizing very rapidly the jungle Indians were adopted in 1910 and specialists have been entrusted with the elaboration of their practical details. Those plans provide that adult Indian women as well as men be compelled to enlist in a sort of standing labor army. They would be trained to accomplish the various tasks of their life in a modern scientific way, would be taught trades and be made to realize the commercial value of their work.

The direct hiring of forest Indians by private companies would be forbidden. Anyone desirous of employing Indian labor would have to apply to the Peruvian Government. Only trained Indians would be allowed to hire themselves out to private concerns. During their period of labor enlistment the Indians would be paid the full value of all the goods produced by them.

The forest Indians are not likely to be molested any more by greedy traders. Army posts are being established all over the Putumayo and kept in constant communication by Iquitos, through wireless stations. Iquitos, which is from thirty to forty days distant from Lima with the present means of travel, is also connected directly with the capital by wireless telegraphy.

When asked to what he attributed the recent exposures of wrongs committed several years ago, Judge Paredes replied:

It may be that certain Englishmen are a little jealous of the cordial relations existing between Peru and the United States. Our president, Agosto Leguia, a great admirer of America, has always done his best to tighten the political and commercial bonds which unite the two countries. A very successful merchant before he abandoned the direction of his business interests to enter the political field, he had among other things represented a large American insurance company as general manager for Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador. His wife is an American woman.

If certain schemers could only prevail upon the United States to intervene in Peru, some other nation would derive a positive benefit from the friction thus engendered, and the purpose of the Monroe Doctrine could be successfully defeated. It may be only a coincidence, but the recent outburst of indignation in England took place five or six days after the Brazilian National Congress had voted an appropriation of about \$2,500,000 for carrying out a rubber valorization scheme similar to the coffee valorization. Brazil produces about 54,000,000 pounds of rubber, that is to say, 50 per cent. of the world's entire supply. The value of the Putumayo rubber forests is therefore increasing very rapidly.

The Peruvian Amazon Company has no legal title to the Putumayo tract, having never paid a cent to the Peruvian Government. You can see, therefore, how eagerly certain English merchants would welcome the seizure of the Putumayo lands by, say, an Anglo-American syndicate that would "guarantee order and peace" in the rubber region.

THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS

THIS is the fourth of a series of seven articles on "The People and the Trusts" now appearing in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS. "Big Business and the Citizen" and "The Borrower and the Money Trust" have already been published. Yet to come are "The Investor," "The Middleman," and "The Captain of Industry."

Large-scale production has always been weakest in dealing with the factor of labor. Handling men by masses, and judging and paying by averages (which necessarily tend to become lower) instead of by individuals, must result in a comparative loss of efficiency. Mr. Going shows below the hitherto undiscovered common factor in all the systems intended to improve industrial efficiency, and his exposition is interesting and important to the laborer, the employer, and the consumer alike.

THE EFFICIENCY OF LABOR

BY CHARLES BUXTON GOING

(Editor of the *Engineering Magazine*)

"TO the victors belong the spoils." Is the law brutal, or is the seeming brutality in the expression? It is the law of nature—the law of evolution. If we refine our definitions of "victor" and "spoils," if we use the terms in their finest senses instead of their cruder or meaner significance, may it not prove the law of righteousness also—a law spiritual as well as a law natural?

In its more literal interpretation, it is the established law of business. May we not, even in this field, so dignify it, so moralize it by a truer understanding of what it should mean, that it may be made righteous as well as practical?

Industrially, there is no great question as to the definition of "spoils," but there is turbulent and endless question as to who are the "victors."

For our present purpose, at least, the spoils are the profits which supply effective stimulus and offer just reward for initiative, energy, skill, labor. They are the cargo of wealth brought back in exchange for the substance, the effort, the time we have adventured in manufacture and commerce. The Indies of the nineteenth century and the twentieth lie across the seas of invention, of production, of markets. They are richer than any Indies, sought of old; and the vision of Columbus, the faith of Isabella, the courage of the masters of the caravels, and the murmurings of

the crew, come down to us through five centuries as prototypes of exactly similar manifestations living and working to-day.

But Who Are the Victors?

This is the crux of our immediate problem. Returning to our simile, was the victory due, and should the spoils be awarded, to Columbus who dreamed and dared, to Isabella who believed and financed, to the captains who commanded and navigated—or were the crew also among the victors, deserving something more than mere wages, some proportionate share in the greater reward?

Any modern industrial venture enlists and attempts to coördinate, to bring together into successful joint effort, elements closely corresponding to those that were enlisted in the enterprise of discovery that opened the gateway to the Western continent. In a broad general way and up to a certain point, their interests are identical. Backers, leaders and followers all live by success, all suffer from failure. But when we pass beyond this point and begin to deal with particulars, the interests of the several parties become different and often hostile. Who are the victors and how shall they divide?

Unfairness in allotting their shares of the spoil is the energizing force in the current struggle of discontent and political disturb-



A GROUP OF WORKERS UNDER THE EMERSON SYSTEM OF FACTORY MANAGEMENT

(Every man in the group is on bonus. For the week ending May 11, 1912, the average efficiency, with 91 per cent. of the work covered by standards, was 107 per cent. The initial efficiency of the group, one year previous, was approximately 40 per cent.)

ance. Beside the great contending figures of capital and labor, long recognized, another is taking its place—the figure of the consumer, asserting his part in the great development and demanding relief from over-exploitation by the older organized interests. And yet a fourth factor, less vocal and therefore less widely discerned, is by some discovered and declared to be greatest of all—the genius of ideas, by which alone capital and labor are set in motion, made productive forces instead of huge idle possibilities. Financier, inventor, promoter, manufacturer, laborer, distributor, consumer—all are indispensable to the cycle of success. Whose, then, is really the victory, and how shall the spoils be divided?

A Juster Division the Great Question

The question of the hour is a juster division of the profits of industry, first between consumer and producer; second among productive genius, capital, and labor; third among individual laborers. The *difficulty of the hour* is the *lack of standards and means of measurement* by which a fair scale of division can be determined. The hope of the hour is the growth of scientific study of industry, and the definition of principles of efficiency by which standards can be fixed and true meas-

urements of individual output can be made as a basis for the just apportionment of individual reward.

So far, while capital remains in the position of control, the Laborer has been most energetic among the other elements demanding larger recognition. For this there are many reasons. His concreteness as a definite and well recognized factor in production cost; his progress in organization and cumulative use of his influence; his vehemence in the double rôle of producer demanding a larger share, and consumer struggling against the pressure of increased cost; his elemental resort to physical force in support of his argument—all these have given him a greater prominence, possibly, than his actual value, proportionate to some of the other factors, might justify.

At all events, every investigation of industrial phenomena comes quickly, if not immediately, to the Laborer. He is the central point of some, and an important factor in all, of the modern philosophies of management which seek to meet the conditions consequent on "big business."

It is deplorable that organized labor has so generally misunderstood and resisted all efforts at correct measurement, by which alone a just scale for division of profits can

be established—by which, indeed, just division would ultimately be compelled, not only as between one worker and another, but as between all workers and all employers. Nevertheless, some advance has been made. It is the purpose of this article to sketch the several theories or policies of management which have so far gained recognition, to place them in contrast, and to discover their common relation, if any, to the underlying idea and theme of this series.

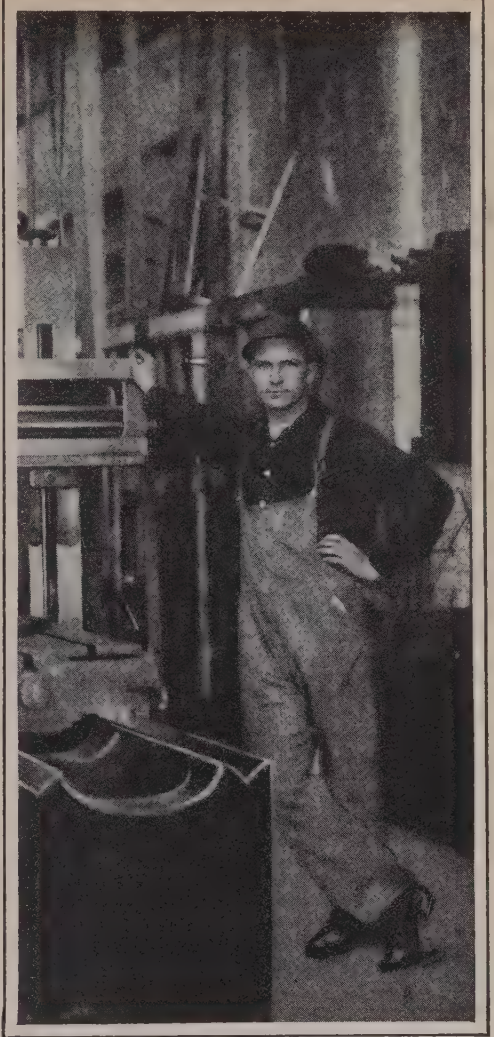
During the now celebrated rate hearings before the Interstate Commerce Commission in Washington, held in November, 1910, it was testified that the introduction of what was then for the first time named "Scientific Management" had changed the fortunes of a certain Philadelphia machine manufacturing works from bankruptcy to prosperity. Seventy men were comfortably and successfully producing two to three times as much as had been turned out under the old methods by one hundred and five men. They did not work any harder than before, but worked more efficiently. Their wages had been increased from 25 to 30 per cent. above the old rates, and the selling price of the product had been reduced to the consumer 10 to 15 per cent. below the figures he had formerly paid.

To the initiated there was nothing new in this. The philosophy and methods followed had been made known to industrial audiences years before. Only the name attached to the system and the dramatic presentation of its effects were novel. But lest the instance quoted seem to the public isolated and special, case after case, in varied industries, builds up the record.

In a textile mill in New Jersey, the experience of years preceding and succeeding the historic date mentioned, proves an increase in output of 100 per cent., a reduction in manufacturing cost of 40 per cent., and an increase in individual wage earnings varying from 40 to 76 per cent. But it is no process of mere labor driving. "The workmen distinctly improved in personal appearance, the improvement being so universal and so marked as to be always distinctly recognizable. The girls invariably acquired a better color and improved in health."

Fresher, simpler, less comprehensive but more striking, is the testimony of a letter written about three months ago by one of the proprietors of a typical eastern metal-working plant:

I am very much of an enthusiast as to the efficiency movement, for the reason that about two years ago I took up this question in our plant and



A 110 PER CENT. MAN

have succeeded in reducing our expenses at the rate of \$150,000 a year, with a clerical force very much reduced instead of increased; and as a result of the initial steps in this efficiency work, I can see my way clear within the next year to reduce expenses \$50,000 more.

Remarkable statements are these; for they are not expressions of hope, estimates, promises of counseling engineers. They are reports from owners and operating officials, made after the work has been carried out and tested in practical service, proved by the books to the satisfaction of the men who are paying the expenses and receiving the profits. And these gains are made in an era of diminishing returns. They are made without the peculiar economies incident to Big Business, by which, indeed, Big Business pleads its economic justification.

Are the principles and measures compatible with the philosophy of Big Business? Can the active factors of Big Business and of the scientific pursuit of efficiency be coördinated so as to accelerate this elimination of waste, this enlargement of the margin of accumulated wealth, upon which, if justly distributed, further general prosperity may be safely and happily built?

An Example From Transportation

The causes of the gain are not clouded by any doubt in the minds of the industrial managers making these reports. They stand vividly distinct and brilliantly illumined. In every case the result followed the introduction of ideas that differ, not in degree, but in order, from those commonly embodied in industrial practice. The managing mind or the bodily activity was not merely driven harder over old paths to its goal. It found smooth highways toward achievement provided for it, in place of rough trails and wagon tracks.

In every case, the genius that brought this golden treasure out of the dull storehouse of industry in which others work so hard for so much scantier gain, was a genius of looking at old facts in a new way—of applying new principles and methods to the accomplishment of a long familiar result. It was like in kind to the genius that made transportation easier, travel swifter, by successive steps of invention: first, the wheeled cart in place of the dragged load or trailing poles; then the smooth rail in place of the rough road for the wheel to run on; the steam or oil or electric motor in place of the draft animal to propel the car. Each step kept in sight and was inspired by the same ultimate purpose—to move a vehicle and its load from one point to another. But each new increase in weight moved or speed attained was gained not by pushing the old system harder, but by introducing a new way or "order" of working, by which more useful result is secured for the same, or even for less, effort expended.

Applied to Industry in General

This same sort of improvement which inventive minds, working through centuries, have effected in conducting transportation, the newer doctrine and practice of efficiency in operation and scientific management apply to the conduct of industry at large. It is more subtle, because it deals in part with things such as systems, customs, standards, ideals, which are not directly visible as the machine

is; but it is like in kind. It progresses not by speeding up the old way but by finding and using new, swifter and easier ways.

Thus far a single explanation may apply to all the cases cited and be accepted as a general introduction by all parties and schools. But we are likely, at the next stage of our inquiry, to be confused by the very abundance of the revelation that follows, and bewildered by the multitude of the prophets all prophesying together with a very loud voice. The listener is tempted to borrow Paul's exhortation to the Corinthians: "If any man speak in an unknown tongue, let it be by two, or at the most by three, and that by course; and let one interpret." In plainer prose, there are so many who announce themselves as apostles or disciples of scientific management, so many who offer to apply it practically, and their definitions and doings are so diverse, that the skeptic (or even the convert) may well be confused and grope and stumble in trying to find the common faith underlying so many creeds.

Is There a Common Factor?

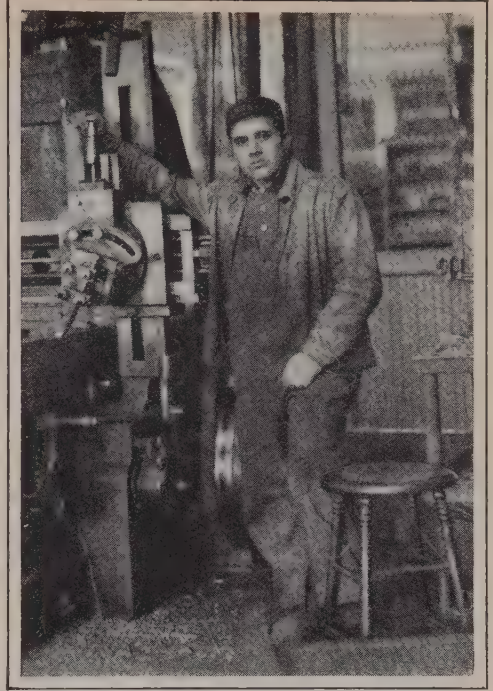
Out of the very welter of argument and Babel of voices, a contemplative student, however, may separate four main systems of thought and practice. One is old-school, the school of coercion and strenuousness, represented by the age-long institutions of day wage and piece rates. The second is transitional, represented by the philosophy of initiative and incentive, as expressed in the gainsharing or premium systems of Halsey, Rowan, Ross, and others. The third and fourth are modern—the philosophy of scientific management and efficiency, taught by Taylor, Gantt, Emerson; and the philosophy of "suggestion," embodied in the Hine "unit organization" or the Carpenter "committee system" of management. Profit sharing and coöperative stock distribution, so far as they are philosophic, belong to this last school of suggestion; that is, of establishing new mental relations between the worker and his work—of giving him a new point of view by which its effort, its purpose, and its result appear in a more clearly illumined perspective.

The old methods of hire and service were not without their fine points. In simpler days, when the relation was personal, the sense of mutual responsibility was sometimes strong, the discipline often heroic. But with the growth of the manufacturing system, something was lost; and its loss has changed the whole complexion of the matter. What

it was, the purpose of this analysis is to discover.

The newer doctrines and their disciples seem at first glance to differ widely among themselves, because they differ so in "ritual"—that is, in the established institutions, acts, systematized practice, forms, and names of things used to express and enforce their ideas. What if it should prove nevertheless that they all have the common quality of restoring in some degree this missing factor—this factor that present-day manufacturing methods have suppressed and canceled out?

The introduction of power and machinery exaggerated enormously three great tendencies which have now become dominant in the manufacturing system. One is centralization—the gathering of workers about great reservoirs instead of their distribution among many little springs of power, of equipment, of capital. Another, naturally following, is standardization—the reduction of wares of all kinds to fixed forms, prepared by comparatively few skilled designers, which forms the great body of the rank and file reproduce mechanically. The third is specialization, or the subdivision of the making of any article



A 100 PER CENT. MAN



THE DEAN OF THE SHOP

(98 per cent. efficient; seventy-two years old)

into a multitude of operations, committed each to different hands, so that the share of any individual worker is endless repetition of a closely limited task.

Individuality is Lost Under the Old Order

Man and thing manufactured lose, as it were, individuality when they enter the plant, and regain it again only when they emerge. Man and job,¹ their identity minimized, are merged into the group, the class, the system. And under the old order of day wages, with the relations between task and time, between time and output, between man and employer, thus obscured, the knowledge of what constitutes a "fair day's work" becomes confused, progressively wanes. Standards of measurement are lost. Vague averages take the place of personal records; and these averages, under the law of the crowd, tend always toward the pace of the slowest. Incentive to individual efficiency dwindles, disappears. Incentive to class strengthening, class prejudice, increases. Collective bargaining takes the place of individual contract. Coercion becomes a governing principle, solidified labor seeking to drive the wage

¹ The word "job" seems somewhat lacking in dignity, but there is no equivalent. It means the unit task covered by a single order given to the workman.

up and the output down, solidified employment working for the contrary result.

Piece rates, under which each worker is paid according to output, seemed to afford a better way. But being generally set with insufficient knowledge and care, and cut (or in the euphemism of the shop, "readjusted") whenever the worker's earnings have risen far above the ruling rate for his class, these rates in turn fall under the rule of collective bargaining as to the piece prices set, and under tacit, if not open, coercive class regulation as to the maximum output or the number of pieces any worker may make. So conditions soon pass again under the rule of coercion and strenuousness, maximum effort for a very moderate result.

Such is the old order, constituting so large a part of the industrial system, that it influences the whole. The voices of those who have been so steeped in it that they are unable to sense any other, are still far the loudest or the most multitudinous in their crying among the four groups above differentiated.

Waste as Well as Gain in Large-Scale Production

Enormous economies resulted from this manufacturing system. As a whole, it has been so effective that any retrogression within it was lost to sight in the great forward sweep. Nevertheless, retrograde movements came into being; and one of them is a decline in individual efficiency. The worker with the new equipment provided may produce absolutely much more than his predecessor did, and yet produce relatively less, as shown by comparing what he now does with the achievement that would be reached if he used the new machinery and methods with the old-time energy and skill. For example: modern machinery may enable an operator to turn out ten times as much as the same effort would produce with the hand-tools formerly used. If he turns out six times as much, he is only 60 per cent. as efficient, though he may seem six times as effective as the antecedent hand-worker.

Next in number stand those who adopt the second, or "transitional," theory of "initiative and incentive"; of accepting the ruling wage, the ruling rate or pace of working, without contest, but of offering (as a purely voluntary matter on both sides) extra compensation to the worker who exceeds the average pace. Here is seen the first glimpse of that great common factor of all the newer and more hopeful doctrines—a factor which at the end we may discover in a new light and under an unexpected interpretation.

Practically, these "premium" systems¹ of incentive are simple in introduction and in administration. Day wages, as already said, are undisturbed. But "standard times" for operations or jobs are set by observing good average performance under fair average conditions. Individual time records for each worker are then kept. The wage value of any time saved by any worker or on any job (determined, of course, by comparing his actual time on this job with the standard time set for it) is then divided between him and his employer. Premium earnings are kept separate from regular wage earnings. Their acceptance or rejection by the employee is optional with himself; but rejection, even if insisted upon at first through suspicion or devotion to supposed class interests, is rarely persisted in.

The plan is so conciliatory, so devoid of cause of offense, or of creation of any issue, that it appeals to many who shrink from going any farther. Certain defects of operation it has which it is not pertinent to take up here. The organic defect is that as the initiative rests with the worker, it cannot operate beyond methods of betterment that are within his knowledge or improvement of conditions that are under his control. Inefficiencies of plant arrangement, equipment, operation, assignment of work, methods prescribed, supplies and tools furnished, and many others (often together constituting far the largest influence on total efficiency) are only remotely and feebly affected.

Nevertheless, here we have the germ of the great idea—*separate consideration of every job, separate observation of every man; standards and records—the beginnings of restoration of individuality.*

In the third cult, "Scientific Management," as it has been lately called, a vast extension of view appears.² Betterment of performance no longer depends upon the thought, the special skill, the personal effort, of the worker. Scientific study, pursued by the ablest special talent obtainable, is made *not merely of the work as it is carried on, but as it might be better carried on*; of improvements in materials, in methods and appliances, in machinery and equipment, in power generation and applications, in arrangement of the plant, in routing and dispatching work through the plant, in personnel and organization under which the plant is operated.

¹ The Premium Plan of Paying for Labor, F. A. Halsey; *Transactions American Society of Mechanical Engineers*, June, 1891.

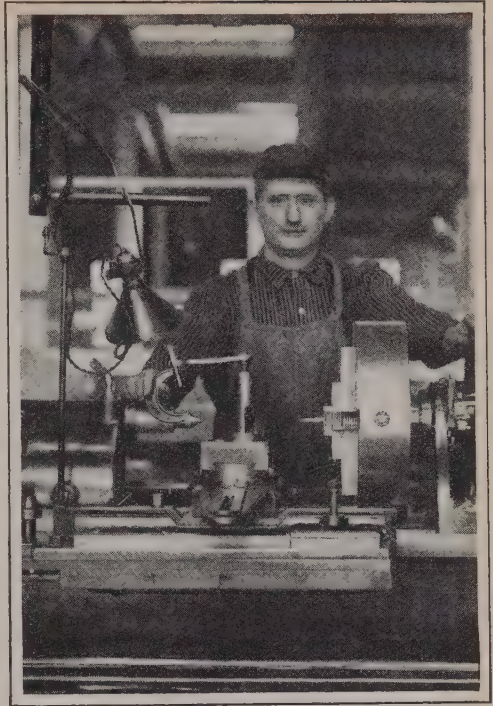
² Shop Management, F. W. Taylor; *Scientific Management*. *Ibid.*: Harper & Bros.; McGraw-Hill Book Co.

The management assumes a fully equal share of responsibility and service, in helping the men to work harmoniously, effectively, wholly on productive labor, and not at all in heavy and unprofitable toil of overcoming removable obstacles. For each man's work and for the operation of the factory as a whole, the process is like that of smoothing out the bends and removing the constrictions and obstructions in a pipe line. Things may be torn up and disturbed during the process; but when the changes are complete, the internal friction, the whirls and eddies, the bursting strains, all are relieved. The flow becomes swifter, the delivery larger, though the driving pressure be not a whit increased.

The Differences in Systems Now Appear

While the several apostles of scientific management agree closely on the primary faith, they differ widely in the articles of their creeds. The Taylor system is both scientific and systematic. It holds to certain fixed institutions which have proved effective, and insists upon their general acceptance and adoption. It demands complete devotion and the use of an "orthodox" ritual. It changes the very form of organization, replacing the long-familiar direct line of authority and office by its eight "functional foremen," each workman having eight actual and five visible "bosses." Emerson,¹ leaving the old line intact, supplements it by "staff" counsel. Both Emerson and Gantt (though Gantt adopts the "functional" rather than the "staff" idea) are inclined to be more liberal, more elastic, more adaptive—to use institutions that exist, molding conditions and operations so as to fulfil as well as possible the ends they are convinced are fundamentally important. They proceed, to exaggerate the figure, somewhat as the Church fathers did when they invested heathen festivals or superstitions with new meaning and influence.

In psychology, also, as expressed in the incentive of reward offered the worker, these masters differ, though by a different division. Under the Taylor and Gantt methods, after conditions have been standardized, a standard task (usually a daily task) is set. A relatively large "bonus," lying generally between 20 per cent. and 50 per cent. of the regular day wages (which are undisturbed and remain as a minimum to every worker), is given to the man who accomplishes the standard



A CONTRIBUTOR TO "SOUTHERN MACHINERY" ON MACHINE OPERATION

task, with a proportionate increase if he exceeds that task. Unless he actually reaches the task limit, however, he gets day wages only; though for special encouragement, or to compensate for accidental interference, the bonus may be granted in some particular case by special intervention.

Emerson, on the other hand, having set standard times under the standardized conditions, and having likewise accepted ruling day wages as the basis of agreement and minimum of compensation, keeps records of individual performance over an extended bonus period, usually a month. Each man's efficiency is determined by the proportion between his actual achievement in that period, and the standard predetermined achievement. If he reaches the standard, if, in other words, his efficiency is 100 per cent., he gets as bonus an addition of 20 per cent. to his wages for the period. But if the worker shows even 67 per cent. efficiency, he begins to receive a small bonus, rising on a sliding scale at an increasing rate of acceleration as the man's efficiency improves, until it reaches the 20 per cent. already mentioned for a performance 100 per cent. efficient. Above that the bonus rises steadily, 1 per cent. more for each 1 per cent. additional efficiency.

¹ Efficiency as a Basis for Operation and Wages, Harrington Emerson; The Twelve Principles of Efficiency, *Ibid.*; The Engineering Magazine Co.

We thus have here something of the same nebulous zone between low performance and high performance, something of the same almost insensible transition between the status of the under-competent and that of the fully competent, that we have under the premium plans. A slight but increasing reward is expected to lead the reluctant step by step, even if he cannot jump. The effort is to raise, in some measure, the efficiency of the whole body of labor.

Under the Taylor and Gantt¹ systems, on the other hand, there is no such twilight region. The line between no-bonus and bonus-earning is abrupt and emphatic. It is not an inclined plane, but a vertical step. Added emphasis, even, is sought and encouraged by fostering social distinctions based on bonus earnings. The tendency is selective—to segregate from the mass of available labor the individuals who are "standard" for the particular work in hand, distributing the others to other occupations for which they may be better fitted. The premium plan repudiates the task idea. The Emerson efficiency doctrine ameliorates it. The Taylor differential and Gantt bonus policies emphasize it. Psychologically, these differences are highly important.

The Underlying Principle,—Searching Inquiry

Nevertheless, beyond the differences is one underlying idea becoming clearer? *Knowledge of the work, of each workman*, is now supplemented by intimate, exhaustive knowledge of machines, processes, conditions, duties not only of employees but of officials, management, organization. The searching light of scientific inquiry beats upon every part of the entire undertaking. Systematic records gather into a widely accessible treasury many private funds of knowledge formerly scattered in perhaps obscure and silent private stores.

Lastly, we come to the fourth school, the school of suggestion. It is the most difficult to present adequately, because its expression in practice is not only accomplished with relatively slight physical elements, but also varies widely because different practitioners use different sorts of psychical appeal. Indeed, it is only fair to the authors of the ideas grouped here under this definition to assume the whole responsibility for that definition, and to relieve them of any criticism that may fall upon this interpretation of their active influence.

Perhaps the best mode of exhibiting the theories in question will be by brief examples:

Under the Hine unit system,² then, the operating organization of a railway, instead of consisting of a general superintendent, a superintendent of motive power, a chief engineer, a superintendent of transportation, a general storekeeper, and a superintendent of telegraph, etc., consists of a group of "assistant general managers." "The number may vary with the size of the jurisdiction, but is normally eight, including the man previously the assistant general manager, who, to avoid misunderstanding, is reappointed as the senior, or number one on the new list." Similarly, in each division of the railway, the titles master mechanic, division engineer, train master, traveling engineer, and chief dispatcher, disappear; and in their place are substituted a group of assistant superintendents, varying from one on a very small division to twelve on a very large division, but normally six, again, "including the man previously the assistant superintendent, who, to avoid misunderstanding, is reappointed as the senior, or number one on the new list." "No distinct grade of senior or chief assistant is created in any unit." Normally, number one, the real senior, is "on the lid," as it is termed, at headquarters, and is excused from outside road duties.

Functions, of course, are specialized; but the change of title carries with it insensibly a changed vision of responsibility. It is no longer for the selfish interest of a department, but for the total efficiency of the road or the division. The old-time difficulty of getting officials to interest themselves along broader lines of activity gradually disappears. No importations of enthusiasts, no infusion of fresh blood, is made, but "the good old wheel horses show their ability to move somewhat faster when the way is made easier; when the ruts of narrowing specialties and the hurdles of departmental prejudices have been removed." While there are collateral changes in office administration and departmental routine, the essence of the idea is the alteration of conduct and attitude by a change in mental outlook.

Under the Carpenter system³ (which applies characteristically to industrial operations, as the Hine unit organization does to railway operation) great emphasis first is laid upon a committee system, by which

² Modern Organization, Charles DeLano Hine: The Engineering Magazine Co.

³ Profit-Making Management in Shop and Factory, C. V. Carpenter: The Engineering Magazine Co.

¹ Work, Wages and Profits, H. L. Gantt: The Engineering Magazine Co.

officials responsible for the prosecution of the work are brought into frequent meetings to report upon existing conditions and to furnish estimates or to commit themselves to agreement as to what can be accomplished in the immediate future. Second, an immediate record is made of these reports and undertakings, usually on a blackboard, so that the official goes down in black and white before his fellows, and knows that the record will confront him at the next meeting. Third, this system of conference and consultation, with some attendant emulation, is carried down even to assistant foremen and job bosses. Fourth, a system of individual reward by a slight increase of wages or small promotion is used to encourage and distinguish the man who strives for and attains more than ordinary efficiency.

Here is another proposal for breaking down blind walls about the individual provinces, and widening the horizon, even of the minor official.

How an Old Trade Was Revolutionized

Gilbreth's philosophy¹ has been developed and applied chiefly in connection with building and general contracting. His best-known work has been in the simplification of operations by very skilful and very interesting eliminations of traditional but needless waste of effort or method.

One example often quoted (as all classics are) is taken from the operations of brick-laying. The work is far older than the Egyptian bondage—older than the Tower of Babel. It might be expected to profit by everything that mere practice could supply. But the motions of handling brick, mortar, trowel, the line, were studied and much simplified. Bricks and mortar were supplied in the most convenient arrangement, in the most convenient position. The bricklayer no longer has to stoop, lifting 180 pounds of his own body with every nine pounds of brick. He no longer had to toss every brick, testing it for top and bottom. All brick were brought to him proper face up, in convenient packets.

The scaffolding, by simple mechanical means, was kept constantly at the most convenient height. The bricklayer, by easy movements, transferred brick on a short horizontal path from packet to wall. He did not toil so hard as before, but his work was all bricklaying, not mere lifting and juggling of weights. His day's accomplishment, with



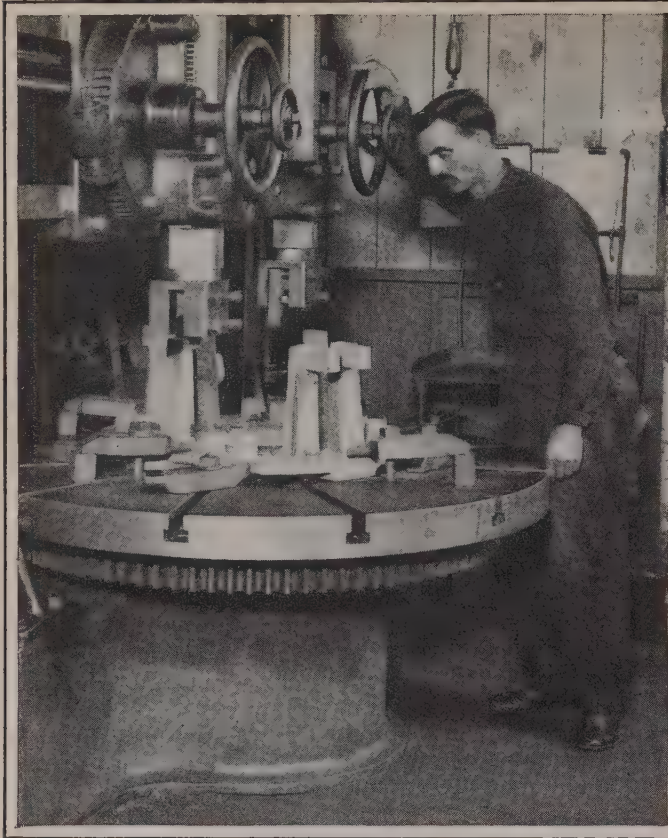
THE TYPE OF MAN SELECTED FOR FOREMEN BY THE TABOR MANUFACTURING COMPANY

(These selections are not made at random, but by the study of the characteristics of the men. There are under-studies for each important position, and these men are conscientiously trained for the higher positions. The Tabor plant is under the Taylor system of management)

less physical tax, rose from 1000 bricks to 2700.

So far Gilbreth's practice is strictly scientific. But passing beyond that into the school of suggestion, his practice is characterized by four major principles. First,

¹ Motion Study, Frank B. Gilbreth; D. Van Nostrand Co. Field System, Brick-Laying System: *Ibid.*; Myron C. Clark Publishing Co.



A TYPE OF MAN WHO WAS ORIGINALLY A SPECIALIST ON
ONE MACHINE

(A study of the man showed that his mechanical ability was worthy of a higher grade of work than that which he was accustomed to. Although past thirty-five years of age, he was given an opportunity for development denied him in his youth, and has made good)

the separation of the work so that, as far as can possibly be managed, each man works separately and individually—that is, so that his separate individual performance can be distinguished and measured. Second, constant observation by a sufficient force of timekeepers to record individual performance from hour to hour. Third, conspicuous and immediate posting of these records so that comparison between man and man, or, if unavoidable, between gang and gang, can be made every shift, if not indeed every hour. Fourth, reward of some kind (and experience shows that it may be of the most varied kind, substantial or sentimental, so long as it is positive and conspicuous) for the best performance or performers, and admonition for the poorest.

Individual records, continuously taken, openly posted. Here is an elemental practice that the most elemental man can grasp—to

which the simplest intelligence responds by some of its simplest emotions. Have we at the end come upon an element common to all these complex philosophies? Has our pursuit of the underlying idea brought us, more by natural course than prepared design, to discover that great common divisor?

Knowledge of Individual Performers the Basis of Progress

Standard times and individual time measurements; scientific planning and written instructions for every job; permanent records, and separately measured rewards for varying personal efficiency; elevation of the departmental official to a plane of general outlook and survey of his work as related to that of his fellows; committee meetings with open debate and conference and posted minutes—what is the essence of all these but *light, more light?* Shadows of forgetfulness and ignorance, secrecy in which man or task may lag or lurk unobserved, are flooded with illuminative study. Task and man are

brought up to the clear horizon of observation and knowledge. That which was hidden is revealed, and that which is revealed is made patent to all. The true basis for fixing the share in the victory and the just claim on the spoils is established.

The great common divisor of all the methods (not the entirety of any one, but an imposing factor of all, whether they be incentive, scientific, or suggestive) is *discovery, illumination, definition and dissemination of knowledge*—the open, accessible declaration of all material facts affecting any transaction, for the information and guidance of all whose interests are involved therein.

Using the term, not in its lower and narrower meaning, but in the highest and finest sense that can be given it, the universal factor—the great common divisor—of all the new philosophies by which industrial efficiency is increased is—Publicity.

PUBLICITY AND TRUSTS

BY ROBERT LUCE

(Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts)

[This article will be read with peculiar interest in connection with the series on "The People and the Trusts" now appearing in this magazine. It shows the manner in which Canada and Massachusetts are already proceeding along the lines suggested in the July number. The fundamental point in both plans is PUBLICITY of all the facts gathered and presented, not by partisans or interested parties, but by a judicial body. The Massachusetts law is intended explicitly to invoke the irresistible power of aroused and reformed Public Opinion, for the correction of admitted evils, not reached by ordinary court processes.—THE EDITOR.]

WHEN so many persons have urged publicity as a remedy for the evils of trusts and monopolies, it is singular that so little attention has been attracted by its application in Canada and by the first law to secure its application in the United States.

The Canadian law of 1910 was the outcome of failure to get adequate results from previous legislation. The law of 1897 had aimed to give relief through a reduction of the tariff by an order-in-council when monopoly was shown. It was brought into effective service only once. In May, 1900, the newspaper publishers of the Dominion, acting through the Canadian Press Association, alleged that there was a combination among the manufacturers of news printing paper, and that it compelled Canadian publishers to pay much higher rates than were charged for paper of the same quality and for the same uses in the United States. The Justice who was appointed high commissioner held that the association had made out its case, and as a result the duty was reduced from 25 to 15 per cent. by order-in-council.

This remedy could serve only in case of a monopoly aided by a tariff and could not meet the needs of the shoe manufacturers who protested against the methods of the United Shoe Machinery Company. Their grievances and the general need of a more comprehensive remedy led to the passage of the law of 1910, entitled "An Act to Provide for the Investigation of Combines, Monopolies, Trusts and Mergers which may Enhance Prices or Restrict Competition to the Detriment of Consumers." It is understood to have been the handiwork of W. L. Mackenzie King, Minister of Labor, whose law for the investigation of industrial disputes had been so successful that he undertook to apply the same methods of treatment to monopolies. So he provided that when six or more persons are of opinion that a "combine" exists and

that by reason of it, prices have been enhanced or competition has been restricted, to the detriment of consumers, such persons may make an application to a judge for an order directing an investigation. If upon a hearing he satisfies himself that there is reasonable ground for the allegation, and that in the public interest an investigation should be held, he is to order it. Thereupon the Minister of Labor is to appoint a board of three members, one named by the petitioners, a second by the persons to be investigated, and a third chosen by the two, or if they cannot agree, by the minister himself.

If, as a result of the investigation that follows, it appears to the satisfaction of the Governor in Council that "with regard to any article there exists any combine to promote unduly the advantage of the manufacturers or dealers at the expense of the consumers," the tariff on that article may be reduced or removed. If it is shown that the holder of a patent has used it so as unduly to limit the facilities for transporting, producing, manufacturing, supplying, storing, or dealing in any article that may be a subject of trade or commerce, or unduly to prevent, limit, or lessen its manufacture or production, or unreasonably to enhance its price, or unduly to prevent or lessen competition, the patent may be annulled by the Exchequer Court after due hearing. A third remedy is a fine of not more than \$1000 a day for continuance of any monopolistic practice that the investigation may disclose.

CANADA INVESTIGATES THE SHOE MACHINERY TRUST

Mr. King's experience with the law for the investigation of industrial disputes had shown that at any rate in labor troubles penalties are unimportant,—negotiation, advice, and publicity are the effective things. Doubtless he expected the same would be

true of his law against "combines," but it looks as if the penalties seemed a serious matter to the first corporation to be investigated, the United Shoe Machinery Company. At any rate it resisted the procedure, carrying its appeals to the Privy Council in England, but at last was compelled to face the inquiry. This began some months ago and at this writing is still in progress. The board consists of Joseph C. Walsh, a Montreal journalist named by the applicants; William J. White, K.C., of Montreal, named by the company, and Mr. Justice Charles Laurendeau, also of Montreal, agreed upon by the other two. Of course it is not ordinarily to be expected that the men named by either side in such a controversy will quickly see the force of the argument of the other, and so in most cases undoubtedly the third man will be the real umpire. It is fortunate, therefore, that in this first test of the new law the third man should have been agreed upon by the other two and should be a jurist of standing.

Contrast with this the investigation of the same company that has been in progress at Washington. A Congressional committee may be selected with an eye to especial fitness for the work in hand, but that is not often the case. It may as a matter of fact be impartial, but the public rarely thinks it such. Always there is the suspicion of partisan bias and ulterior motives. So the investigation usually ends in smoke, with nothing accomplished save the collection of a mass of more or less useful testimony.

By the Canadian plan, on the other hand, the investigation is reasonably sure to lead to results, if occasion for them appears. The loss of tariff protection, the loss of patent protection, or a substantial fine, is a genuine danger to the monopolist.

MASSACHUSETTS MOVES AGAINST MONOPOLIES

Learning of the existence of this Canadian law, the Massachusetts Commission on the Cost of Living decided to recommend the enactment of the same principle to meet the need of a remedy against monopolies in Massachusetts. That State may already have had law enough on its statute books to punish or destroy monopolies, but at any rate its results were scanty. It could be set in motion only with the acquiescence of officials who ordinarily are not looking for more trouble. The Attorney General and the District Attorneys in Massachusetts are busy men, often overburdened with routine work. Further-

more, the instinct of the official life of Massachusetts is conservative, ordinarily predisposing its public servants against anything that savors of sensationalism. For the most part they avoid anything that looks like playing to the galleries, and unfortunately attempts to suppress monopoly would be so construed. Furthermore, what is everybody's business is nobody's business, and since as a rule monopoly affects the individual only as a member of a class, general complaint often sees no one person bending his energies to concrete action, if impediments are plentiful.

The Cost of Living Commission felt that the important thing under the circumstances was to make it easy for the private citizen to start the wheels of machinery that once started would by the operation of statute law be kept in motion till a conclusion was reached. So it suggested the creation of a Commission of Commerce, before which any citizen might lay any complaint of injustice in the distribution of the staple articles of commerce, brought about by combination in restraint of trade. Further reflection, however, raised the doubt whether there would be enough work to warrant a permanent commission and in the end it was decided to use the existing machinery of the courts. The bill passed last year provided that upon complaint by any citizen alleging monopoly or restraint of trade, a judge shall give a hearing, and, if he finds cause, shall appoint a master, as in equity procedure, who shall listen to the parties and make full examination. His report, if affirmed by the court, is to be transmitted to the Attorney General, "who shall forthwith cause such further proceedings, either civil or criminal, to be instituted as such report may warrant."

An important provision is that the master may append to his report such recommendations as may tend to remove restraint or prevent any ground of complaint alleged and found to be proved. This applies to trade and commerce the principle that Massachusetts has long found efficacious in dealing with the problems of quasi-public corporations. In creating a Railroad Commission forty years ago, and since then in creating commissions to deal with other public utilities, it has sought, first, publicity, and secondly, the calm advice of a disinterested tribunal having the public confidence. To some of its commissions it has given only advisory powers, to others, mandatory powers, but in practice it has found that advisory powers almost always suffice. Only once, for instance, has a

railroad refused to follow the advice of the Railroad Commission, and then the Legislature acted so promptly that no railroad has repeated the attempt. This has come about because a public discussion of grievances, with definite ascertainment of the facts, usually suffices to disclose the remedy, if one is needed.

IGNORANCE OF THE FACTS LEADS TO INJUSTICE

It is all-important to know the facts. Ignorance of them has been largely responsible for the present state of the public mind toward large corporations. As the Cost of Living Commission pointed out, it has of late come to be understood as never before, that a state of mind may be of great importance to health. This is just as true of a community as of an individual. Great injury may come to the body politic, to its commerce and its industry, through inflamed passions, through fear or suspicion or worryment. Knowledge is the remedy. At present the public forms its opinions without adequate information. Upon baseless charges it will too often without a hearing pillory captains of commerce who are in reality innocent of wrongdoing, but who are the victims of economic forces beyond their control. Profits cannot compensate them for the loss of the respect and good will of the communities that they have in reality tried to serve. Sometimes they lose profits and respect together. They may be tempted by a sense of injustice to commit the offenses of which they have already been found guilty at the bar of public opinion, feeling that they have nothing more to lose, and may as well reap the obnoxious profit, if they are to be punished in any event.

Such a situation does nobody good and everybody harm. Its evils are rampant. They have arrayed the whole body of consumers against those who should be their friends and fellow workers for the common welfare. Whether or not the men who to-day dominate and direct much the greater part of the industries of this country have been guilty of wrongdoing, whether or not the few are oppressing the many,—robbing them, as the customary phrase is,—nothing is to be accomplished by vain speech and loud words. Something definite, direct, and sure must be done before the community will be content. The community has the right to be informed.

The Massachusetts law furnishes the means for public information.

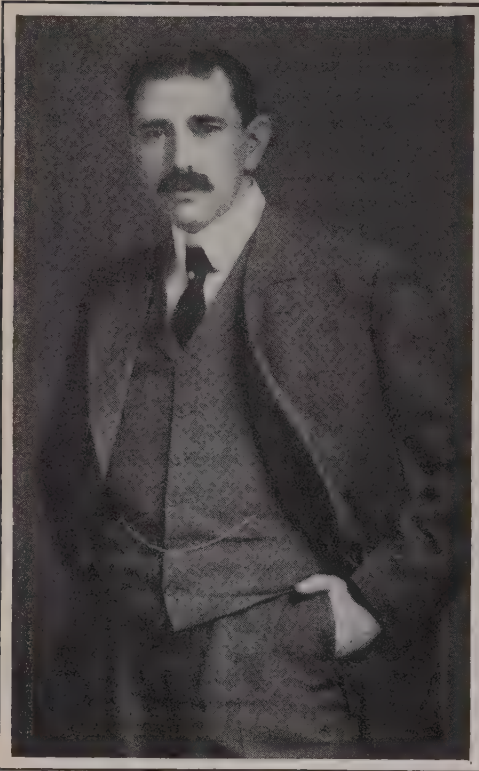
In one interesting respect this law goes beyond that of Canada and perhaps any other law on the subject of monopoly. It reaches to any "practice" in restraint of trade. More than that, it goes to the point of any agreement or practice whereby "the free pursuit of any business, trade, or occupation, is or may be restrained or prevented." Under this it would be practicable to secure judicial inquiry into the practices and conduct of any labor organization that sought to restrain workers from the free pursuit of their occupation. Thus organized capital and organized labor are alike exposed to the need of acquainting the public with the facts if occasion arises. Surely that is fair.

Of course such a law does not content those who see danger in all forms of combination, who believe there cannot be such a thing as reasonable monopoly, who want to compel competition. If it be true, however, that such critics fight against economic forces that are irresistible, if their protests are as futile as were the commands of King Canute to the rising waves of the sea, then they will not get support from men who are willing to try to control forces they cannot compel. It may be possible to secure such control through application of the Sherman law worked out by judicial decisions, or through explanatory statutes, but is it not worth while at any rate to try what can be done by publicity? Stronger than statutes or judicial decisions is the power of public opinion. Enlightened by knowledge of the facts, all the facts, public opinion will establish standards that few men will dare ignore. Let it have a fair chance.

The Massachusetts law has not yet been used. Its passage received no widespread attention and there has appeared as yet no important occasion for testing its efficacy. Even if it should not be frequently used, its presence on the statute book ought to be of service. The grumbler, the alarmist, the sensation-monger can now be told: "Satisfy a judge that you have ground for complaint and the machinery of justice will be at your command." This at any rate should help to content those critics who to-day feel themselves helpless. It should also in some measure silence those other critics who have no real wish to turn criticism into action.

CITY GOVERNMENT OF TO-DAY

THE METZ FUND PROFITABLY EMPLOYED



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EX-COMPTROLLER HERMAN A. METZ, OF NEW YORK,
WHO HAS CREATED A FUND FOR THE IMPROVE-
MENT OF METHODS IN AMERICAN MUNI-
CIPAL FINANCE

ABOUT five years ago the Comptroller of New York City, Herman A. Metz, perceiving the careless and inefficient methods which had theretofore obtained in that city's business affairs, determined to introduce the business practices he had used successfully in his private enterprises. In carrying this out he had the coöperation of a recently formed citizens' agency, the Bureau of Municipal Research, whose object was to get "the business of the city done with the highest degree of efficiency" and whose record has since given impetus to a movement for governmental efficiency in administrative work which is being adopted by city departments as rapidly as the efficiency movement advocated by Taylor and Emerson is spread-

ing among large business concerns, or the commission government plan of organization among smaller cities.

So impressed had Mr. Metz become with the need for new standards and new methods in city business and with the rapid vindication of efficiency methods when tried by his own city, that at the completion of his term of office he created a fund yielding \$10,000 a year for three years to bring to every city in the country, currently and accurately, information regarding the progress of business reform in New York City and elsewhere. The Metz Fund is perhaps best known through its efforts to secure efficient municipal accounting, and its series of "Short Talks," twelve of which have already been issued to accounting officers throughout the country, but its work has not been confined to this field. It is making studies in budget-making, standardization and purchasing, etc. But perhaps its most important service, judged by lay standards, is its recent field study of that much-talked-of device for efficiency,—Commission Government.

In order to learn what government by commission had effected in the way of program, method, and accomplishment, the Metz Fund upon its donor's initiative selected ten typical cities where the commission plan had been in effect for several years. These cities were Kansas City, Topeka, Wichita, Cedar Rapids, Des Moines, Huntington, Galveston, Fort Worth, Houston, and Dallas. The general form and functional organization of these cities was learned from published charters and ordinances. To expedite and facilitate the field study, 1300 searching questions were applied to test as many phases of administrative methods as were suggested by the experience of New York and other cities where the efficiency movement had taken root. The questions related to the origin and history of the commission plan, the administrative practices indicative of efficient administration and the relation of citizens to the government, and included an individual set of questions for each department, which had to be answered by work done, not by theory. The field work was directed by Mr. Henry Bruère, Director of the Bureau of Municipal Research (one of whose colleagues,

by the way, Frederick A. Cleveland, is making a similar field study of departments of the federal government as chairman of the Commission on Economy and Efficiency). Mr. Bruère, with a staff of three bureau investigators, is now making the same kind of a study of ten German cities, beginning with Frankfort, whose mayor ejaculated, as did so many American commissioners, "This is a new kind of study. Most people want only theory."

The investigators upon their arrival in one of the cities to be investigated first made a rapid survey of physical conditions of the city, such as streets, parks, homes, factories, railroads, etc. Then each took a department, and, armed with a copy of the questionnaire, requested from the commissioner in charge or from his subordinate a few minutes' time to obtain certain information. Usually this was readily granted, and the official was then asked as to organization, personnel, records, and work methods, definite questions following in logical order. These proved as interesting to the man interrogated as to the questioner, for often new lines of work or different methods were suggested. Sometimes the answers as noted verbatim by the investigators were very frank—*e.g.*, when an official of the fire department in one city was asked what preventive measures were taken after the Asch and Newark factory fires, he replied, "Just talked about it." Several officials apparently disliked to acknowledge that their departments lacked certain modern improvements and so uniformly answered instead of a negative: "About to be installed," or, "We are considering such a plan." The third step in the study, after all departments had been covered, consisted in conferences with representative citizens to learn the non-official point of view toward commission government. The entire survey of a city usually occupied about three days.

The results and observations were carefully analyzed, compared, and contrasted with the advance steps made in other cities. Commission government was held up to the light, its achievements being contrasted not with those of the previous form of government, but with what has been and what promises to be accomplished in cities under the older



MR. HENRY BRUÈRE
(Director of the Bureau of Municipal Research, of New York,
and author of "The New City Government")

forms of government. Judged by this standard, commission government, as Mr. Bruère told the writer, has not always resulted in progressive and efficient government; in fact, there is the same necessity for continuous citizen interest and a broader view of the functions of city government, although its simpler organization and the concentration of responsibility make it easier for an awakened public opinion to secure such progress.

The details and conclusions reached by Mr. Bruère, together with suggestions for introducing into the commission plan scientific business methods and a wider social program, especially in health and social betterment work, are to be published early in September in a book entitled "The New City Government" (D. Appleton and Co.), with a foreword by ex-Comptroller Metz.





THE DARTMOUTH COLLEGE CAMPUS

(Dartmouth is one of the "small-town colleges" where many of the students earn at least a portion of their college expenses)

WORKING ONE'S WAY THROUGH COLLEGE

BY JOSEPH ELLNER

"I HAVE two hundred and fifty dollars, am in good health and willing to work at anything. Do you advise me to come to your college?"

This question, in somewhat extended form, was addressed to the presidents of five small-town colleges, located in different parts of the country. In every instance the answer was, "Yes, come along."

The purpose of the inquiry was to ascertain what the chances were for a young man of limited means, but able and willing to work, to obtain a college education. We are familiar with stories of men who later have won fame and fortune, who "worked their way" at college. But it is generally felt that these men possessed exceptional ability and energy and that their feat is impossible to a boy of average ability and energy. The following study was undertaken to show the incorrectness of this popular feeling, and also to examine the conditions of employment prevailing at the colleges.

A word of explanation is perhaps necessary for particularizing "small-town colleges." The *raison d'être* of the small college-town's existence is usually the college, and about the only work available is that which caters to more or less to the needs of the institution. To some degree, therefore, the opportunities for work are part of the opportunities offered by the college. Available positions, however, are fewer, the competition is more keen, and the student must often create the work to make his way. The small-town college in

consequence is the more reliable and exacting standard for judging employment conditions to be found in the colleges to-day.

The six institutions studied were Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire; Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa; Randolph-Macon, Ashland, Va.; Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colorado; Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin; and Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.

WORKING FOR THE COLLEGE

Every college and university corporation has at its disposal a number of paying positions. Varying with the size of the institution, from ten to sixty self-supporting men are given fairly remunerative employment in the business offices, laboratories, library, and about the grounds. At Dartmouth, for instance, such work enables a student to earn one-fourth to one-half of his necessary expenses without interfering with his studies or depriving him of recreation. A committee receives applications for these positions, makes the appointments, and settles the remuneration, which is not paid in cash but is remitted on the tuition fee.

The college dining halls offer more opportunities for work than all other sources combined. The custom of having students wait on tables in the college restaurants is of recent growth, but from time immemorial undergraduates have helped in the kitchen, managed the accounts, and supervised the



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BELOIT COLLEGE, WISCONSIN.—A TYPICAL MIDDLE WESTERN INSTITUTION IN A CITY OF 15,000
(Nearly three-fourths of the Beloit students are earning a part or all of their college expenses in term time or during vacation)

serving at college phalansteries. At Dartmouth over 200 men are employed in the dining halls, at Colorado College about sixty-five, at Beloit about twenty.

The custom has, however, never gained a foothold at Princeton. Professional waiters do the serving under the supervision of a "monitor." The monitor's work is in no sense menial, and calls for some executive ability. About thirty-five men are thus employed for about one hour at each meal and receive for their work free board. Board at the commons costs \$5.50 a week. It is considered well-paid work and there are many applicants for the position. There are other jobs at the commons which require the part time of about 100 men. The board bill is the working student's largest and most worrisome item and if he succeeds in cutting it down the rest is pretty fair sailing.

Employment similar to that of monitor is open to members of the students' clubs at Princeton as well as at Beloit. Each club has a steward, bookkeeper, and secretary. Seven stewards are employed at Beloit and about twenty-six at Princeton. The pay is full remission on board, which at the Princeton clubs costs \$7.50 a week.

A COLLEGE EMPLOYMENT BUREAU

There are many institutions of learning in this country that cannot boast of powerful athletic teams or colossal stadiums, colleges that are confined to, perhaps, three or four buildings, but there is not one that has not

its student employment bureau. Some of these bureaus are run by the students, others are managed by the authorities, while at some colleges there is close coöperation with the local Y. M. C. A. employment committee. This is the case at Grinnell, where the majority of the students, male and female, are in moderate circumstances and about one-half of them are earning at least part of their expenses. The presence of female students at this college also makes available the employment bureau of the local Y. W. C. A. The bureau at Colorado College, maintained by the authorities, last year secured work for over 150 men. The bureau at Beloit, which is very thoroughly organized and keeps good records of its work, has been able to find work for every one who has applied and some positions have been offered which could not be filled. This is an exceedingly good showing when it is taken into consideration that 73 per cent. of Beloit students are earning part or all of their expenses in term time or during vacation.

Some interesting tables are on file at the Beloit employment bureau, the result of a study of employment conditions at the college made recently by the members in the class in sociology. Each senior, junior, and sophomore at Beloit was asked to state as exactly as possible the amount of his annual expenses and whether he was earning anything toward his own support and if so whether he earned more or less than one-half of his total expenditures. Out of 143 men in the three upper classes, 136 made returns.

Of these 12 per cent. were earning their whole support, 27 per cent. were earning more than one-half, and 73 per cent., including the preceding, stated that they were earning something either in term time or in vacation. Forty-six men, one-third of the whole number, were at work during term time.

The occupations at which the men were engaged included janitor's service, care of furnaces, waiting on tables, dish-washing and pumping, care of horses, driving, barbering, serving as stewards of clubs, as clerks in stores, driving delivery wagons, acting as laundry agents; running an employment bureau, stenography and typewriting, clerical work, assisting in library and gymnasium, tutoring, reporting for newspapers, and music.

The employment bureau at Princeton is in charge of a practical business man who gives his entire time to the work. When a call for help is received the secretary consults his index files and finds the best man fitted for the position. The student is asked to report when he begins work, the nature of the work, what it will pay, and whether he will take and stay on the job. Over 200 positions were found and filled by the bureau last year.

Because of the greater number of students at Princeton the problem of finding work is

perhaps more difficult than at any other small-town college. The town of Princeton is little more than a residential village surrounded by an agricultural community. There are no local industries and no large shops. Each resident, rich and poor, has a well-defined economic function in the community. But residents take a lively interest in student welfare and usually call upon the employment bureau for what unskilled help they need. Tending furnaces, washing windows, whitewashing, and other casual jobs are as a rule tendered to the students. Farmers often call for students when they need help in husking, wood-cutting, plowing, weeding, and haying. The bureau also supplies gardeners to cottage and estate owners.

The helpful coöperation of the town folk is characteristic of all small towns where colleges or universities are located. Often it is the college's most valuable asset. The residents take a personal pride and interest in the students, and are sympathetic toward the boy of small means. Each year a college town pays out in wages to students a good-sized sum of money. Last year the young men at Colorado College earned over \$12,000 by work given them by the residents of Colorado Springs. At Beloit more than 50 per



Photograph by B. F. McManis, N. Y.

PART OF THE PRINCETON CAMPUS



SOME OF THE BUILDINGS OF GRINNELL COLLEGE, IOWA, WHERE ONE-HALF OF THE STUDENTS ARE PARTIALLY SELF-SUPPORTING

cent. of the self-supporting students make their expenses by work done in the town. The percentage is much smaller in Princeton owing to the larger number at the university and the smaller size of the town. Princeton also has more activities directly associated with and catering exclusively to the students.

COLLEGE NEWSPAPERS

Almost every college has its newspaper. These sheets are good sources of income to a president and other officers, while giving steady employment to a number of assistants. The income derived is often large. The managers of the *Daily Princetonian* make from \$400 to \$500 each a year.

Correspondence for city papers also affords a fair income while the student is receiving a training which many apply after graduation. The Princeton Press Club is composed of twelve members, all earning a good part of their college expenses by reportorial work. There are also in every college a number of "free lances" who make money writing special articles.

CREATING THE JOB

The occupations that depend entirely on the patronage of the student body are by far

more picturesque in variety. At Beloit, Dartmouth, and Grinnell a number of students are capable stenographers and typewriter operators. A man with a typewriter and mimeograph is able to earn a fair income. There are theses to be copied and syllabi of lectures to be got out, besides a great deal of work for the professors and instructors. Six men at Beloit give private lessons in music to students, while as many do tutoring and coaching which commands about \$2 a lesson. The only college barber who plies his trade after lectures is also to be found at this institution.

When, however, there are more men than jobs the college man must invent work. This is especially true at Princeton, which has as many students as any other three small-town colleges combined. The mother of invention never has brought into existence such a miscellaneous and unique collection of enterprises as is to be found at this institution. The originality, acumen, and pluck which necessity has brought out would be remarkable not only in a college town, but in the larger commercial world.

During the first two or three weeks of September the campus of a college looks more like a railroad freight terminal than a quadrangle of a seat of learning. The campus is a vast jungle of trunks, suit cases, bags and

furniture. Every available wagon in town is pressed into service. A Princeton student saw the possibilities in an express company managed by students and catering entirely to their own fellows. In 1905, the Princeton Express Company was organized by a senior who was working his way. He hired a wagon and called for five "huskies" to act as assistants. Over forty applied for the job. He paid \$2 a day and a man cleared from \$20 to \$30 before college formally opened. The enterprise is now making a handsome profit for the president and officers of the company. At the end of the college year in June there is a repetition of the freight terminal scene, and the Students Express Company reaps another harvest.

Another enterprise which is to be found only at Princeton is the University Pressing Club. This is not a social organization, but a company of undergraduates engaged in the prosaic work of pressing the coats and trousers of their fellow students. This company undertakes to keep a man's clothes in presentable appearance for \$12 a year. The clothes are pressed, cleaned, and mended, if necessary. A journeyman tailor does the mending and visits the college two or three times a week. The company is managed by a president and a secretary. The actual work is done by three pressers and six delivery men. The latter are recruited from the freshman class, while the president is always a senior. Ever since the pressing club has been in existence it has happened that one or more of its officers or workers was also a member of one of the five "big" clubs at Princeton. The fact that he was a "clothes presser" did not seem to militate against his being a good fellow. The undertaking has flourished and those engaged in the work earn a good income.

Perhaps the most original kind of work was that invented by a young man last year. He noticed that about eight o'clock in the evening his fellow students began to throw aside their books for the day and relax. It occurred to him that a cup of hot chocolate would be a very welcome addition to "talk and pipes." He laid in a stock of the powder and managed to concoct a decent enough cup. At any rate it was hot, and that was what the boys wanted. He delivered the chocolate in a can, charging five cents for a cupful. There was a good profit in the business. But his customers soon called for sandwiches and pretzels. He laid in a stock of both. The success with the sandwiches was immediate, —so much so that the merchant is now re-

ferred to as the "sandwich man." Two men are now engaged in the business, which, while it does not make them rich, gives them a fair income and shaves down the term bills to a considerable extent.

From one point of view the spectacle of a regularly ordained minister of the gospel cleaning windows for a living may not be a very inspiring sight. A young minister of a village in the State of New Jersey came to the conclusion one day that a better education would enable him to teach the gospel more effectively. The fact that he had no money did not deter him and he came to Princeton with \$20 as his sole capital. Coming late in the term he found only the casual jobs available. He specialized in window cleaning and now makes enough to keep him "going through." On Sundays he preaches at a little church not far from Princeton.

PRINCETON'S TRUCK FARM

The latest enterprise of the Princeton Employment Bureau is the Truck Farm. About three acres near the campus are being put under cultivation by students. Vegetables will be raised for the use of the commons and the general market. The boys receive 25 cents an hour for an eight-hour day, which is the regular wage obtaining in the locality. During the summer months the workers will have an eight-hour day of it. About twenty-five students were enrolled for the past summer's work, and they expected to put by at least \$6 a week toward expenses during term time.

COST OF LIVING

A point covered by the investigation of the class in sociology at Beloit, referred to above, which is of interest to a study of employment conditions at college, is the cost of living. Of 136 men reporting, forty-five spent \$400 a year or less; seven spent not more than \$300, thirty-one reported expenditures of over \$500, while sixty, or nearly half the number investigated, spent between \$400 and \$500. By practising strict economy, the investigation showed that a man could get through with \$330; spending moderately and living decently, \$430 should be enough, while the generous spender should be able to confine his expenditures to \$536.

The estimate of expenses at Dartmouth compares favorably with that of Beloit. The tuition fee at the former is \$125 while at the latter it is but \$80; nevertheless, the mini-

sum of expenses at Dartmouth are \$322 and the maximum \$566, or only \$30 more than at Beloit.

At Princeton, with the tuition fee \$150 and the cost of living higher, the estimate of expenses shows no very startling variations. The minimum of expenses is placed at \$433, which is near the minimum at Beloit, a Western institution where the cost of living is lower. The estimate of moderate expenditures is \$522 and the maximum \$669.60.

The Beloit investigation pointed out the significant fact that the expenditures of men in the self-supporting class were in many cases as high as those of men supported by their parents. In no estimate of expenses furnished by any institution is there to be found a great difference between the expenses of the poor boy and the rich man's

son. In most cases the outlay differs from \$2 to \$4 a week. The household budgets of a good mechanic and of the average store-keeper would probably show a more appreciable difference than is to be seen in the expenses of the working boy and the wealthy student. The investigators at Beloit concluded their study with the following remark: "If a man can find a place to work for his board, and by prizes or scholarships cut down the college's charges one-half, he can reduce his cash outlay to a sum which it is entirely within the power of a determined man to earn, taking also the vacation into the account. It is true it takes a man of good energy and good staying powers to do it, but hundreds of men have done it in the history of the colleges and dozens of them are doing it today."



COLORADO COLLEGE AND ITS MOUNTAIN VIEW

(Last year the young men of this college earned over \$12,000 by work given them by the residents of Colorado Springs)

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

HOW SHALL THE USERS OF THE PANAMA CANAL BE TAXED?

IT has been contended by many persons that the policy of the United States with regard to the Panama Canal, at any rate so far as American shipping is concerned, should be the same as that concerning its inland waterways, upon which no tolls are charged, and that the shipping using the canal ought not to be taxed to pay the interest on the cost of the big ditch. President Taft in his message of December 21, 1911, included the following paragraph relating to the canal:

I believe that the cost of such a government work as the Panama Canal ought to be imposed gradually but certainly upon the trade which it creates and makes possible. So far as we can, consistent with the development of the world's trade through the canal and the benefit which it was intended to secure to the east and west coastwise trade, we ought to labor to secure from the canal tolls a sufficient amount ultimately to meet the debt which we have assumed and to pay the interest.

This passage is cited by Prof. Emory R. Johnson in a discussion of canal tolls and traffic in the *North American Review*. Professor Johnson, it will be remembered, was appointed by the President last year to report on this particular subject. To carry out the policy advocated by the President, would involve the raising of an annual revenue of over \$15,000,000. This total is arrived at in the following manner:

It is estimated that the annual operating and maintenance expenses will be \$3,500,000, and that \$500,000 more will be required for the government of the zone. The canal will cost the United States \$375,000,000, much of which has been or will be borrowed money. At three per cent. the annual interest on this investment will amount to \$11,250,000. Thus, in order to carry itself without being a burden upon the general budget, the canal will need to have an annual revenue of \$15,250,000.

The principal and interest on the investment in the Panama Canal must be paid either from the general taxes or from the canal revenues; and as the former are now subject to heavy demands "for the promotion of the public health, for irrigation and reclamation, and for maintaining the military power and naval prestige of the United States, the present and prospective revenues of the

Federal Government do not seem to warrant the United States in constructing at the expense of the general budget and maintaining on a non-revenue basis great public works such as the Panama Canal." It is Professor Johnson's opinion, therefore, that "such tolls should be levied as will enable the Panama Canal to carry itself, if it be found, as a result of actual experience, that tolls producing revenues large enough to meet operating, maintenance, and interest charges can be imposed without unduly limiting the usefulness of the canal." To determine whether an annual revenue of over \$15,000,000 can be obtained from tolls without restricting the traffic, and whether it will be possible to levy a charge of 40 to 60 cents per ton on the cargo carried through the canal without diverting from the waterway much of the tonnage that would otherwise make use of it, one must know the following three things: "(1) How much traffic there is available for the use of the Panama Canal if it is not diverted by tolls; (2) what effect tolls will have on preventing commerce from using the canal; and (3) what rate of increase in the traffic using the canal may be expected.

A table accompanying Professor Johnson's article shows that the net register tonnage of vessels that might have advantageously used a Panama Canal in 1909-1910 aggregated 8,328,029 tons; and from the increase in the decade 1900-1910 it is estimated that by 1915, the year in which the canal is to be officially open for traffic, the ships passing through the canal will have a total net register tonnage of 10,500,000 tons, and that this total will be increased to 17,000,000 by 1925. On the question of tolls Professor Johnson remarks in substance as follows:

For shipping engaged in the European-Chilean trade the great advantage which the Panama route will have over the Straits of Magellan route will be the cheaper coal costs, the difference by the two routes equaling possibly more than a half of the canal tolls. The probable tolls at Panama will hardly prevent the use of the canal by ships en route between the Atlantic Gulf seaboard of the United States and New Zealand and Australia. For ten-knot steamers Wellington will be ten days nearer than by the Magellan Straits and Sydney

will be brought sixteen days nearer. The trade between our eastern seaboard and Australasia is not likely to be diverted from the canal by tolls of even more than \$1 per ton net register. Europe will trade with Australia mainly by way of the Cape of Good Hope and the Suez Canal. It is probable, however, that some share of Australia's commerce with Europe will be handled by the Panama Canal if the tolls there are kept lower than at Suez. The Panama and Suez routes will be active rivals in the field east and north of Singapore.

An important factor in the choice of routes will be the relative cost of coal. At the Panama Canal the United States Government will be able to sell coal, at a profit possibly, for \$5 a ton: the current price at the Suez Canal is over \$6.

As to the proposal that American ships be allowed to use the Panama Canal free, Professor Johnson is of opinion that as the canal will greatly increase the demand for American ships, it will be wiser for the United States to collect the same tolls from all ships and to adopt effective measures for the promotion of the American marine. With regard to vessels owned by railway companies, "it is apparent that the United States must either prohibit the use of the canal by vessels under railroad control or must so regulate carriers using the canal as to prevent railroad lines from monopolizing or limiting the traffic carried between our two seaboard. Probably regulation will be wiser." The government must also keep itself informed "regarding the relation of steamship lines with each other in order to prevent them from combining to restrict services or to raise rates." The government should adopt without delay the policy of requiring publicity in the services and charges of carriers by water as well as of carriers by rail.

From a French Point of View

Writing in the *Revue de Paris*, M. François Mange urges the necessity for fixing the tolls and the unit of tonnage measurement without delay. January 1, 1915, is the date set for the opening of the canal for general traffic; consequently shipowners and maritime organizations have none too much time in which to arrange their new services or to build any new ships that may be required. Already several of the leading steamship lines have made tentative announcements that they will use the new route.

off the Pacific coast of South and Central America. . . . The Compagnie Générale Transatlantique will provide a direct service between Saint Navarre and San Francisco. The Chilean Company, formerly the protégé of the Pacific Steam Navigation Co., will establish a line from Valparaíso via Panama to New York, competing with the English, German, and American companies. . . . Japan is sending to Central and South America ships which will later continue to New York; and the Hawaiian Steamship Co., on the opening of the canal, will have twenty ships plying between the Pacific and New Orleans and New York.

All of these companies and shipowners generally are anxious to know the precise conditions upon which the canal will be placed at their disposal; and any undue delay in supplying the desired information may result in the loss of a considerable amount of traffic.

The canal will exercise an important influence on the relations between the maritime powers; it will be, says M. Mange, an element either of union or of discord according to the spirit in which the conditions of its use are dictated. "The desire of the United States that the canal should profit its own country most of all is but natural, and justifies the fixation of such a tariff of charges as shall remunerate the capital employed in the undertaking." The tolls cannot, however, be fixed without first deciding upon a unit of tonnage measurement; and M. Mange suggests that the United States Government might appropriately submit a proposal on this subject for acceptance by the powers. There is no question the solution of which is awaited with more impatience by the merchant marines of all nations, and the United States should aid in solving it. It is of the highest importance that the inauguration of the Panama Canal should be characterized by a *perfect universal agreement* in regard to this matter. M. Mange relates the difficulties experienced by the Suez company in connection with the question of tonnage, and enumerates three plans of taxation either of which might be adopted by the United States for the Panama Canal: (1) On the registered gross tonnage; (2) on the cargo; (3) on the weight, expressed in metric tons of displacement. He favors the last named, as being the simplest, most equitable basis, and one that would meet with the approval of the principal interested nations—Americans, English, French, and Germans.

Proceeding to discuss the question of tolls, M. Mange, like Professor Johnson, seeks to ascertain the amount of traffic available for the Panama Canal. One difficulty in estimating this lies in the discrepancies existing with regard to the figures relating to the same

The Royal Mail Steamship Co. has combined with the Pacific Steam Navigation Co. The Hamburg-American company has repurchased the Kosmos Line, which for many years has navigated

exports and imports furnished by the countries concerned. For example, for the years 1909-1910, according to American documents, the exports to Japan were 114,200,000 francs; imports from Japan, 334,700,000 francs. According to the Japanese documents, however, the figures were: imports from America, 141,285,141,130,000 francs; exports to America, 370,750,000 francs. Differences: 27 millions of francs, or 24 per cent.; in one case, and thirty-six millions of francs, or 11 per cent., in the other. On the average estimates of three separate commissions M. Mange arrives at a total of 32,595,000 metric tons of displacement on which tolls may be

levied in 1915. He calculates that to meet the charges of maintenance and operation, interest on capital, sinking fund, etc., an annual income of ninety-one millions of francs would be required. This would mean a toll of 8 fr. 40 (\$1.60) per Suez ton. The actual tolls on the Suez Canal are 6 fr. 75 per ton, adult passengers paying 10 francs per head.

In closing his article M. Mange appeals to the United States, "masters of the work, to exercise their rights with great moderation, to strive for that real neutralization of the new route which shall give to all and to each the same profits or charges and the same protection."

GOVERNOR MARSHALL OF INDIANA ON "AUTOMATIC CITIZENS"

IN the September number of the *Atlantic Monthly* there is a paper by Governor Thomas R. Marshall, the Democratic candidate for Vice-President, which might be appropriately described as an admirable essay on individualism. Recalling the fact that Thomas Jefferson was responsible more than any one else for the idea of individualism, the Governor proclaims himself an individualist. But he does not believe in "an individualism which teaches the right to success without emphasizing the duty of not depriving any other man of his opportunity." In the exercise of our individual rights we are prone to forget the existence of our individual responsibilities. "There can be no right without this corresponding responsibility."

The manufacturer of food-products, kindly and well disposed, generous and charitable, who would not dream of taking the life of his fellow-man, will use benzoate of soda as a food preservative. It is immaterial whether it is dangerous to life or not. He is feeding dirty food to the people, and he is taking a chance with human life. His individualism is making a success of his business. What is it doing with his conscience? A manufacturer, who would weep over the unfortunate condition of a defective child, takes into his factory hundreds of immature children, and never dreams that under the evolution of evil there can be any moral responsibility resting upon his shoulders, inasmuch as the law of the land does not forbid.

What shall be said of the railroad director who has knowledge of a defective roadbed and of decayed rolling-stock, but prefers to declare a dividend and risk an accident? What shall be said of the landlord who permits his tenants to take their chances with bad plumbing and leaking gas-pipes? What shall be said of the individual who waters stocks and bonds and sells them to the unwary because the law does not forbid? What has come upon a world prating of its love of brotherhood

when men have no higher idea of responsibility than conformity to the strict letter of legislative enactments?

Governor Marshall differentiates his countrymen into three grades of citizens.

There are those who obey the law through fear of its penalties,—men who deal squarely because their lawyers tell them that they will lose money, and perhaps their liberty, if they do not. These constitute the lowest grade of citizenship. There are those who obey the law because it is the law; they have no respect for it; they regard it as crude, foolish, immaterial legislation, but their respect for constituted authority induces them to keep the letter of the law regardless of their opinion of the spirit of it. These constitute an improved class of citizens. But the citizens of the third and highest grade are the men who make for righteousness. They are the salt of the Republic. These, I am pleased to call automatic citizens. They are men who realize that with the right of individual success in America has come the duty of individual responsibility; that they may 'go the limit' in the way of success, but that they must not injure their fellow-men.

If Americans increasingly "entertain the delusion that individualism authorizes them to do anything which the Legislature has not forbidden, and which the courts cannot punish, then the individualism of Thomas Jefferson will be pronounced a failure." If, on the other hand, we "restore to our individualism our religious conscience, if we do not lose sight of our responsibility while at the same time insisting upon our rights, if we go only as far as as we can go without depriving our brother of any of his rights," then this individualistic Republic will survive, "not by the power of its legislative enactments, but by the equitable spirit in the hearts of its citizens."

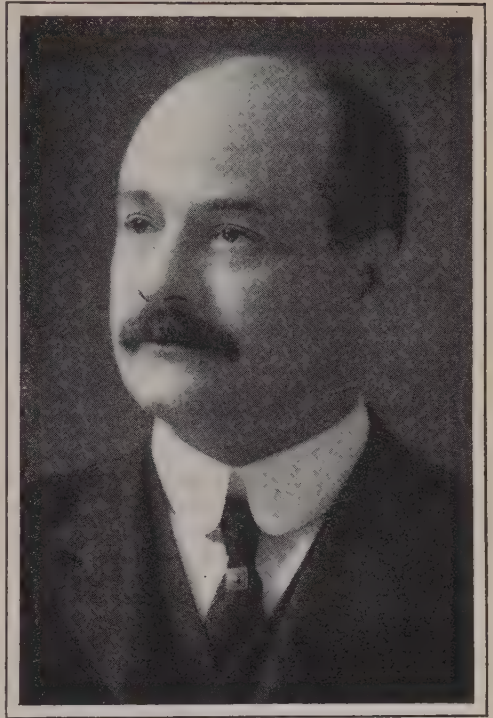
THE MIND THAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE LACKS

THE executive committee of the Association for International Conciliation has done wisely in printing as one (No. 55) of its pamphlets for circulation the opening address delivered by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler as presiding officer of the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration, on May 15 of the present year. The keynote of this address is contained in the following sentence: "We must learn to bring to the consideration of public business in its international aspects what I may call the international mind." What this international mind is, and how we are to seek for it and gain it as a possession of our own and of our country, is explained thus:

The international mind is nothing else than that habit of thinking of foreign relations and business, and that habit of dealing with them, which regard the several nations of the civilized world as friendly and coöperating equals in aiding the progress of civilization, in developing commerce and industry, and in spreading enlightenment and culture throughout the world. It is as inconsistent with the international mind to attempt to steal some other nation's territory as it would be inconsistent with the principles of ordinary morality to attempt to steal some other individual's purse. Magnitude does not justify us in dispensing with morals.

Dr. Butler suggests that in striving to gain the international mind the first thing to do is "to learn to measure other peoples and other civilizations than ours from their own point of view and by their own standards rather than by our own. . . . There is plainly place in the world for numerous races, for many nationalities, and, therefore, for different points of view and for different angles of reflection." The vital question is how far the principles of morality that we profess so ardently as individuals, have taken hold of us in our corporate capacity. Certain phrases and political cries, apparently popular, seem to indicate to Dr. Butler that "we have no very profound faith in the dominance of moral principle, and no very clear ethical conviction as to our own national duty."

Here in the United States it is the easiest thing possible for some public man or some newspaper to arouse suspicion and ill-feeling against Japan, against Mexico, against England, or against Germany by inventing a few facts and then adequately emphasizing them. In not a few of the unpleasant international discussions of the past few years, the people of the United States have been the chief offenders. We are given to looking with far too much leniency upon a braggadocio and a bravado



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PRESIDENT NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

which ape true courage and genuine patriotism, as well as upon those wearisome platitudes which are a convenient refuge for those who refuse to learn to think.

We Americans, says Dr. Butler, "need the international mind as much as any people ever needed it. We shall never be able to do justice to our better selves or to take our true part in the modern world until we acquire it."

If we are to take the place which many of us have fondly hoped America would take, at the very forefront of the movement for the establishment of a world peace based upon even-handed justice, we must first learn to rule our tongues and to turn deaf ears to those who, from time to time, endeavor to lead us away from the path of international rectitude and international honor with false cries of a pseudo-patriotism.

Another thing to be remembered is that there is an interdependence between reasonableness and sanity in the conduct of domestic politics on the one hand, and kindly feeling and generous sympathy in our attitude toward foreign relations on the other.

A nation that is either intellectually, morally, or politically turbulent, is not in any position to

assume leadership in the development of international affairs on a peace-loving and orderly basis. The political braggart at home is the political bully abroad. Unfortunately, our contemporary American public life offers illustrations in abundance of the unhappy effects of constantly carrying on political discussion, both on the platform and in the press, with the manners of the prize ring and the language of the lunatic asylum. A large part of the American public has become so accustomed to highly seasoned political food that it is no longer satisfied with a merely nutritious political diet.

All who have the true interest of their country at heart will agree with Dr. Butler when he says:

Most of all, we must do our best to lift political discussion, both national and international, up out of the mire of personality and unseemly controversies between individuals and private interests on to the high ground of principle. It is not fashionable just now in some influential quarters to have any fixed principles.

It is in the highest degree important that

upon all this sort of thing we should turn our backs.

The vast majority of the American people are "devoted to liberty and order, and sincerely desirous of promoting the common welfare"; but,

unhappily, political exploiters and promoters with vast quantities of watered political stock to dispose of, are just now keeping up such a din and are so skilfully organizing the adventurous elements of the population that real public opinion, our true national character, and the genuine public will are for the moment quite in the background. At the moment we are being ruled by the noisy and well-organized majorities of minorities, and we are sliding backward in political dignity and political wisdom every hour.

Dr. Butler believes that "when the people as a whole grasp this fact, as they surely will, they will assert themselves with no uncertain voice, and our nation will once more put its feet in the path of progress."

THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH BIRTHDAY OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY

ON July 15, 1662, "The President, Council, and Fellows of the Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge," were granted a charter of incorporation by Charles II., and on the same date in this present year the Society celebrated the 250th anniversary of the event at Burlington House, London, the gathering being honored by the

presence of King George. Really the Royal Society is somewhat more than 250 years old. As the London *Graphic* relates, John Wallis, Savilian Professor of Geometry in 1649, wrote as follows:

About the year 1645, at a time when, by our civil wars, academical studies were much interrupted in both our universities, I had the oppor-



CHARLES II

ROBERT BOYLE

SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN

SAMUEL PEPYS

THE FOUNDER AND DISTINGUISHED EARLY MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF LONDON

(The portraits of other well-known members appear on the opposite page)



SIR ISAAC NEWTON

SIR HUMPHRY DAVY

THOMAS H. HUXLEY

LORD KELVIN

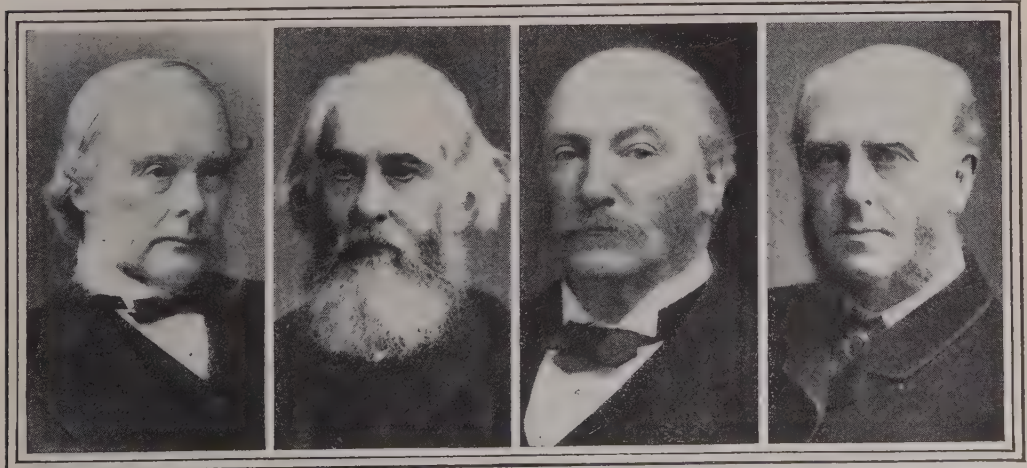
tunity of becoming acquainted with divers worthy persons inquisitive into natural philosophy and other parts of human learning.

The "divers worthy persons" included John Wilkins, D.D., Theodore Haak, Dr. Francis Glisson, Dr. Jonathan Goddard, and Samuel Foster, Gresham Professor of Astronomy, and they met weekly "to discourse and consider of philosophical inquiries—of anatomy, navigation, astronomy, mechanics, and other subjects." Forced to discontinue their meetings in 1658,—Gresham College, one of their meeting-places, being made a quarters for soldiers,—they returned to the college after the Restoration and, in 1660, "decided to bring, as it were, some substance into the shadow by forming an association."

A list of likely sympathisers was put forward, and certain rules were drawn up. Soon after, Sir

Robert Moray brought in word from the Court that the King approved the design and would encourage it. . . . With provident haste the promoters petitioned His Majesty to incorporate them, and a Journal-book entry of October 16, 1661, records that "Sir Robert Moray acquainted the Society that hee and Sr. Paul Neile kiss'd the King's hands in the Company's Name, and is intreated by them to return most humble thancks to his Majesty for the Reference he was pleased to graunt of their Petition: and to this favour and honour hee was pleased to offer of him selfe to bee enter'd one of the Society." On July 15, 1662, the Great Seal of the Kingdom was affixed to a charter.

The charter itself is "written on four skins of vellum, the first of which bears . . . a portrait head of Charles II. in Indian ink within the letter C." In August, 1663, the King ordered the delivery to the President of the Society of "one guilt mace, being a gift from his Ma^{ty}."



LORD LISTER

SIR W. HUGGINS

LORD RAYLEIGH

SIR ARCHIBALD GEIKIE

At times experiments were provided for the King's benefit, but he did not come. Pepys says: "Gresham College he [the King] laughed at for spending time in weighing air, and doing nothing else since they sat." On Jan. 29, 1662, the lord ambassador of Genoa paid a visit, and was entertained "with the sight of Mr. Boyles Engine (*i. e.*, air-pump) for the Exsuction of Aire."

The *Graphic* omits to mention that in 1666, on the invitation of Henry Howard of Arundel, the society changed its home to Arundel House, and that the society was presented with the library of Howard's grandfather, Thomas, Earl of Arundel, which

became the nucleus of the present fine library owned by the society.

The society left Arundel House in 1710 for a house in Crane Court, Fleet Street, where it stayed till 1780. "On meeting nights a lamp was hung out over the entrance to the court." In 1780 a further move was made to Somerset House, and finally the society went to its present home at Burlington House. Isaac Newton was elected president in 1703, and held office for twenty-four years (1703-1727), and Sir Joseph Banks held the same office for no less a period than forty-one years (1778-1820). By the present custom the president holds office for five years.

YOUNG FRANCE AND PHYSICAL CULTURE

IF any one feature, more than another, of the visit of the American athletes to Sweden impressed itself upon those who extended such a cordial welcome to the representatives of the United States, it was the systematic manner in which the team was trained and the conscientiousness displayed by the members composing it in obeying the regulations laid down for their observance. According to an article in the *Revue hebdomadaire* (Paris), the French contestants were similarly impressed so long ago as 1896, at Athens. M. Hugues Le Roux, writing in that magazine on what we may term the renaissance of physical culture in France, says:

It was at the Olympic Games, solemnly resuscitated at Athens in 1896, that our [the French] inferiority and insufficiency in sports were demonstrated. I had purposely embarked at Brindisi on the boat which brought to Athens the representatives sent by the American universities to Greece to dispute with all the champions of the world the Marathon laurel and the other crowns of the stadium. . . . These young men were accompanied by a kind of person at that time unknown among us and whom they called a "coach." He looked after his subjects as though they were young race-horses. Ten times a day on the slightest variations of temperature, he required them to wrap up or to divest; and he supervised their sleep, ablutions, nourishment, beverages, cigarettes, massage, and exercise with a strictness quite military. It was demonstrated to us that these precautions were engaged in as an exact science, "training." Chosen from among thousands, these young sons of a new country had the figure and muscles of Achilles; and a fact worthy of notice was that nearly all of them occupied an honorable position in the university specialties to which they had devoted themselves.

All of the qualities combining to create a champion are found in the make-up of the

athlete called to contest the prize for the foot-race in the stadium. It is the sport *par excellence*. M. Le Roux recounts an incident which demonstrated to him the great need on the part of the French runners of the training to which the Americans were subjected.

At the Olympic Games of 1896 in one of the foot-races there was a young Frenchman who had distinguished himself in his own country by some notable performances. Notwithstanding that his competitors observed that discipline and seclusion indicated above, the little Parisian imagined that he would add to his reputation by employing the hours before the race in a manner the least likely to further his efforts. We saw him exuberant and joyous in all the places where one eats and drinks. I assisted at the track by the side of the trainer of the American students; and I have remembered the lesson which he taught me that day. From the first turn of the track the German runners showed that they were beaten. "Do not be surprised," said my friend the coach. "These Germans are insufficiently nourished. On acorn coffee, black bread, greens, sausages! They have neither the muscles of our young Anglo-Saxons nor the nervous system of you Frenchmen." While chatting we watched the approach of some champion runners. The young Frenchman who had so ill-prepared himself for the race, had evidently determined that, now he was in the race, he would conquer or die. He finished second, but black in the face as a hunted stag; and the race, of course, went to one of the American runners. Said my friend: "Your young Parisian runs with his heart. The others run with their legs. Your race has magnificent power. With the nervous system that you have inherited, if you would but submit to the discipline of training, you would be unbeatable."

The lesson learned at Athens has borne good fruit. M. Le Roux gives an interesting account of the development of athletics in his country. It appears that at the beginning of 1887 there were two athletic and sporting societies, already venerable, in France,—the

Racing Club and the Stade Français. At the close of a paper-chase in the woods of Ville-d'Avray, on January 18, 1887, these two bodies decided to amalgamate, taking the title, "Union des Sociétés françaises des Sports athlétiques" (abbreviated, U. S. F. S. A.). It was agreed that the Union should offer as prizes objects of art, medals, and diplomas, and that it should hold competitions and conferences to further athletics generally. The Union has made rapid progress, as the following figures show. In connection with the Union there were:

In 1887, 2 clubs
 " 1892, 31 clubs and 13 school associations
 " 1897, 138 clubs and 70 associations
 " 1902, 249 " " 88 "

In 1907, 558 clubs and 106 associations
 " 1910, 951 " " 180 "
 and 79 military and naval societies.

During the past two years the number has still further increased. A new spirit animates Young France: it should produce results far beyond a course of instruction in sports. In times of peace a generation of young Frenchmen is being developed who have confidence in themselves, who gladly meet difficulties, who strive with ardor and conquer without vanity. And for times of war a new type of soldier citizen is being educated who regards the conflicts between nations as a necessary incident in the struggle for life and who strives to prepare himself with heart and soul for the battle.

THE REAL STATUS OF FRENCH PROTESTANTISM

EARLY in the year *La Revue*, the French monthly, published an article by M. Onésime Reclus, on the "Decadence of Protestantism in France." This REVIEW condensed and quoted from M. Reclus' article in its issue for April. The original aroused a good deal of attention in France. The summary appearing in the pages of this magazine also has called forth some interesting comment. Several French reviews have published editorial notes presenting evidence of the growth of French Protestantism during the past decade apparently unknown to M. Reclus when he wrote his article in *La Revue*. We have received an interesting letter on this subject from a Canadian reader, Mme. Biéler, whose husband is a member of the faculty of the Montreal Presbyterian College. We quote from it here:

M. Onésime Reclus, author of the article in *La Revue* (Paris), has such a reputation as a scientist and a geographer that his statements have great credit. However, those who know how the celebrated writer became an agnostic by an unhappy reaction against a strictly Calvinistic education, and how bitterly and often unjustly he renounced the faith of his childhood, and broke away from his early friends, can only understand how these personal experiences have biased his judgment and prevented him from giving a fair and impartial picture of the present Protestant situation in France.

M. Reclus compares the thin congregations of some churches to the vast audiences of bygone days. He complains of mixed marriages, indifference to religion, worldliness, love of money and decay of morality. Such is the complaint of aged men in every country of the world. Ask the moralists of Germany, of England, of America, they will all deplore the lack of principle of the present generation, forgetting that the "good old days"

were not quite as virtuous as they should like us to believe. My first answer therefore is this: "If a part of the statements of M. Reclus is true, his readers must remember that French Christianity is not alone at fault, but that which is a reproach to it, is also a reproach to all the so-called Christian nations of the world.

After having made allowance for what cannot be denied in M. Reclus' statements, we must say that his somber picture of French Protestantism is entirely overdrawn and that both numerically and spiritually the Huguenot leaven, far from being dried up, is more active than ever.

It is true that in some out-of-the-way parts of France, the Protestants are decreasing in number, but so also are they in Massachusetts and in the Province of Quebec. Why? Because, just as the thrifty, intelligent Americans and Canadians leave their barren farms for better openings in the West, the French Protestant laborers, better educated and more enterprising than their neighbors, often abandon agriculture for the industrial and commercial enterprises in the towns, where they hope to put their talents to better account. This desertion of the country for the town is a misfortune, but its causes are not entirely to the discredit of the workingman. It is fair to add that if many of this class loosen their church connection when they leave the country for the town, many remain faithful and help constantly to swell the city congregations. As to voluntary sterility, it is a great curse, especially among the small landed proprietors, who bear heavy taxation, suffer from the obligatory military service, have small incomes and an exaggerated sense of economy. However, taken as a whole, the Protestants have much larger families than the native Americans, the swarming babies of the typical Huguenot home being ever a subject of wonder and amusement to their Roman Catholic neighbors.

The apparent diminution of French Protestantism comes more from displacement than from sterility and abandonment of the Catholic faith. M. Reclus blames the large number of sects for what he calls the decadence of French Protestantism. If he was a more intimate and sympathetic observer of the religious life of his country he would

not make this mistake. A rising tide of fraternity is sweeping away the very frail and low barriers which used to divide the different French denominations. Interchange of pulpits and pastors, co-operation in the same social and religious enterprises, the extinction of superfluous sects (and these never spring up abundantly in French soil), the union and complete amalgamation of religious organizations,—all these signs of a common united Protestantism are at work, much to the joy of those who believe in the strength of united Christendom.

Now for the accusation of decay in religious life and influence. Is not the existence of half a dozen important societies for the evangelization of their country, with from seven to eight hundred missionary stations, besides the organized churches, a sufficient answer to this denunciation? In their home missions the French Protestants have neglected no up-to-date means of furthering their ends. The boat, which takes the gospel to the towns and villages situated along the rivers and canals, the automobile, which carries the Bibles and tracts to the most out-of-the-way markets and fairs, the tent and movable hall, where temporary and earnest evangelistic and temperance campaigns are conducted, the attractive posters and the handbills placarded and distributed at street corners, the lectures in theaters and town halls, the clubs and classes for young people, the institutes and mis-

sions for the workingman's family—all of these he does not mention. To this home missionary work could be added what the French do for the sick and needy. Forty Protestant orphanages, as many homes for the aged, hospitals and convalescent homes, asylums of every description, an admirable institution, for deaconesses, and rescue work among fallen women and discharged prisoners. It would take too long to enumerate their efforts for the uplift of public morality, for the abolition of pauperism and for the solution of the terrible social problems engendered by our modern civilization.

Not content with the enormous expense in men and money entailed by their home agencies, the descendants of the valiant Huguenots have founded in Algeria, Senegal, French Congo, Basutoland, Zambesi, Madagascar, and the islands of the Pacific some of the grandest and most successful missionary works of modern Christendom.

Six years ago the French Protestants were suddenly obliged to furnish the \$300,000 which, until then, the government had given to their State Church. They put their hands to their pockets, and not only keep each year subscribing a good deal more than that sum for the growing needs of a growing Church, but they are constantly increasing the incomes of their missionary and social enterprises. I will let your readers judge if this looks like a victorious and onward march, or like the decadence of Protestantism in France?

ENGLAND'S DISTRUST OF GERMANY

THE passage, on August 2, of the Lodge bill, in the Senate, the avowed object of which is not only the reaffirming of the Monroe Doctrine, but the broadening of its scope; the question now pending in regard to the number of battleships required by the navy; the proximate opening of the Panama Canal; and, finally, the harsh challenge implied in the declaration recently made by Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, regarding the determination of England to maintain her naval supremacy, all combine to lend peculiar point and timeliness to a letter addressed by Sir Hiram Maxim to the editor of the *Deutsche Revue*, and published in that magazine, together with a bitter reply thereto by a distinguished German admiral. We present translations in full of both letters, since the questions involved are of vital importance both in regard to American interests and as factors in world-politics. Mr. Maxim says:

It is idle to deny the fact that the English nation in general cherishes a strong suspicion that Germany has sinister ends in view. The English naturally regard the matter from their own standpoint; they need not consider the welfare of other nations; they think only of themselves.

They base their suspicions on the following grounds. Germany is the greatest military power in the world; Germany has no neighbors who

would dare invade her territory or attempt the least infringement of her rights; all of them have the best possible reasons for desiring to maintain peace with her. Hence Germany's position is absolutely secure and unattackable; she runs not the remotest danger of any attack upon her rights.

In foreign countries, we find, Germany possesses all the rights and privileges which England and the United States enjoy. No other nation has the faintest idea of infringing upon her rights. Germany has at the present time a very extensive foreign commerce, thanks, not to political influence or the force of arms, but to the incomparable skill and enterprise of her people. Germany has no dangerous enemy, domestic or foreign. Why, then, does she burden herself with taxes in order to build a fleet of monstrous strength? What does she want with countless "Dreadnoughts"?—at present she has absolutely no need of such things as battleships, with the exception of a few cruisers. If she thinks to remain always at peace why does she demand this enlargement of a fleet already of abnormal strength? There must exist some ground for this, and the very strength of the fleet now building seems to point unmistakably to England, which now possesses the largest navy in the world.

Justly or unjustly, the English seem to imagine, that when the Germans have completed their powerful fleet, London will awake some foggy morning to learn that during the night the greater part of the English battleships have been annihilated by German torpedo-boats, and that Portsmouth is being bombarded without a declaration of war, as was the case when the Japanese destroyed the Russian fleet before Port Arthur. Hence, it is to be recognized that, logically, England is the land

chosen for the German attack; wherefore the strong distrust that reigns at present.

As far as Germany is concerned, nothing could be surer than that England would never enter on a war with her that could in any way be avoided, and there is not the slightest shadow of an excuse for the German distrust of England; it is entirely unjustified.

But there is yet another manner of regarding this affair, to my mind quite comprehensible. England is not the only powerful nation in the world. There are others. The United States has a population of nearly a hundred millions, or about as many as Germany and France together. It has also the greatest wealth—a vast land with unrivaled resources, and, next to England, the strongest navy in the world. May it not well be, therefore, that the United States will be the country to be attacked?

I have heard English naval officers say that they hope it will be America. I think it will be admitted by the Germans themselves that they are on the lookout for new territory. Might not this be found in some one of the magnificent South American countries already possessing a large German population, and might not the building of a fleet have for its purpose the taking possession of such a territory, despite the Monroe Doctrine?

If it be neither England nor the United States that is to suffer it may be China. The English have taken possession of India with a population of more than three hundred million souls; why should not Germany also acquire land in Asia? China, with over four hundred millions of the most industrious people on earth, would naturally be worth far more to Germany than India is to England, but in order to take possession she would have to fight not only with the Chinese, but with the Japanese navy. This, however, is merely an idea of my own.

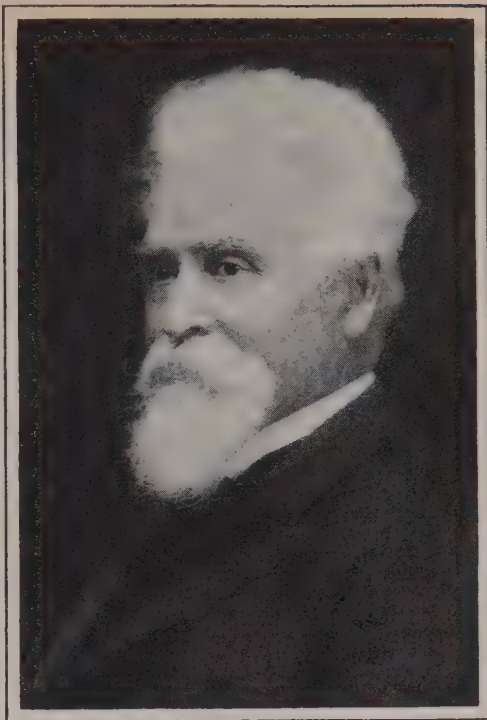
I have lived forty years in the United States and thirty years in England, and I have been a very diligent observer of events. I know I possess the confidence of a large part of the leading men of England, and I am strongly of the opinion that if Germany tried to force a war either on the United States or on England, the eventual consequence would be the forming of an offensive and defensive alliance of the firmest and strongest nature among all the English-speaking nations of the globe.

If the United States should attempt to annex Canada—a highly improbable thing—it would occasion much strife and bloodshed, but if the United States wished to annex both Canada and England it would be the easiest thing in the world, since every Englishman is in favor of some sort of understanding [between the English-speaking peoples].

In conclusion let me be permitted to cite General Grant: "Let us keep the peace." The three great nations have very serious internal battles to fight, quite sufficient to engage their attention, without seeking outside trouble.

In reply, Admiral z. D. Breusing, one of the veterans of the German war fleet, writes:

Sir Hiram Maxim himself gives us in the foregoing letter the principle whereby to judge his statements when he puts at its beginning the sentence: "The English naturally regard the matter from their own standpoint; they need not consider the welfare of other nations; *they think only of themselves.*"



SIR HIRAM MAXIM

(Who has recently published his views on Anglo-German relations)

It is just because the English have thought hitherto only of themselves that they have not made allowance for the political situation of the German people, which irresistibly compels them to prepare in due measure for defensive needs at sea, but have, on the contrary, regarded the development of the German fleet now in process merely as a factor of power which might become uncomfortable to England in the future by forcing her to act with consideration for German interests.

Starting from this standpoint the English arrive at such inaccurate opinions as the one: "Germany builds a fleet of *monstrous* strength, she wants to have *countless* 'Dreadnoughts,' although she has no dangerous enemies, although her position is secure and absolutely unattackable." Yes; they forget, however, that it was a former civil lord of the admiralty, Mr. Lee, who made use of the expression that the Germans would suddenly learn some morning that they *had had* a fleet, and now they are ready to believe, without any proof thereof, that Germany holds similar views concerning England. It is not Germany that has threatened England, but English ministers have repeatedly stated, last year, that in case of necessity, England would force the German Empire by war to decide the Morocco affair according to the findings of the English Government. Indeed, the English Minister of Foreign Affairs has likewise declared to us that the assertion of an absolute supremacy [*Vormachtstellung*] on the Continent by any of the European powers—for the German Empire a natural consequence of the development of a sound people—would to England signify grounds for war.

In the face of this how can the German Empire do other than prepare to protect itself in case of the war with which it is threatened?

Even English statesmen—I refer to the articles by Goldman and Morel in the February number of the *Nineteenth Century*—have admitted that nothing else would remain to us.

In the face of such declarations it is impossible to believe "that England would never enter into a war with Germany which she could in any way

avoid," as Sir Hiram Maxim expresses it. "Let us keep the peace!" says Sir Hiram Maxim at the conclusion of his letter, citing General Grant. The overwhelming superiority in numbers of the German people inclines him thereto. The wish will be fulfilled so soon as England admits the right of the German people to independent development, to liberty and to life and ceases to desire to subject them to an Anglo-Saxon world-lordship. May the negotiations now pending lead thereto.

OUR NEWEST ZOÖLOGICAL TREASURES, THE PYGMY HIPPOS

THE New York Zoölogical Society is now the proud possessor of some specimens to which the word "unique" can be applied without the fear of challenge as to its correctness. Visitors to the New York "Zoo" may now see there a pair of Pygmy Hippopotami—animals so rare that only one living specimen has ever been seen in Europe. In 1873 one arrived at the Dublin Zoölogical Gardens in a dying condition and was never exhibited. How diminutive these animals are may be gathered from a description of them given by Director W. T. Hornaday in the *Zoölogical Society Bulletin* for July. He says:

The Pygmy Hippopotamus is, beside its only living relative, a midget, no more. . . . Beside the enormous bulk of a full-grown male hippo of the common species, it is like a six-months-old human infant of thirteen pounds weight beside a man of 180 pounds. The disparity in size fairly challenges the imagination. In bulk, one adult male Nile hippo weighing 6000 pounds is equal to fourteen adult male Pygmy Hippos!

The scientific name of this interesting animal is *Hippopotamus liberiensis*; but there is practically no general literature about it, and, to quote Mr. Hornaday again, "so far as the standard works on natural history are concerned, the Pygmy Hippopotamus has been almost as unknown and as mythical as the queer beasts of the visions of St. John the Divine." Its discovery was due to Dr. Samuel G. Morton, of the Philadelphia Academy of Science, but with the publication of his papers in 1844 "the diffusion of knowledge regarding the new species almost came to an end." The animal is described thus:

The adult male in the case is thirty inches high at the shoulders, seventy inches in length from end of nose to base of tail, and the tail itself is twelve inches long! The weight of this animal is 419 pounds, and all these figures are offered subject to correction.

The female is believed to be only two years old. It stands eighteen inches high at the shoulders,

and weighs 176 pounds. . . . The color of the Pygmy is recorded as "slaty gray, and under parts grayish white." Pending the arrival of our specimens, we quote this remarkable color scheme with all reserve.

As will have been gathered, Mr. Hornaday's account was written before the animals had reached the Zoölogical Society's park. They were secured through Mr. Carl Hagenbeck, who eighteen months ago "despatched to Liberia an intrepid hunter and explorer named Hans Schomburgk." Mr. Schomburgk's narrative of his successful search is published in the same number of the *Bulletin*. It does not give any particulars concerning the appearance of the animal; but the account of the expedition enables one to realize the enormous difficulty which attends the capture of living specimens of these rare beasts of the African continent. Mr. Schomburgk tells us that:

The greatest difficulty in hunting the Liberian Hippopotamus is that, unlike their big cousins, they do not frequent rivers. They make their home deep in the inhospitable forest, in the dense vegetation, on the banks of the small forest streams; but, not satisfied with the protection the forest affords them, they enlarge the hollows which the water has washed out under the banks, and in these tunnels, where they are invisible from the bank, they sleep during the heat of the day.

Mr. Schomburgk first saw a Pygmy Hippo on the Duquea River; but he had to return to the coast without a capture as it was the rainy season, his "carriers were sick, the whole country was under water, and the native trails were recognizable only because in them the water raced down like mountain torrents." He had much trouble with his carriers. On one occasion they did not want to start, and the only way he could induce them to move was by putting "seven shots through the roof of the boys' hut." There was trouble, too, with the native chiefs.



THE PYGMY HIPPOPOTAMUS RECENTLY CAPTURED IN LIBERIA BY HANS SCHOMBURGK
AND NOW ON EXHIBITION AT THE NEW YORK "ZOO"

A native king, Gongzoo, had, on the promise of a big present, promised carriers for the first animal caught in his district, but when I asked for the men, he point blank refused! By that time I had put the Hippo in a basket, and had brought it with my own carriers, under the most frightful difficulties, to his town. It was a matter of getting men from him, or standing the chance of losing my hard-won animal. I tried a bluff, with my sergeant for support. I arrested the chief in the middle of his own town, kept him in front of my revolver, loaded all my guns and put them before me on the table, and declared war provided the men were not forthcoming within two hours. It succeeded. When the people saw their king a prisoner, the men came. What would have happened if they had accepted my challenge, I do not know!

Mr. Schomburgk's plan for capturing the animals alive was to dig pits. The first specimen caught was a full-grown bull; the second, a two-year-old cow; a third, a young three-quarter grown bull. The animals were transported to the coast in "self-invented native-

made baskets," and for each beast it required at least forty men "to cut roads and carry."

Of the methods that resulted in this capture Mr. Schomburgk says:

With the Pygmy Hippo, it is very hard to even find a place where there is the slightest chance of catching one, because this brute roams through the forest like an elephant or a pig, mostly goes singly, though sometimes in pairs, and rarely uses the same track twice.

Meanwhile over a hundred pits had been made by my men, all carefully dug seven feet deep and covered so that not the sharpest eye could detect any sign of danger.

On his return to Europe Mr. Schomburgk had the gratification and honor of being presented by Mr. Hagenbeck to the Kaiser, who congratulated him on his well-deserved success.

New Yorkers are to be congratulated also on their new prizes from the zoölogical treasure-fields.

AUDIENCE WITH JAPAN'S LATE EMPEROR

THE late Emperor Mutsuhito, of whom and of whose successor a sketch appears on another page of this issue of the REVIEW, was particularly gracious in his welcome of American visitors. President Taft announced recently that he had met the late Emperor half a dozen times and had "come into such relations with him as his guest as to feel that there was a personal friendship" between them. In the *Independent* for August 1, Mr. Hamilton Holt, the managing editor of that magazine, who not long ago returned from a tour in the Far East, describes his presentation to Emperor Mutsuhito last October. He writes:

Our invitation came to us through the American Embassy at Tokyo. Mr. Lindsay Russell and I were told to wear full evening dress, with white waistcoats and gloves, though the ceremony was to take place at ten o'clock in the morning. Our wives were to wear high-neck reception dresses of any color but black. At 9.30 we assembled at the Embassy, and from there drove with the American Chargé and his wife, who were to introduce us, to the palace.

The palace is in the very heart of the city. It is surrounded by a moat and massive ramparts of stone, surmounting which are ancient and gnarled pines, which used to ambush the archers in feudal times. . . . Before it is an extensive stretch of turf, which occupies the area between the second and third or inmost moat.

The palace is a one-story building very broad and long. Usually the Japanese home has no furniture. The palace, however, was furnished in the European style, simply but in the most exquisite Japanese taste. Mr. Holt goes on to say:

We were met at the door by liveried attendants, our wraps taken, and then we were ushered by the master of ceremonies and his aides along a red carpeted hallway of beautiful Japanese polished wood to the waiting room, furnished in European fashion. Promptly at the appointed second the ladies were taken to the audience room of the Empress, and Mr. Russell and I to that of the Emperor. The halls of all Japanese houses are next to the outer walls and the various rooms open into the halls. Consequently the halls are light and the rooms are dark. As we approached the dark threshold of the audience room we halted, and then, at the proper signal, Mr. Russell walked in with the Chargé. They gave us each the honor of a separate audience instead of having us both go in together . . .

As I entered the august presence I saw His Majesty standing in the center of a group of seven or eight men. He held out his hand toward me, as if he expected me to come forward and take it. I was coached, however, to make three low bows as I entered the room and one just before I shook his hand. So I resisted the impulse to go forward,

but I followed out my instructions as best I could, though very awkwardly, I fear. I then took the hand of the Emperor. His Majesty was dressed in the uniform of a generalissimo. He was taller than the majority of his subjects, but he looked older than I had expected; for the pictures of him with which the world is familiar were taken years ago, when he was a young man. His complexion is very dark, with drooping mandarin-like beard and mustache, his countenance somber, and his mien impassive and austere. But no one could fail to be impressed with his penetrating eyes and his supreme and majestic dignity.

The Emperor spoke in Japanese, and apparently the same questions were asked of all visitors.

He turned quietly to the gentleman on his right, Count Nogasaki, and asked in a low quiet voice in Japanese how long I had been in Japan. After this was translated to me and I had replied and it was translated again to the Emperor, he inquired if I had seen any enjoyable sights in Japan. I replied that I had seen many. He then asked where I was going when I left Japan. And after he heard my reply he put out his hand again as a signal that the audience was ended. It seemed as if I had hardly been in his presence two minutes.

The visitors were then conducted to the Empress's audience chamber, where the same ceremony was gone through, and the same three questions were asked. They were then escorted back to the entrance room, where they signed their names in the guest books of the Emperor and Empress, and then took their carriages for home.

Mr. Holt saw the Emperor again at a review of the imperial troops. His Majesty was driven around the entire hollow square in a carriage drawn by two superb sorrel horses, and a gentleman of the court sat opposite him. His face was immovable and showed no sign of recognition of the crowd.

The Crown Prince (the present Emperor) was at the review, too. Mr. Holt describes him as "a slight, delicate-looking young man, quite blond for a Japanese."

Mr. Holt learned that the Emperor was "at his work every morning at 8 o'clock." He was plain-spoken, and expected those about him to be the same. It is not generally known that the late Emperor was a poet. The following, in which he told the Samurai that a patriot could serve his country at home as well as in war, has been published in the press:

There is no second way whereby to show the love
of fatherland.

Whether one stand

A soldier under arms, against the foe,

Or stay at home, a peaceful citizen,

The ways of loyalty are still the same.



THE LATE EMPEROR MUTSUHITO OF JAPAN AND THE EMPRESS WHO SURVIVES HIM
(NOT RECENT PORTRAITS BUT THE ONLY ONES AVAILABLE IN THE WEST)

In the same issue of the *Independent* appear five "Sunrise Songs," perhaps the best known of the poetic efforts of the late Emperor, who was fond of writing in this lyric stanza. We present the original Japanese, so that the characteristic "pseudo rhyme" may be seen.

*Sashi noboru
Asahi no gotoku
Sawayaka ni
Motamahoshiki wa
Kokoro narikeri.*

*Asakeburi
Tachisou sue ni
Shirarekeri
Tami no nariwai
Susumi yuku yo wa.*

*Yo wo mamoru
Kami no megumi wo
Aoge, hito!
Kuni no chikara no
Masari yuku ni mo.*

*Kumori naki
Hito no kokoro wo
Chihaya furu
Kami wa sayaka ni
Terashi miruran.*

*Ame wo urami
Hito wo togamuru
Koto mo araji,
Waga ayamachi wo
Oruoi kaesaba.*

The thing we want
Is hearts that rise above Earth's worries, like
The Sun at morn, rising above the clouds,
Splendid and strong.

I stand at morn,
And view the smoke curling above the roofs,
In greater volume, and thereby I know
The age is one of growing industries.

O man, look up, even in the hour of weal,
When Progress leads the nation, and revere
The grace of God that watches o'er the Earth

When hearts of men
Are cloudless, free from all defiling strain,
The mighty gods, clearly beholding them
Fill them with their pure light.

No need to bear
Grudge against heaven, or wreak one's spiteful
spleen
Against one's fellowmen when one reflects
On his own errors.

THE LLOYD-GEORGE "SQUARE DEAL"

AN impression of the famous British Progressive statesman, David Lloyd-George, is given in an article in the *London Outlook*. It is in the form of an interview with the Chancellor by Rev. Robert Donald, editor of the *Daily Chronicle*. Mr. Donald says that Lloyd-George holds the first place in Britain today as public speaker. He is a first-rate fighting man; his chief characteristic in all his doings is courage. He contrasts him with Mr. Roosevelt, who is one of the greatest letter-writers of his time, by saying that Mr. Lloyd-George never writes letters if he can help it.

The Chancellor, in his interview, says that the miners' strike was but a sign of the times, and he was prepared for it. Its cause was purely social and economic. "We are dealing with a much better educated democracy than existed, say, thirty or forty years ago."

One thing everybody seems to overlook who talks of our political or social principles, and that is the English Education Act of 1870. Since the passing of that act you have had a great system of national education, constantly improving and broadening. The working classes not only read nowadays, they think.

Wider knowledge is creating in the mind of the workman growing dissatisfaction with the conditions under which he is forced to live. I speak of my own knowledge. Take South Wales, which I know intimately. That was the breeding ground of the unrest which led to the coal strike. Housing conditions in South Wales are indescribably bad. The conditions under which the miners in some districts exist render decency impossible. There you have a country rich in natural blessings; exquisitely formed valleys which offer the most beautiful sites in the world for the building of well-designed townships, and for a mode of life which would elevate and not abase. Instead you find the houses unfit for human habitation. One cannot wonder that the educated democracy will stand that sort of thing no longer.

Working men are realizing that they contribute to the wealth of the community without getting a fair share of the good things which result, and that is one reason why they strike, ostensibly for a minimum wage. The disturbance of industry, the widespread but remediable poverty of the people as a whole, can be cured, and it is the aim of the Liberal party to provide the cure.

Mr. Lloyd-George insists that wasteful and extravagant expenditure must be checked. The civilized countries of the world are spending nearly £500,000,000 [\$2,500,000,000] a year on weapons of war. Great Britain is spending something like £70,000,000 [\$350,000,000]—that is, about £8 for every household in the kingdom. "Were this burden

removed Great Britain could afford to pay every member of the wage-earning classes an additional dollar a week without interfering in the slightest degree with the profits of capital." Another source of waste, Mr. Lloyd-George points out, is the way the land of this country is administered.

It is not producing more than a half of what it is capable of yielding. An enormous area is practically given over to sport. You have millions of acres exclusively devoted to game. A good deal of it is well adapted for agriculture and afforestation.

When you come to the land around the towns, here the grievance is of a different character. You may have a greater waste in parsimony than in prodigality. That is the way the land around our towns is wasted; land which might be giving plenty of air and recreation and renewed health and vigor to the workman is running to waste, as the millions in our cities are crowded into unsightly homes which would soon fill with gloom the brightest and stoutest heart.

The greatest asset of a country is a virile and contented population. This you will never get until the land in the neighborhood of our great towns is measured out on a more generous scale for the homes of our people.

Another source of waste, Mr. Lloyd-George mentions, is unemployment of the idle rich.

These people account for something like two millions of our population; their sole business is to enjoy themselves, often at the expense of others of our great multitudes who live lives of arduous toil without earning sufficient for food or raiment or repose. In these directions the time has come for a thorough overhauling of our conditions. That time comes in every enterprise—commercial, national, and religious; and woe be to the generation that lacks the courage to undertake the task.

When asked what part the Church should take in the matter, Mr. Lloyd-George replied:

The function of the church is not to urge or advocate any specific measure in regard to social reform. Her duty is to create an atmosphere in which the leaders of this country in the legislature and in the municipalities may find encouragement to engage in reforming the dire evils which exist. First, the church must rouse the national conscience to the existence of these evils, and afterwards to a sense of the nation's responsibilities for dealing with them. Second, the church must inculcate the necessary spirit of self-sacrifice without which it is impossible for a gigantic problem of this kind to be dealt with. Third, the church must insist on the truth being told about these social wrongs. The church ought to be like a limelight turned on the slumlands, to shame those in authority into doing

something. In cottages reeking with tuberculosis, dark, damp, wretched, dismal abodes, are men and women who neglect their church because she neglects them. No speedier way of reviving the wavering faith of the masses could be found than for the religious bodies to show that they are alive to the social evils which surround us.

Speaking of the housing question, he said: "I regard the slum child as a great national asset, and we must carve out for him a brighter future if he is to be worthy material out of which we shall weave the fabric of this great commonwealth."

DENVER'S REJUVENATION

THE city of Denver, it is said, has experienced a change of heart. A twenty-years' fight for municipal reform culminated, on May 21 last, in the election of the Citizens' ticket, from mayor to constable, by a majority of 10,000 votes over the Democratic and Republican tickets. Judge Ben B. Lindsey, who virtually led the campaign, was re-elected to the office of Juvenile Judge by 41,478 votes, against 16,249 cast for the bipartisan candidate.

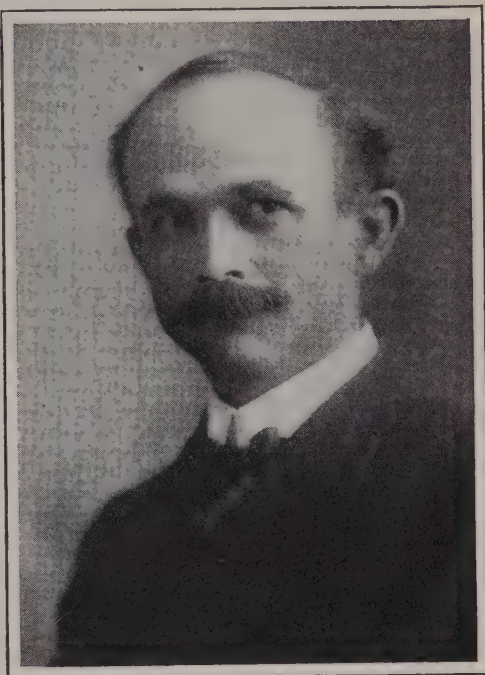
It remained for Judge Lindsey, says George Creel, writing in *Everybody's* for September, to make the struggle for better municipal government real and vivid by linking special privilege with vice and crime, and connecting political corruption with the sufferings of little children.

As he sat in the Juvenile Court, heart torn by the sorrowful procession that streamed through the doors, he saw that the system which gave privileges and monopolies to a few, and denied common rights to the many, was responsible for involuntary poverty, and that it was involuntary poverty that bred the sores and festerers of society.

He "saw the cat." And as investigation strengthened his certitude, he commenced those terrific denunciations of Big Business that made him the object of more malignant attack than has been heaped upon any other man in modern public life.

He charged that municipal corruption had its source in the scramble of public-utility corporations for unfair favors. That slums were encouraged and maintained by the respectable privilege-seekers as "vote mills." That the entire political system was a compact among criminals, rich and poor, for the protection of illegal profit. With a fearlessness that took no thought of personal consequences, he pointed out that the bribes of Special Privilege, trickling like some evil acid into every nook and cranny of public service, had scarred manhood and self-respect in council and in courts, and that its unclean favors, secretly extended, had transformed high-standing citizens into the enemies of good government.

The successful candidate for Mayor in the May election was the Hon. Henry J. Arnold, who while holding the office of assessor had incurred the enmity of the public-utility corporations and had even suffered personal assault in his office. It was a dramatic cam-



JUDGE BEN B. LINDSEY, OF DENVER
(Who has again received a strong popular endorsement)

paign and it ended in what Mr. Creel declares to be the most complete victory over bossism ever won in an American city. This sweeping victory clears the ground for further advance in both city and State. Denver's next step will be commission government, to which every official named on the Citizens' ticket is pledged. Colorado's next step will be the adoption of ten measures which will be submitted, through the initiative, to the voters at the November election:

Among them are the recall for all elective officials with emphasis on the judiciary; the recall of decisions, which takes away the power to declare laws unconstitutional from all courts except the supreme court, and gives the people the right to approve or reject the ruling; a public-utilities commission; an eight-hour law for women; a mother's compensation act; a school amendment that gives cities direct control of their public schools; and an amendment that will give a jury trial to those charged with contempt of court.

OUR "PROTECTED" WAGE-EARNERS THAT RECEIVE NO PROTECTION

THE claim that a high tariff is needed to maintain the standards of living and of work of the American wage-earner is a fiction. This fact has been incontestably demonstrated by the investigation recently conducted by the United States Immigration Commission. Another startling fact is that the wages of the married employee in mine, mill, or factory are insufficient to support a normal family life. Of 16,000 families investigated by the Immigration Commission only 40 per cent. were entirely supported by the earnings of the heads. This is convincing proof that a protective tariff policy has utterly failed to benefit the wage-earners of the country. Mr. W. Jett Lauck of the United States Immigration Commission, now brings forward, in the *Atlantic Monthly* for September, still further evidence, supplied by the recent reports of the Tariff Board and the Federal Bureau of Corporations. He writes:

In its report on the Pulp and News-Print Paper Industry, the Tariff Board showed that the total mill cost of making one ton of news-print paper averaged, in 1911, \$32.88. The average price received for this class of paper in the New York market during the same year was \$43.90. The gross profit to the manufacturer per ton was, therefore, \$11.02. The labor cost was approximately only 10 per cent. of the total cost and only 36 per cent. of the profit to the manufacturer. In other words, the startling fact was disclosed that if the wage-earners in the pulp and paper mills were to have their wages doubled, and if the New York price remained the same, it would still leave a profit to the mill of \$7.75 for each ton of news-print paper produced. Smaller increases in rates of payment to the workmen would of course have less effect upon profits and total costs.

In the steel trade a similar condition exists, as is evidenced by the cost records of the United States Steel Corporation, investigated by the Federal Bureau of Corporations.

As a result of this inquiry it was found that the entire cost per ton of producing Minnesota and Michigan iron-ore and delivering it to the lower lake ports was \$2.88. Of this amount only 35 cents per ton, or 12 per cent. of the aggregate outlay, was for labor at the mines. The expense of producing a ton of coke in the Connellsville, Pennsylvania, region was ascertained to be \$3.69, out of which only 25 cents was expended for productive labor. In making pig iron, and Bessemer and open-hearth steel ingots and rails, the sum paid to labor was ascertained to be only from 3 to 5 per cent. of the total cost of manufacture. Furthermore, the present customs duty on steel products was found to be from three to sixteen times the labor cost per ton.

In the textile industries Mr. Lauck presents the following illustrations of the low range of labor-costs and of the striking comparisons of the high tariff duties on textiles with the small amounts paid to workmen in the mills:

A yard of men's worsted suiting was found by the Tariff Board to cost an American mill \$1.71 to place on the market. The rate of payment to the weaver on this cloth was ascertained to be only 5 cents per yard, but the present tariff duty is \$1.02. In manufacturing women's serge cloth of a certain description on which there is an import duty of 49 cents per yard, the total American expense of production was shown to be 65 cents per yard plus the labor cost of only 10 cents. On comparing foreign and domestic costs for another sample of women's all-wool serge the total expenses of manufacturing it in the United States were discovered to be 43 cents, and the labor cost only 9 cents per yard. The duty on a yard of this cloth, however, is 49 cents, or 1.44 per cent. of the difference between the expense for labor in the United States and England, the country showing the lowest labor-cost.

As regards cotton goods, it was found that the duty on some fabrics was 2.5 per cent. of the difference in labor-costs between this country and Great Britain. The inquiry of the Tariff Board also showed that the money wages of English cotton-mill workers were only one third less than those of operatives in our mills. A comparison of real wages disclosed the additional fact that the operatives in both countries were practically on the same level, with a slight advantage, if any, in purchasing power to the English workmen.

Illustrations of a similar kind might be multiplied indefinitely. As Mr. Lauck justly observes:

It is apparent that our wage-earners are not getting their proper share of tariff benefits and that their compensation might be greatly increased without any serious injury to profits or to industry. The rates paid to workers in the iron and steel, paper and news-print, and the cotton, woolen, and worsted goods manufacturing industries, for example, might be doubled and still leave large profits to be divided between the manufacturer and wholesale and retail merchants. The wage-earners in these and other branches of mining and manufacturing are not securing their share of protection from the tariff because they are not in a position to demand it.

The wage-earners' share is being obtained either by the manufacturers and jobbers or by the distributing agents, mainly by the latter.

Mr. Lauck concludes his article with the assertion that the American wage-earner has largely disappeared, while neither he nor his immigrant successor has been properly benefited by our protective tariff.

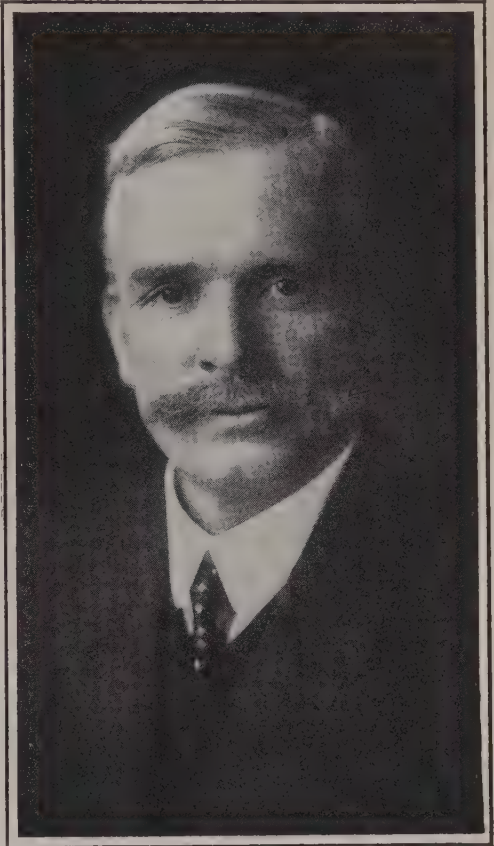
DOUBTFUL EFFICACY OF THE "AUSTRALIAN REMEDY" FOR STRIKES

A GOOD deal has been written by various publicists and others, especially in the French and English magazines, upon what is commonly quoted as the "Australian remedy" for strikes,—the establishment of wage-committees to fix the minimum wage to be paid in any particular industries, and the institution of an Arbitration Court. According to most of these writers, numbers of trade disputes have been settled by the Arbitration Court, and everything in the labor world in Australia has been "going along swimmingly." There are those, however, who challenge the correctness of these representations. In the May issue of the REVIEW we cited the eminent French publicist, M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, as saying that "one fact is certain: not only have strikes not disappeared from Australia, but in certain cases they have been quite acute." In the *National Review* (London) Mr. P. Airey makes a similar assertion. In the April number of that review a writer had stated that "Australians have devised a substitute for strikes that is proving effective under Australian conditions." This assertion, Mr. Airey maintains, "is one which sadly lacks evidence to support it."

That a number of trade disputes have been settled by the Arbitration Court is perfectly true. That a large number have failed of settlement by these tribunals is also true. That the number of strikes which Arbitration does *not* prevent is increasing is evidently also true; for Australia last year had the painful experience of ninety-two strikes which raged in defiance of the existence of some half-dozen State and Federal tribunals, which were supposed at one time to be an absolute remedy for the Strike evil. Queensland, which has no State Arbitration Court, compares very well with her neighbors in the matter of infrequency of trade disputes.

Mr. Airey thinks that "the world should see clearly the cause of this apparent failure of a great principle."

One must first recognize that the Australian Labor party, nominally one and undivided, contains a distinct line of cleavage. The aims of that body are undoubtedly Socialistic, but the name "Socialist" is not too popular in Labor circles, and some few years ago one State labor party rejected a motion to christen itself a Socialist body by a large majority. As a matter of fact, the Labor legislators of Australia mistrust the extreme "Socialist" party and the militant Socialists often denounce the Laborites as a party of trimmers. The Parliamentary body, by the necessities of its existence, must always consist mostly of fairly moderate men, but the organizations behind them



HON. ANDREW FISHER
(Prime Minister of Australia)

and controlling them are sometimes in the hands of extremists. The extremists are by no means enamored of the arbitration principle. Cordially, indeed, do many of them echo the cry of the Federal representative who cried exultantly in the midst of a Parliamentary discussion: "Give me the good old Strike!" . . . In this division of opinion in Labor ranks lies the real cause of the comparative inefficiency of Australian Arbitration. . . . The truth is—Labor has not yet been educated up to the ideal of loyalty to its own ideal of a judicial settlement of trade disputes—particularly when that principle pinches Labor's toes.

Mr. Airey quotes a remark made by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald after a visit to Australia: "Australia is a hothouse. Much of its Labor legislation is a hothouse plant. I do not use these words to belittle it, but to describe its conditions. It is *cultivation under glass*."

During the past twelve months there have occurred the following trade disputes in Australia:

The Sydney Waterside Workers' affair, followed by a sympathetic strike among the unions; the Brisbane Tramway Strike; the Lithgow affair (lasting many months); the strike among the carriers of Adelaide and the downing of tools in the Wonthaggi coal mine.

All these outbreaks, says Mr. Airey, "shriek

aloud that the alleged remedy for industrial trouble is, so far, no remedy at all." He considers, therefore, that he is fully justified in controverting the statement that in arbitration Australians have "devised an effective remedy for strikes."

SOLVING THE RURAL PROBLEM WITH SONG

THE Norfolk (Conn.) Musical Festival and the Litchfield County Choral Union are generally well-known institutions, the former being now counted "one of the most important events in the American musical year." The membership of the latter exceeds 700, from which a chorus of over 400 picked voices takes part in the three concerts given annually at Norfolk. The Union now embraces five federated choirs, located respectively in the towns of Norfolk, Winsted, Salisbury, Canaan, and Torrington. Back of the performances of the chorus at the concerts are five months of solid, steady work—a weekly rehearsal in each one of the towns just mentioned; and it is these rehearsals—these *events* of weekly recurrence—that form the main topic of an article by Mr. Edwin Björkman in *Collier's*. Mr. Björkman writes under the caption "Solving the Rural Problem with Song," possibly taken from the remark of a country minister made to him a while ago: "The problem in the rural districts is what to do evenings." This minister had been working for ten years on a small income and with a great deal of spiritual isolation, and had rejected no less than four calls to more important pastorates. On being asked why he remained in his present charge, he replied with quiet conviction:

Because of those concerts. You can have no idea what a difference they have made in the life of this district. It is not only that I personally and directly get more out of life, but it means that there is a different sort of field for my work. We in this district have been waked up and brought together—that's what those concerts over at Norfolk have done.

In showing what the rehearsals mean to the members of the Union Mr. Björkman writes as follows:

First of all, there is the social meaning. The weekly rehearsal during January-May constitutes a break in the daily routine the charm and value of which cannot possibly be estimated by a city dweller. . . .

Most of the members live in the towns, but a goodly number come from the surrounding dis-

tricts, and more than one of them live at a distance that to most people would seem prohibitive. I have heard tales of women walking alone several miles through lonely woods week after week; of other women driving ten miles to the rehearsal and ten miles back again; of a couple coming a distance of twelve miles for eight years, and rarely missing a rehearsal. In the Salisbury-Lakeville group alone eighteen members have had to walk from one to two miles each way. Yet the average attendance has never fallen below 85 per cent. of the total membership and has often reached 90 per cent. . . . To appreciate this faithfulness at its full significance, you must know something about the winds and the snowdrifts that hold sway in the Litchfield hills during winter. Even a walk of a mile during such conditions is a serious undertaking, and a drive of twelve miles takes on an almost heroic aspect.

I heard some other anecdotes illustrating the intensity with which the singers cling to their work. One woman was losing her son through consumption. She spent day and night at his bed, but continued nevertheless to attend the rehearsals. "How can you tear yourself away?" she was asked. "It is there I gather strength to live through the rest of the week," she answered.

A noteworthy feature of the rehearsals is their thoroughly democratic character.

Everyone who has a good voice and decent behavior can belong to the Union if he or she will only give the desired amount of attention. Basing my statements on facts actually ascertained—on cases particularized for my information—I can say that, for instance, the school board president and the school janitor, the storekeeper and his clerk, the local politician and the plain workman, the daughter of the bank president and the woman taking in washing for a living, are found singing side by side. More than this: master and man, mistress and maid, are here brought into contact on terms of absolute equality.

What the concerts mean to the people outside the Union, and to what extent this vast outside majority is affected, may be gathered from some figures for Canaan:

That town has a population of about 800. Its choir has a membership of about 110. Of these about 80 live in the town. This means that one-tenth of the population takes active part in the work. It means further that from fifty to sixty per cent. of that population is affected directly or indirectly; by attending the concerts or by having members of their families sing or attend.

THE OTTOMAN PRESS ON THE POLITICAL CHANGES IN TURKEY

THE direct and immediate cause of the present troubles in Turkey was the Albanian uprising, which began in June. Beginning with small skirmishes, it soon assumed the proportions of a real revolt, the Moslem population being, this time, the real rebels. Whoever the real instigators of this revolt may be, foreign agents, Albanian nationalists, Macedonian revolutionists, or dissatisfied inhabitants opposed to the Turkish régime (Committee of Union and Progress, and claiming that the recently elected Parliament was packed illegally by the Young Turkish Government, the fact remains that their demands are mostly well founded, and that many wrongs have been done them by the new régime. Being a simple and exceedingly naïve but independent and courageous nation, the Albanians are easily influenced by their "Baïrakdars" or "Beys," who possess a powerful influence over the tribes, which they control economically, socially, and politically. The fact that these chiefs of tribes have personal animosities against certain functionaries, or members of the government, for having deprived them of privileges which they enjoyed under Abdul Hamid, and that some of them easily become instruments of those foreign powers whose interest it is to continually ferment trouble in Turkey, explains briefly the regular periodical revolts in Albania.

Soon after the recent uprising began, some officers and soldiers—all Albanians—of the Monastir garrison deserted, and tried to make it appear that dissensions and lack of discipline were strong in the army. As a matter of fact, although many officers and soldiers secretly sympathized with them, there were no further desertions, and many of the deserters either gave themselves up or were arrested. War Minister Mahmoud Shefket Pasha soon afterward introduced a measure into Parliament providing severe punishment for officers and soldiers belonging to any political party. This being enacted into law, the Minister found himself unable to enforce it, and sent in his resignation to Said Pasha on July 10, after having been successfully at the head of the War Ministry for more than two years. During that time he efficiently reorganized the Turkish army, and for the past ten months has supervised the Tripolitan war and watched over the defense of the empire.

The Grand Vizier could not fill this va-

cancy. For days negotiations with the most beloved and best known heads of the army were unsuccessful, as either personal or political differences, impossible to overcome, existed. Finally, on July 17, the cabinet resigned, but continued to administer the government, at the instance of the Sultan, until the organization of a new ministry.

The reason given by Said Pasha in his resignation was the extreme difficulty in filling the vacancies created by the resignations of Mahmoud Shefket and Hourshid Pasha, Minister of Marine and acting war head, and some weeks before the Finance Minister. It is important and interesting to note that a day before the resignation of the cabinet its declarations of foreign and home policies, as exposed by Grand-Vizier Said Pasha and Foreign Minister Assim Bey, were almost unanimously—with the exception of four deputies—endorsed by the Parliament whose confidence they enjoyed.

The *Jeune Turc*, a Liberal organ, said, soon after the resignation of the cabinet:

We deplore this end of the cabinet still more bitterly because it occurs during such circumstances. . . . At a time when we are in armed conflict with a foreign power, at a time when a part of our country is dissatisfied, a ministerial crisis can only afflict us. . . . Did not Assim Bey say yesterday in Parliament, "we shall not put down our arms until our point of view is accepted. . . . A nation which cannot die with a smile is not entitled to live. . . . But it is necessary that the Ottomans do not forget that they have an enemy. . . . They should not indulge in family fights, and ruin with their own hands this great and holy country, which the enemy cannot and will never be able to defeat."

On the subject of the future cabinet, the same journal continued: "It must be a cabinet of affairs, composed of influential personalities, belonging to no party, absolutely neutral."

Sultan Mehmed V issued a proclamation to the army, as its head, to keep away from politics. This proclamation was read by Hourshid Pasha, acting Minister, in all barracks. Among other things, it said:

Convinced that there is not in the army, whose supreme chief I am, even one soldier who could make complaints and demands contrary to the constitution, to which everyone is bound by oath, I desire to repeat that the duty of a soldier is to respect discipline and order, and to obey his superiors, which is the basis of his attachment to the Caliph and to the Sultanate. . . . not to mix in politics. . . . Whoever acts differently and does

not devote himself to the defense of the country is a traitor to his nation and fatherland.

The *Jeune Turc*, speaking about the new cabinet, whose Grand Vizier is Ghazi Ahmed Mouktar Pasha, says:

The program should be continuation of the war until a peace honorable and dignified; calming of Albania, and discipline in the army. . . . The name and government experience of the personalities in the new cabinet are a guaranty that they will not play politics. . . . This is not the time for it. . . . They must be above party considerations if they wish to save the country. . . . The personality of the Mouktar Pasha, who has always kept away from party quarrels and who has enjoyed a well-earned popularity, shows that our sovereign did want a man out of politics and who will work for the supreme interest of the country. . . . Let us not forget that we are at war with a great power, that we are surrounded with enemies, who are looking for an occasion to prey on us; that a part of the country is in revolt; that the army, our only hope, has somewhat hesitated. These are the sentiments which every Ottoman must have and do his duty with a complete self-denial. . . . This cabinet is the "great cabinet" for which we were so long waiting. . . . Mouktar Pasha had the

courage to accept the undertaking and many thanks are due him. . . . He has succeeded in interesting many ex-Grand Viziers and great men, and this is why they call this cabinet "great" national. . . . Let this ministry take the great masses in its confidence and work in harmony. . . . The first thing to do, and to do quickly, is to quiet Albania by granting its inhabitants their just demands and send a commission there to pacify them and investigate conditions.

The daily press despatches have informed their readers of the subsequent closing of Parliament by the new cabinet and the defiance of the Young Turkish leaders, which has brought to Constantinople martial law, for fear of a civil war in the capital, the Committee of Union and Progress having a strong party membership all over the country. The threatening hostilities with Montenegro, following frontier skirmishes with Turkish soldiers, because of the small kingdom giving help and asylum to the Albanian rebels, may bring about the much dreaded Balkan conflagration, which might precipitate a European war.

ITALY'S INCREASED VOTING LIST

THE legislative act providing for a large increase in the Italian electorate by abrogating the educational tests heretofore in use, and which recently passed the Italian Chamber of Deputies by the practically unanimous vote of 392 to 6, is viewed with considerable disfavor by a writer in the *Rassegna Nazionale*, who sees a grave danger for Italy in the sudden admission to the suffrage of such an immense mass of totally illiterate voters. Of this he says:

The two principal arguments adduced in favor of the bill have no real value; neither the example of other nations, where the percentage of illiteracy is so much smaller than in Italy, nor the vaunted and undeniable progress of our people. For all this should find automatic expression in a diminished number of illiterates, and in the consequent and constant increase in the number of qualified electors. In fact, nothing can weigh against this undeniable and simple truth, that by raising the number of voters from three to eight millions, we shall have an electorate comprising an actual majority of illiterates. Now, while there is no doubt that many who can neither read nor write have more intelligence, more good sense, and even a better knowledge of politics, than some of those who are barely able to write a few lines, or have, ten years ago, passed through the third elementary class in the public schools, this argument is quite fallacious, as the comparison should be established, not between the most intelligent illiterates and the least intelligent of the present voters, but between average members of each class. . . . A

rather singular provision of the new law expressly disfranchises the 40,000 magistrates who are to preside over the different election districts, thus lessening by so many the number of really capable voters.

How can it be doubted that a million illiterates are, on the average, less intelligent than a million of those who can read and write? For even though many of the latter have only received rudimentary instruction, a certain percentage have devoted themselves earnestly to the higher branches of study. And who can consistently maintain that the new voters, more ignorant and hence less conscious of the importance of the privilege accorded to them than are those who were qualified under the old law, will make a better use of this privilege, and will be less ready victims of the corruption, the undue influence, the menaces and the flatteries of partisan or governmental candidates? No one has given prominence to the glaring anomaly that while elementary education was already legally obligatory and the right to vote was conferred upon those who had received such instruction, a law should be enacted granting the privilege of suffrage to those who have shown their contempt of the obligation imposed upon them.

The writer then proceeds to touch upon another provision of this new law, that according salaries to the Italian deputies. This innovation may not appear to us to be fraught with much danger, but it may well have less favorable effects in Italy than in some other countries where wider opportunities are afforded for financial success in

business or professional life. Of the possible bad results the writer says:

We recognize that if the right of suffrage and of eligibility as deputies be accorded to all citizens, it may seem to be a logical consequence that all should be placed in a position enabling them to accept and to fulfill the duties of deputies; but are many now prevented from taking this office by the absence of salary, and would any more be so prevented in the future? Is it not, indeed, now evident that the lower classes seek as representatives professional men, and, in general, persons in good circumstances, precisely because they wish to be represented by cultivated and capable persons, by those who have shown their possession of such gifts by having secured through them a certain standing in the community? In practice

the result of according a salary will be the same here as in France and elsewhere, namely, that it will serve as an attractive bait, and will legally augment the army of office-seekers and political adventurers, who will not hesitate to make use of any expedient to obtain the new lucrative employment; moreover, the pecuniary gain involved will serve to deepen the conviction of the voters that their representatives are merely their business agents, their "salaried" agents, from whom they have the right to ask and expect favors of all kinds, and thus the little prestige our deputies still enjoy will be still further diminished. Besides all this we must consider the heavy charge upon the budget by the addition of three million lire annually at a time when Italy is engaged in a long and difficult task, to which she should devote all her economic resources.

WHAT HAS BECOME OF WILL-O'-THE-WISP?

MR. CHARLES FITZHUGH TALMAN, of the United States Weather Bureau, asks the above question in the *Scientific American Supplement*, and proceeds:

As a handy metaphor Will is no less common than of yore. As a physical entity he appears, in this country at least, to have passed into the category of traditional things. The impression prevails that, if he was ever more than a myth, he is now no better than a memory, and that his unearthly light was finally extinguished about the time of our adolescence—which puts him in the same class with the long winters of unlimited sleighing. The reference books tend to ignore him. You will seek him in vain in the new *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Murray's Dictionary (under *ignis fatuus*) says: "It seems to have been formerly a common phenomenon, but is now exceedingly rare." However, this retrospective attitude toward will-o'-the-wisp is by no means confined to our own times. An essay on this meteor in the *Penny Magazine* for July 12, 1845, begins with the following words: "Most persons are aware of the fact that the moving lights called Will-o'-the-Wisp, or Jack-o'-Lantern, were much more frequently seen and talked of in former years than they are at present." Apparently he was *always* "more frequently seen in former years than at present," for exactly the same reason that the winters of our childhood were longer and colder and more snowy than those of to-day. His presence created a lasting impression; his absence was the normal order of things.

Until toward the middle of the nineteenth century the belief in the reality of will-o'-the-wisp remained unshaken, and an explanation had crystallized in scientific literature, according to which this meteor was due to the combustion of marsh gas, or phosphureted hydrogen, or both.

However, the growing doubts of physicists finally found expression in an appeal from Poggendorff, the famous editor of the *Annalen der Physik und*

Chemie, for new observations that might throw further light on the question. In response to this appeal many circumstantial reports of the occurrences of the phenomenon were received. They were published in Poggendorff's *Annalen* from the year 1838 onward, and constitute a most important body of evidence on the subject.

Of these reports the one most often quoted is that from the famous astronomer Friedrich Wilhelm Bessel. He stated that thirty-one years before the time of writing, when he was twenty-three years of age, he had seen will-o'-the-wisp over a moor near Bremen. At the time of the observation he was in a boat on the Wörpe River, and saw the lights over the partly flooded low-lying land adjacent; he was therefore unable to approach them. They occurred in the form of numerous little bluish flames, which appeared and disappeared; some were stationary, while others moved in groups laterally, so that a companion of Bessel's compared them to a flock of birds. The boatmen declared that they had often seen them before in the same locality.

German science continues to the present day to occupy itself with the "Irrlichterfrage"—the "will-o'-the-wisp question"—while English and American scientific men seem to have clean forgotten it. The example of Poggendorff has been followed by H. Steinvorth, by Hermann Fornaschön, and by W. Müller, who, through the medium of both scientific and popular journals in Germany, have gathered hundreds of reports from purported eye witnesses of the phenomenon. An analysis of these reports shows that a great many well-understood phenomena have been confounded with the still problematical will-o'-the-wisp.

Some of these appearances are: (1) The phosphorescence of decaying wood ("fox-fire") and other vegetable matter. This is due to luminous fungi. According to Molisch there are some forty-five species of fungi, including about twenty

species of bacteria, that have the power of luminosity. He has found that moist decaying leaves are often luminous, so that the floor of a forest is sometimes illuminated on all sides with a soft white light from this source. (2) Fireflies, including glow-worms (the wingless females of the firefly and the larvæ). (3) Luminous birds. Their luminosity is supposed to be due to parasitic fungi. (4) Ball lightning—a phenomenon that is still as much of a riddle as “real” will-o'-the-wisp, and in some of its manifestations appears to closely resemble the latter. (5) St. Elmo's fire—the brush discharges of electricity so often seen at the tips of masts and spars on shipboard, and at the extremities of various objects, including the human body, in mountainous regions. (6) Moving lanterns, the distant lights of houses, and the other human agencies. (7) Burning gas ascending from marshes, stagnant pools, and the like. Marsh gas and other inflammable gases commonly arise from such places, and are often ignited by human agencies. This phenomenon is witnessed even in the daytime. There is also abundant evidence to prove that these gases sometimes ignite spontaneously. (8) Burning naphtha springs.

By far the greater number of the reported cases of will-o'-the-wisp undoubtedly belong to one or another of the foregoing classes. According to the believers in a “real” will-o'-the-wisp, however, there remains still another class of phenomena, which, though by no means uniform in its details, may be briefly described as follows:

Small luminous bodies, “about as large as your fist,” or “the size of a candle flame,” are seen hovering a few feet above the ground; not only over marshes and pools, but also over dry land. Sometimes they are stationary; at other times they appear to drift with the wind, or even to move independently of the wind. They appear and disappear, after the manner of fireflies. They do not set fire to objects with which they come in contact, and are assumed to be without sensible heat. Their color is most often described as bluish, but may be yellow, purple, green, etc.—rarely pure white. They are without odor and without smoke. Traditionally they are associated with graveyards, but

very few of the immense number of cases recorded by the German writers above mentioned were actually seen in such places. The popular idea that they flee from the traveler who tries to draw near to them and follow him when he seeks to avoid them is also unsupported by the evidence thus far adduced.

If there is a “real” will-o'-the-wisp we must look to the chemists to explain it. The most plausible explanation from the chemical side seems to be that offered two years ago by a Belgian, M. Léon Dumas.

Both phosphine and sulphuretted hydrogen are produced in the decay of animal substances. The brain and the spinal cord are rich in both sulphur and phosphorus. The body of an animal buried in some wet place would accumulate the two gases in question under pressure in the skull and spinal canal; and being of nearly the same density they would force their way out simultaneously or nearly so.

M. Dumas has described an experiment which imitates this process. The gases ignite spontaneously, and “the whole forms a little luminous cloud that floats away and,” according to Dumas, “presents altogether the appearance commonly assigned to will-o'-the-wisp.”

This experiment deserves to be repeated, and it is especially desirable to reproduce as closely as possible the conditions under which the phenomenon is conjectured to occur in nature; viz., the imprisonment of the gases under pressure, and their intermittent disengagement. M. Dumas's experiment hardly seems to fulfill these conditions.

Mr. Talman concludes that will-o'-the-wisp is still “elusive.”

CALCIUM SALTS AS BODY BUILDERS

IT will be news to many of our readers that calcium,—that essential mineral constituent of the human frame,—is insufficiently present in the ordinary diet.

Two German men of science, Rudolf Emmerich and Oskar Loew, have been devoting years of patient observation to the study of the effects of the addition of calcium salts to the animal organism,—and the results at which they have arrived are so remarkable as to seem almost sensational, were it not that they are based on the most thorough-going experiments on various animals, on human beings, and on themselves.

They not only recommend, but *insistently urge*, the addition of calcium salts—preferably calcium chloride—to the daily diet in

an amount of not less than one and one-half grams per diem.

They support their contention by a vast array of results from properly “controlled” experiments, as well as by a variety of statistics gleaned from other observers. They present their thesis and the arguments in its support in the July number of the *Deutsche Revue*, in an article too long and technical to present here in full, but whose contents we summarize with confidence that they will rouse the keenest and most widespread interest among our readers. The investigators particularly desire the most extensive and searching tests as to the value of their theory and invite correspondence with those who may be interested in making such tests.

In analyzing the mineral constituents of the organism, they point out that next to sodium chloride the two most important blood-salts are sodium bicarbonate and secondary sodium phosphate. Primary and secondary potassium and magnesium phosphate play an important part in all the cells, as in those of muscles, glands, and nerves. Iron is necessary of course to the red blood corpuscles and iodine is found in the thyroid gland. Phosphate of lime is one of the most important constituents of bones and teeth.

But furthermore—and this is the crux of their theory—organic compounds of lime are essential elements of *all* the cells and within the cell are always found in the *nucleus*.

"One of us has proved, for example," say the authors, "that the nucleus of algæ cells undergoes a marked shriveling when subjected to the action of a substance which withdraws lime from it.

"But the nucleus is the most important part of the cell, since it is the workshop of vital products and induces the proliferation of the cells. In fact the content of lime increases in proportion to the size of the cell-nucleus in the organs.

"The glands, . . . as liver, kidneys and pancreas, are much richer in lime than the muscles, as are also the lungs and the cells of the ganglia of the gray matter of the brain and nerves. But among the muscles there is one distinguished by a much higher percentage of lime than the others, the heart, whose lime content approximates that of the glands."

The body loses a certain amount of lime daily through the process of metabolism. This is especially noticeable in periods of long fasting, when the lime, drawn from the bones and teeth, becomes very apparent in the urine. Obviously a lack of lime in the nutriment leads to lime-hunger, and this is denoted by many curious habits of men and animals. Thus schoolgirls and children will nibble chalk or mortar, calves will lick mortared walls, dogs gnaw greedily at bones, and other creatures bite at hair, wool, or feathers, all of which are rich in lime, as might be expected since they are produced from glands (the hair follicles, etc.).

Our authors point out that most people in civilized countries subsist chiefly on meat, bread, and potatoes, but all these are poor in salts of lime, though well supplied with potassium, magnesium, and phosphates. As regards meat, this applies of course to the flesh usually consumed, that of the muscles. Liver and kidney, which are considered less

digestible, are, as we have seen, peculiarly rich in calcium salts. Fruit has a higher percentage, but is negligible in this connection because the entire universal content is very low.

"*Root-vegetables* are better in this respect. But most valuable of all are the *leaf-vegetables*, such as spinach, and different varieties of cabbage, which contain from 10 to 20 per cent. of mineral matter in the dry stuff,—therefore from eight to fifteen times as much as meat, bread, or fruit.

Some interesting points about drinking-water are brought out. In many localities this is very poor in salts of lime, especially when primary rocks abound. In limestone countries the water is better, but even here the percentage (about 0.1 gram per liter) is insufficient in itself. The great advantage of calcareous regions lies in the excess of lime stored in the cell-sap of the grasses and vegetables, which thus becomes available for the animal organism.

Röse has shown by statistics that the lime content of the earth and water of any region has a great influence on the goodness of the teeth, the chest circumference, and the milk-period of women, while regions poor in lime furnish fewer men fit for military use than regions rich in lime.

This is strikingly corroborated by the results obtained in an investigation made by the late Prof. Nathaniel Shaler of Harvard with reference to the physique of the troops from various sections of the United States during the Civil War. He found that the troops from the "blue-grass country" of Kentucky and Tennessee,—a region underlain by limestone,—were markedly superior in height and weight to those from other parts of the country.

Another highly interesting statement is that made by Aron, that where the food of a pregnant woman is deficient in lime, the foetus draws this indispensable element from the parent organism, which explains why young mothers so often suffer from dental caries. Such a lack of calcium in the mother's food is likewise often responsible for the development of rickets in the foetus. From one to one and a half (1 to 1.5) grams of the lime should be assimilated daily, in order to maintain the balance with regard to that eliminated by the process of metabolism.

Emmerich and Loew strongly advise the use of doses of calcium salts after long or wasting illnesses, when the lime-content is exhausted on the one hand, and when the cells have especial need of it on the other.

They warmly indorse the statement of Professor Hans Horst Meyer to the effect that: "An augmentation of the lime-content of the body is capable of increasing the vital energy of the organs. Lime produces a series of effects such that the lime-content of the body becomes a factor in its entire tone—in its reactions, its immunity, and its idiosyncrasies."

Here follow detailed accounts of specific instances of the employment of calcium-salts with highly favorable results in various diseases, especially consumption, but including the toxins following diphtheria, various inflammations, suppurating abscesses, nervous affections, bone-fractures, etc. It was found valuable even in tetanus, and in such acute inflammation as that produced on the conjunctiva of the eye by oil of mustard.

Calcium salts were also found to relieve fatigue and increase working-power. Such is the enthusiasm and deep-seated conviction as to the value of this body-building substance that Emmerich and Loew urge its general use by the healthy as well as the invalid, declar-

ing that there is no danger of using it to excess, since it is quite harmless. They advise its use in the form of calcium chloride, preferably crystallized, since that is more apt to be pure than the powdered form. A solution is made of 100 grams of calcium chloride in 500 cubic centimeters of distilled water. This has a mildly bitter but not unpleasant taste. A teaspoonful is to be taken three times daily and may be added to tea, coffee, or soup if the taste is disagreeable.

They hold as quite unwarranted the fear sometimes expressed that such use of calcium salts may contribute to the hardening of the arteries. "For lime is deposited in their walls only when these have been long previously weakened by disease, and many authorities believe that this is the final effort of nature to enable the arteries, already injured, chiefly by too high blood-pressure, to continue their function. Since lime-salts increase the urine, the blood-pressure is thereby lowered and the tissues more quickly freed from excess of water and waste products of metabolism."

ROOSEVELT AS SEEN BY COUNT OKUMA

THE present Presidential campaign finds Japan a most interested spectator, says Count Shizenobu Okuma, the veteran Japanese statesman, in an article originally published in the *Jitsugyo-no Nippon* of Tokyo, and appearing in English translation in the *Oriental Review*, New York. It seems a pity to Count Okuma that those "Americans who indulge in adverse criticism of Mr. Roosevelt do not seem to appreciate the value of this great man who lives among them." Referring to those who criticize Mr. Roosevelt for "insatiable ambition" Count Okuma says that it is quite easy to see the ex-President has everything to lose, and nothing or very little to gain by his present course of action. As to Mr. Roosevelt's purpose, the Japanese statesman says, "his primary purpose, it is plain to see, is to purify the political atmosphere of America, particularly with reference to the Republican party. . . . His every past action testifies to the nature of his ideal, and to his passionate desire to materialize that ideal." Count Okuma continues:

Another idea of Mr. Roosevelt's is to establish a perfect centralization of the United States administration. He thinks there is a serious defect in the State organization of his country in the fact that the political will of the central government is inadequately weak as compared with that of other countries, the result of undue prerogatives given

to the several States at the time of the formation of the Republic. The system might have served well enough at the time when American politics centered in domestic affairs and had little relation to those of the rest of the world; but when America has come to embrace imperialism, in the possession of oversea domains, coming into contact with the influence of other powers everywhere upon the face of the earth—in short, when she is one of the powers of the world, as at present, it is important that her central government should have adequate power in the administration of foreign and military affairs, and Mr. Roosevelt believes that unless the central government shall have necessary authority in these matters, America must as a result find it impossible to carry out her activities as a great power.

Roosevelt is a courageous man, and one who fears nothing in translating his thoughts into action. So long as he has his mind set upon the realization of the two ideals mentioned, he cannot engage in the leisurely work of social reform or education. This makes him dare adverse criticism concerning his third-term candidacy. But the criticism that Roosevelt ought not to seek a third term because Washington declined to do so, and because such abstention is an unwritten law of the United States, seems narrow-minded. That there is no precedent for a third term shows all the more clearly that the task can be taken up only by men inspired with great ideals and strong self-confidence, and not by mere fame-seekers.

To my mind, Mr. Roosevelt does not care whether he is defeated or not so long as he is doing what he thinks right for his country. Apart from the question whether his election be beneficial to the United States or to other countries, recognition must be given him as the manliest man in the world.

ANDREW LANG AND HIS WORK

BY JEANNE ROBERT FOSTER

ANDREW LANG was descended from the Scottish Gypsies. One line of his forebears can be traced back to Gypsy tinkers who jogged up and down the "Land o' Cakes" soldering broken tins and telling fortunes. Thus, in the Gypsy strain, there is an accounting for the intense activity, the mysticism, the restlessness and mental wander-lust that characterized Lang the dilettante, the playful, brilliant rover who camped beside every literary hedgerow. His acknowledgment of his Gypsy ancestry has been given in light verse:

Ye wanderers that were my sires,
Who read men's fortunes in the hand,
Who voyaged with your smithy fires
From waste to waste across the land;
Why did you leave for garth and town
Your life by heath and river's brink?
Why lay your Gypsy freedom down
And doom your child to Pen and Ink?

In his lifetime of sixty-eight years,—he was born at Selkirk in March, 1844,—he wrote over one hundred volumes besides contributing constantly to newspapers and magazines, writing introductions to books, and performing various other editorial labors. He was the apotheosis of a literary hack, a poet, critic, journalist, historian, anthropologist, an authority on Homer, golf, cricket, and angling, and a king's-craftsman of fairy tales. It is difficult to know just where to place Andrew Lang in order to be fair in commenting upon his achievements. A journalistic practitioner who translated the ancient classics and specialized in anthropology and who at the same time concocted "Vain Verses" and wrote fairy tales, presents a bewildering problem to the critic. His mind expanded into many channels, sending into each a strong stream of activity. This quality of universalism made him friendly to all knowledge. The most versatile writer within easy memory, careless of the effect of his work upon the public if it satisfied his own judgment, he suffered the humiliation of being called a "syndicate" by his contemporaries.

He was educated at Edinburgh University, St. Andrews, and Balliol College, Oxford, and as a young graduate came sharply to public attention through the smoke of his famous controversy with Max Müller over certain disputed points of anthropology. Müller had professed to discover that the seeds of the old Aryan myths germinated in language that had become debased and put forward this theory in his "Science of Language." Lang, with great vigor, in a slashing public attack, tore Müller's ponderous science to tatters, and put forward the theory that certain race-thought was inherent in man and that mythology, Aryan or non-Aryan, was merely the overlapping from one age to another of ancient race-thought. Various periodicals took up the warfare; scientists took sides, and the controversy continued for several years. Lang had as great respect for science as any man living, but while he respected science, he thought intuition often came nearer the truth. With Kant, he saw that Being-in-itself was timeless and spaceless and that the Old and the New were different only as to

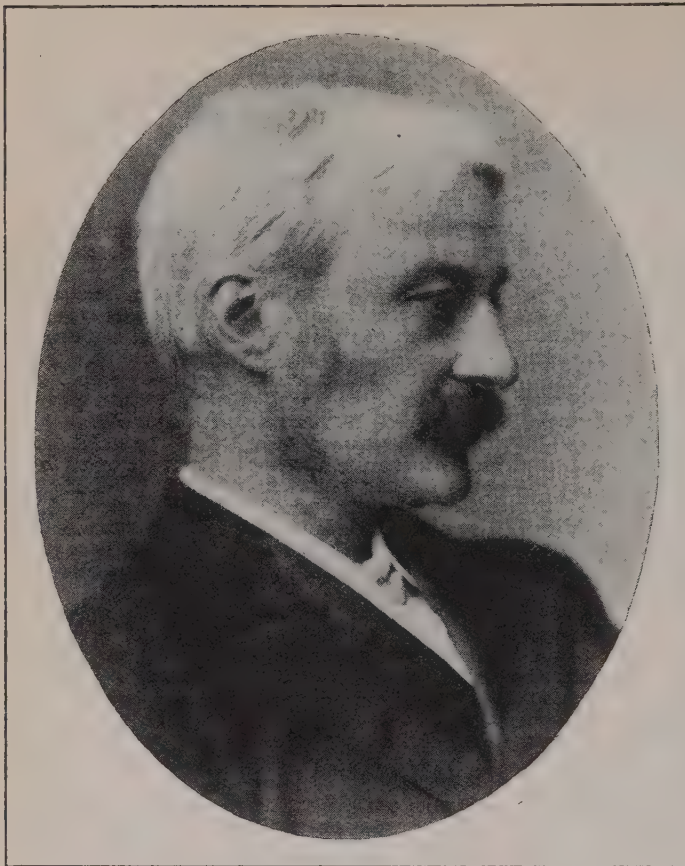
the particular aspects they presented to view; that they were actually segments of one circle, the manifestation of the World-Soul. His hypothesis that there are ideas innate in the race-mind, such as the conception of a Supreme Being, did not change in later years, as his savage shredding of Mr. Frazer's book on "Christianity, Magic and Religion," shows. Of his many other controversies, that most famous was with Anatole France over his exposition of the character of Joan of Arc.

Lang's epicurean taste led his youthful talent into lyrical expression in the French metrical forms—the ballade and the rondeau. "Ballads and Lyrics of France" was published in 1872. Later appeared "Ballads in Blue China," "Border Ballads," and "Rhymes à la Mode." His most popular poem is the widely read "Who Wins His Love Shall Lose Her."

He had a great knack for writing good history in a pleasant, readable vein. The best of his historical works is undoubtedly the "History of Scotland from the Time of the Roman Occupation." In the nineties, he published three historical works of note,—*"The Mystery of Mary Stuart,"* a careful study of that inscrutable princess, "James VI and the Gowrie Mystery," and "John Knox and the Reformation."

As a journalist Lang was a champion of restraint and decency; of the avoidance of private tattle and the cruel, personal thrust. He often fought savagely with literary antagonists, but he fought openly, with due warning of attack and with no mean foes; never with weaklings. Usually he was a David to the Goliath of his opponent, and like David he came out boldly with a modest armament and vanquished his giant. He once said that Stevenson's talent consisted in saying things as the "newspapers did not say them." Lang set himself to a harder task, that of saying things as the newspapers said them and by sheer merit, generally hidden in the modest cloak of anonymity, attracted the reader's eye instantly to his words. In his essays, "Letter to a Young Journalist" and "How to Succeed in Literature," he has set down his journalistic creed.

As a critic he was not fearful of truth and laid bare faults with a sense of righteousness in so doing, but he did fear and loathe the flippant insincerity that leads straight to a distortion of facts. As whimsical as Lamb, as conservative as Hazlitt, his literary methods were beyond criticism. Even in his controversies there was not the effort to settle things definitely so much as the insistence that there was another point of view. Loving the art that brought high moments and stirred the heart to noble emotions, he was never tempted into the freakish, the decadent, or the perverse. The sunlight, the fresh air, the open, free country, the heather, and the wild moors were his delight. He scorned a certain phase of modern realism and the warping gloom of Ibsen gave him mental nausea. He hunted "ghosts," but they were not the Scandinavian phantoms of terror and despair, but gentle ghosts who rang bells and dragged chains



ANDREW LANG, 1844—1912

and were quite playful and harmless. "Bellissima and the Yellow Dwarf" were more essential to the world, he believed, than Rebecca of Rosmersholm or Hilda Wangel. In his delightful fairy tales, he strove to make alive again a whole world of dead heroes, sagas, and cherished saints,—the wonder-folk who lived when the earth was young. Without the natural gift for writing fairy tales that Grimm and Hans Christian Andersen possessed, he constructed them with the same enthusiasm he brought to the translation of Homer. To choose between the "grey tree or the green" never troubled him an instant. He chose both and they thrived equally well in his garden.

Among his many whimsical productions are "Essays in Epistolary Parody," a volume of pretended letters from one literary celebrity to another. The letter presumably written by Mrs. Gamp to Betsy Prig will reward the reader with the flavor of a rare kind of humor—a light, hybrid product that is unfortunately nearly extinct. He was always ahead of the times in his appreciation of coming literary men and was one of the first to appreciate our own Sidney Lanier and the neglected writings of Poe. The conclusion of his letter to Poe from "Letters to Dead Authors," gives us a taste of Lang's serious style at its best. The letter ends thus:

"Farewell, farewell, thou somber and solitary

spirit, a genius tethered to the hackwork of the press, a gentleman among canaille, a poet among poetasters, dowered with a scholar's taste without a scholar's training, embittered by his sensitive scorn and all unsupported by his consolations."

Essentially a romanticist, he ever preferred to write of "high spirits, a light heart, a sharp sword, a fair wench, a good horse," than to be concerned with weightier matters. He multiplied himself and projected his energies into many different fields, rising from the soil of Scotland like a huge, beneficent, literary genie, to be transformed at will into shapes of a thousand delights.

An excellent portrait published some years ago in the English magazine *Literature* shows Mr. Lang in his study—a slender man, yet of sturdy physique, with a shock of white hair tossed back from a high forehead. The eyes are the most remarkable feature, piercing and brilliant, revealing the immense vitality of the man who played at work and therefore never tired of it. A physiognomist would find delight in analyzing his face—the reflective domed forehead, the intuitive brows, the rolling, deep-set eyes indicating eloquence and thoughtfulness, the jaw with its lines of determination and the irregular nose showing a power of self-defense, analysis, and mental curiosity. Gilbert Chesterton has called him an "emancipated conservative," belonging to that class of "literary men of which Aristophanes was the greatest." He lived a wonderful life, spending his talent royally. To walk through life listlessly was to him the great sin; one must expand and grow in order to gain the "fruit of a quickened, multiplied consciousness."

We may well ask after a retrospect over the products of his diverse activities, Did Andrew Lang ever really come into his own (for he never wrote a masterpiece) or was he forever wandering upon the edges of his actual domain? It seems upon reflection that he did finally come into his own country, which was—Fairyland. The deathless legend was his first love and his last. He wrote attended by elves and gnomes, trolls and pixies. To the music of ringing hoofs, he spun tales of "goblin ghost and fairy, fight and foray, fair ladies and true lovers, gallant knights and hard blades." We may bid him a long farewell with the question he propounded to Q. Horatius Flaccus in the "Letters to Dead Authors": "In what manner of Paradise are we to conceive that you are dwelling, or what region of immortality can give you such pleasures as your life afforded? The country and the town, nature and men, who knew them so well as you or who so wisely made the best of those two worlds?"

SOME BOOKS OF A CAMPAIGN YEAR

FROM early indications it seems clear that in one respect at least this presidential campaign will differ from those that have gone before; a new style of "literature" is demanded. Congressmen's tariff speeches, printed in the *Congressional Record* and franked by the hundred thousand to admiring constituents and faithful party workers, are all very well in their way, but this year the people are talking and reading about other and more fundamental problems of government. The publishing houses are alive to this situation and are making intelligent efforts to meet it. Time was when the biographies of the candidates, issued as a rule by subscription houses, were about the only bound volumes that were especially prepared for a campaign market. Now there is a call for books of another kind,—those devoted to the exposition and discussion of public questions.

In this campaign, more than in any that has preceded it, the interest centers in the organization of the democracy itself; for the real and vital issue is not any specific policy, but the working out of the foundation principles of all free government. It is significant that one of the books of the current season should bear the title, "Government by All the People,"¹—not *of* or *for* the people. In the coming two months this phrase will come to have a new meaning because it will represent certain definite reforms in our governmental system. Dr. Wilcox specifies several of these in the sub-title of his work,—“The Initiative, the Referendum, and the Recall as Instruments of Democracy.” The arguments for and against each of these innovations are succinctly stated. The failures of the old system of checks and balances are summarized and reasons are advanced for the belief that the new political instruments will on the whole be more effective in establishing popular self-government. Dr. Wilcox is chief of the Bureau of Franchises of the New York Public Service Commission and is a recognized authority on municipal government in the United States.

In this connection two very helpful books of reference are Dr. Oberholtzer's "Referendum, Initiative, and Recall in America" (a new edition) and Dr. Charles A. Beard's "Documents on the State-wide Initiative, Referendum, and Recall." Dr. C. F. Taylor's "Equity Series" (published quarterly at 1520 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia) is an indispensable aid to all who wish to be accurately informed on the progress of the direct-legislation and short-ballot movements. A new volume² in the "National Municipal League Series" brings together a group of contributions on the initiative, referendum, and recall by such eminent publicists as Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, President Lowell, of Harvard, Congressman McCall, Senator Bourne, and Robert Treat Paine, and by various writers whose special knowledge of Oregon's experience and that of other States qualifies

them to speak with authority. An introductory chapter is contributed by the editor, Prof. William B. Munro of Harvard.

Still another summary of up-to-date information is "Direct Elections and Lawmaking by Popular Vote,"³ by Edwin M. Bacon and Morrill Wyman. This little volume deals not only with the initiative, referendum, and recall, but also treats of commission government for cities and the preferential vote.

Ex-President Roosevelt's proposition known as the recall of judicial decisions has given rise to an immense amount of discussion both within and without the legal profession. One of the Courts and the People outcome has been a searching inquiry into the relation sustained by the courts to legislation. Perhaps never before in our national history has this matter been so thoroughly canvassed. Among the fruits of this inquiry we have a clearly written little treatise on "Majority Rule and the Judiciary,"⁴ by William L. Ransom, of the New York Bar, with an introduction by Theodore Roosevelt. Speaking as a lawyer, Mr. Ransom, while advocating Mr. Roosevelt's proposal to submit to popular vote the decisions of State courts in certain cases involving the constitutionality of laws passed in the exercise of the police power, seeks no quarrel with those who believe that the same results should be accomplished through the established method of general constitutional amendment. He recognizes the same principle back of both methods, but he prefers the Roosevelt proposal as the more conservative, suitable, sound, and adaptable of the two. Lawyers and laymen who may be inclined to differ with Mr. Ransom in this matter would still do well to read with care his exposition of the proposal for "direct popular definition" as opposed to "general amendment." Such a reading may help materially in removing misconceptions.

Certain recent commentators on the federal Constitution having taken the ground that the framers of that sacred document never intended that the Supreme Court should pass upon the constitutionality of acts of Congress, historical students of conservative tendencies have felt bound to search for some justification of the long-established practice of judicial control. One of the ablest of these investigators, Prof. Charles A. Beard, of Columbia University, presents in a little volume entitled "The Supreme Court and the Constitution"⁵ evidence tending to show that twenty-five members of the Convention of 1787 "favored or at least accepted some form of judicial control," and that of these twenty-five not less than fourteen believed that the judicial power included the right and duty of passing on the constitutionality of acts of Congress. It cannot, then, be said that the Supreme Court has "usurped" this function, even though

¹ Government by All the People, or The Initiative, the Referendum and the Recall as Instruments of Democracy. By Delos F. Wilcox. Macmillan. 324 pp. \$1.50.

² The Initiative, Referendum, and Recall. Edited by William B. Munro. Appleton's. 365 pp. \$1.50.

³ Direct Elections and Law-making by Popular Vote. By Edwin M. Bacon and Morrill Wyman. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 167 pp. \$1.

⁴ Majority Rule and the Judiciary. By William L. Ransom. Scribner's. 177 pp. 60 cents.

⁵ The Supreme Court and the Constitution. By Charles A. Beard. Macmillan. 127 pp. \$1.

its practice is not explicitly sanctioned by the Constitution itself.

A more positive assertion of this argument is made by J. Hampden Dougherty in "Power of Federal Judiciary over Legislation."¹ He maintains that the makers of the Constitution, as well as the members of the ratifying conventions in the several States, not only meant to give but actually did give to the federal judiciary the power to declare laws unconstitutional. He ascribes in detail the origin of the counter notion that the judiciary have no such power, and devotes considerable space to the refutation of what he regards as fallacies in the views held by such latter-day jurists as Chief Justice Walter Clark, of the North Carolina Supreme Court, and Dean William Trickett, of the Dickinson Law School.

Whatever may be our conclusions regarding the intentions of the fathers as to judicial control of legislation, it is idle to attempt to minimize the

serious and widespread charges that have been brought against the courts in recent years or to seek to disguise the hostile attitude of a large section of the American public toward what is believed to be the reactionary trend of many of our judicial decisions. The spirit of this popular opposition to the courts is clearly voiced in a volume by Gilbert E. Roe, of the New York Bar, which bears the significant title, "Our Judicial Oligarchy."² Mr. Roe presents many facts that will certainly not be pleasant reading for members of the legal profession, but it is only fair to state that he gives precise references for all that he says and enables any readers who so desire to verify his charges. Senator La Follette, who writes an introduction to the volume, commends it as a useful contribution to the popular literature of the subject.

Donald Lowrie was "No. 19,093" in San Quentin Prison, California. In his book, "My Life in

Prison,"³ he has set down a record of life as he found it there. He has opened the doors, torn away the walls of a great lazar house, and let the noisome disorders he found within tell their own story. The astounding fact that remains after one has read this

Prison
Life

"myriorama of prison life," is that so far no man has arisen to give Donald Lowrie the lie. It was not all misery in San Quentin; there was tragedy and hatred and despair, but there was also kindness and brotherhood. The misery and the brutality were the result of our system of legal revenge that cages men and dehumanizes them. Read the story of Ed. Morrell, who was kept five years in the "solitary." You, the reader, can see him "horribly emaciated; the knee and elbow and shoulder-bones stood out like huge knots through the drawn and yellow skin, while his ribs reminded me of the carcass of a sheep hanging in front of a butcher's establishment." You will also find a singularly vivid chapter that tells with faultless detail just how they hang a man in San Quentin. After you read through the book perhaps you will see that the men who want to change the prison system know that the old system spelled revenge (a legalized "getting back" at the prisoner by the State) and that revenge "spells hate—and hate always breeds more hate." Donald Lowrie's book is a powerful one. There are no sentimentalities within its covers,—just a setting-down of facts, and a portrayal of characters with a certain brutal directness.

The attitude of society is not changing toward crime, but it is changing toward the so-called criminal. This is where the confusion arises in the minds of those who permit brutalities because they don't know about them. Prison reform isn't going to turn vice loose upon society, nor will it coddle the offender. It will, however, treat the disease of crime with as much differentiation and intelligence as we have long bestowed upon the treatment of physical disease.

OUT-OF-DOOR BOOKS

A TIMELY and much-needed illustrated manual of "The Important Timber Trees of the United States"⁴ for the use of foresters, students and laymen in forestry, lumbermen, farmers and other landowners, has been written by Simon B. Elliott, of the Pennsylvania Forestry Reservation Commission. The main purpose of Mr. Elliott's book is to encourage tree-growing for economic purposes only. The valuable feature of his book, in fact, is the discriminating selection that he makes from the great number of native forest species, many of which are important and useful in their way, while not capable of producing the best and most needed forest products in the shortest time and with the least labor and expense. Those who are interested in forestry on the investment side of the question will profit especially from Mr. Elliott's book.

Facts About
Trees

A very useful handbook, both for the student and the practical forester, is the "Illustrated Key to the Wild and Commonly Cultivated Trees of the Northeastern United States and Adjacent Canada,"⁵ by J. Franklin Collins and Howard W. Preston. This book is small enough to be readily carried in the pocket, but its illustrations are on a scale that facilitates the identification of forest species.

Further indication of the awakening interest in forestry throughout the country is afforded by the publication of a thick volume on "Forestry in New England,"⁶ by Ralph Chipman Hawley, of the Yale Forest School, and Austin Foster Hawes, State Forester of Vermont. This volume is dedicated to Forester Henry S. Graves "with a deep sense of our personal obligations to him as our preceptor in the Yale Forest School, which he organized and built up to rank as

Practical
Forestry

¹ Power of Federal Judiciary over Legislation. By J. Hampden Dougherty. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 125 pp., \$1.

² Our Judicial Oligarchy. By Gilbert E. Roe. B. W. Huebsch. 239 pp., \$1.

³ My Life in Prison. By Donald Lowrie. Mitchell Kennerly. 422 pp., \$1.25.

⁴ The Important Timber Trees of the United States. By Simon B. Elliott. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 382 pp., ill. \$2.50.

⁵ Key to Trees. By J. Franklin Collins and Howard W. Preston. Henry Holt & Co. 184 pp., ill. \$1.25.

⁶ Forestry in New England. By Ralph Chipman Hawley and Austin Foster Hawes. New York: John Wiley & Sons. 479 pp., ill. \$3.50.

the foremost school of forestry in this country, and in recognition of his services to American forestry as an educator, writer, and administrator." The authors of this work have been governed, as they say in their preface, by a twofold purpose: "First, by the desire to present a book which might be of practical assistance to all classes of landowners in the East; and second, to produce a text-book treating of forestry in New England." While the book is written with special reference to New England, it has a much wider field of application, since forest conditions similar to those in New England prevail over a large part of New York and New Jersey, and also in southeastern Canada.

Much up-to-date information regarding American forest conservation and the condition of the lumber market at the present time is embodied in the official report of the tenth annual convention of the Lumber Manufacturers' Association,¹ held at Cincinnati, on May 7-8, 1912.

It may not be generally understood by the expert that there exists among American anglers a small but "progressive" party, the chief plank of

**Merits of the
Dry Fly**

whose platform is the advantage of the dry fly over the wet fly. Heretofore the followers of this dry-fly cult have had to rely altogether on English writers for the propaganda of the movement. With the present season, however, Mr. Emlyn M. Gill, of New York, an ardent dry-fly enthusiast, has prepared for the use of his American fellow anglers a readable and interesting little volume on "Practical Dry-Fly Fishing."² While it was shown years ago, to the satisfaction of English fishermen, that the dry fly proved a successful lure in the smooth chalk streams of southern England, Mr. Gill has become convinced it is equally efficient when used on our American streams, where conditions are different. Knowing from experience and observation just what these conditions are, Mr. Gill has been able to write an extremely helpful and practical handbook for American application. The Literary Honors Committee of the Camp Fire Club of America, made up of such sportsmen and naturalists as William T. Hornaday, Charles Livingston Bull, Robert T. Morris, A. W. Dimock, Ernest Thompson Seton and Emerson McMillan, has unanimously indorsed Mr. Gill's book, and each member personally commends the practical value of its suggestions.

Mrs. Ellen Robertson-Miller's "Butterfly and Moth Book"³ was developed in a perfectly natural way from a series of familiar talks to children about the mysteries of the chrysalis and the moth as they were encountered during a summer in the country.

**From Chrysalis
to Butterfly**

All the species described by the author in this book have been personally studied and observed by her, and the text is illustrated partly by her own drawings and partly from photographs which the publishers reproduce with unusual success.

¹The American Lumber Industry. Published by authority of National Lumber Manufacturers' Association. 238 pp.

²Practical Dry-Fly Fishing. By Emlyn M. Gill. Scribner's. 216 pp. \$1.25.

³Butterfly and Moth Book. By Ellen Robertson-Miller. Scribner's. 249 pp., ill. \$1.50.



THE EFFECTIVE COVER DESIGN (REDUCED) OF MR. JOSEPH B. THOMAS' "OBSERVATIONS ON BORZOI"

The breed of dogs known in America as Russian wolfhounds and in their Russian home as Borzoi is described by Mr. Joseph B. Thomas in an attractive little volume⁴ made up of a series of letters to a friend. Mr.

**Russian
Hounds**

Thomas is a well-versed authority on hounds and coursing and has made a special study of the Borzoi, many of which he has imported to this country after observing them in their native land. Such members of the hound family are not likely to suffer the ignoble fate of their Missouri cousins in the campaign song. Nobody would want to kick such dogs around. This is Mr. Thomas' tribute to the Borzoi: "He is a companionable dog par excellence, but is strictly what I should term a one-man dog; and I have never recommended the ownership of one to the man who expects to delegate his care to others. He must, like all other dogs, be brought up for the purpose for which he is intended; but properly trained and educated, he will be found as companionable as the best—no fonder of fighting than the deerhound, faithful as the collie, and more picturesque than either."

Major Henry T. Allen, U. S. A., formerly military attaché at St. Petersburg, contributes a foreword.

⁴Observations on Borzoi, called in America Russian Wolfhounds. By Joseph B. Thomas. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 120 pp., ill. \$1.25.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PHILOSOPHY

SOME reviewers have expressed the opinion that Dr. Deussen's book, "The System of Vedanta,"¹ will have scant appreciation, as the subject is too

highly abstract for the scope of the Western mind. It is to be hoped that readers will not be discouraged by its title. Dr. Deussen is a professor in Kiel University and is one of the greatest recognized authorities on Hindu philosophy. This is a rare and wonderful book that is chiefly concerned with the science of the soul. The name "Vedanta" means simply the "end of the Veda" or the "dogmas of the Veda," and the Veda is the closing chapters of the single Brahmanas, certain sacred books of India, usually called "Upanishads," which is freely translated "secret doctrine." The Vedanta philosophy finds its source in Brahman, and Brahman is the great cosmic force or psychic principle of the universe. Brahman manifests in Nirvana the perfect union with the divine, also as creator of the esoteric world. In the Veda you will find the seeds of all known philosophical systems. You will rediscover Heraclitus, Parmenides, and Plato; you will find the doctrines which came to fruition in the writings of Spinoza, Jacob Böhme, Berkeley, Hume, and Descartes. Emerson's lofty thought was merely the philosophy of Brahman filtered through a marvelous Western mind. There is an introduction of one hundred pages, after which the book is divided into four parts, dealing with cosmology, metaphysics, psychology, and the doctrines of transmigration and liberation. There are six conditions given as necessary to those who would comprehend the doctrines of Vedanta. They are: "Tranquillity, Restraint, Renunciation, Resignation, Concentration, and Belief." In other words, you cannot view the soul in its immortal splendor until the passions have been stilled and the mind cleared of dross.

The Vedic doctrine will bring to the Western mind a deliverance from the fear of death. Immortality in the Occidental sense means indestructibility by death; the Indian term is "*amritatvam*," the deliverance of the liberated soul from dying, which is a vastly different thing. Our Western idea of immortality simply postulates the existence of something not subject to the laws of dissolution. We should study this science of the soul because "the soul is the point in the universe where the veil (woven of time and space and causality) that covers "Being-in-itself," becomes so transparent that we perceive facts through it which protest against the cosmic laws of Realism and oppose themselves to a logical elaboration of it."

In the "Art of Life Series," a collection of helpful books edited by Edward Howard Griggs, we

¹The System of Vedanta. By Paul Deussen. Translated by Charles Johnston. The Open Court Publishing Company. 513 pp.

have two books, "The Super-Race,"² by Mr. Scott Nearing, and "The Burden of Poverty,"³ by Charles F. Dole.

Mr. Nearing's superman is not the man-brute of Nietzsche—triumphant through all-conquering egoism. He is the man who will emerge, who is emerging from progressive democracy—the man who understands race-culture and knows himself.

The factors which will combine to produce a super-race here in the United States are set down as follows: "Natural resources, stock of dominant races, leisure, the emancipation of women, the abandonment of war, a knowledge of race-making, a knowledge of social adjustment, and a widespread educational machinery." It is a book of vision—of "the vision that is coming true."

Mr. Dole calls our attention to the problem of poverty in modern times and leads on to suggestions as to its cure. Now Mr. Dole's theory for the cure of poverty is very like the formulas for the super-race, namely, the rationalistic socialistic theory, efficient government, the abolition of special privileges, race evolution, and the growth of humanitarianism. But in the end he leaves us just where we began—at the door of our individual responsibility for poverty. All the beautiful theories and the helpful suggestions in the world are worthless unless the individual will shoulder his own share of the "burden of poverty." The book is compact, clear of argument, and terse of expression.

Caroline Williams Le Favre presents a scientific and artistic plea for a nobler beauty in an artistic gray-and-gold volume bearing the title, "Beauty of the Highest Type."⁴ Her argument is based upon the conception of the individual as a kind of human musical instrument with which we play or sing. Within this instrument there are harmonies of sense and harmonies of mind and soul. To become truly beautiful we must be in touch with nature, humanity, and divinity. In the first chapter of this book, the author describes the highest type of beauty attainable in the purely American family. This type is a blend of the Greek and the Anglo-Saxon, one that expresses inward and outward symmetry. Mrs. Le Favre writes with exceeding grace of expression. She has glimpsed the great "Image of Perfection."

²Super-Race: an American Problem. By Scott Nearing. B. W. Huebsch. 102 pp. 50 cents.

³The Burden of Poverty. By Charles F. Dole. B. W. Huebsch. 124 pp. 50 cents.

⁴Beauty of the Highest Type. By Caroline Williams Le Favre. Passaic, N. J.: Health Culture Company. 85 pp. \$1.



FINANCIAL NEWS FOR THE INVESTOR

IT is a fact that the general investor knows very little about analyzing real-estate propositions. As a result there have already been several failures and severe losses, such as in the recent case of the Industrial Savings & Loan Association, the New York Mortgage Company, and the Columbia Real Estate Company. It is predicted by a leading authority that if the business of the companies which sell bonds, unsecured or insufficiently secured by real estate, continues to increase there will be as many failures as among the old western farm-mortgage companies prior to 1890.

"From a selfish business point of view I will be sorry if the State Banking Department secures jurisdiction over all the companies selling bonds based on real estate," said an alert, keen-eyed little man, whose two modest rooms in a big Wall Street office building are lined with steel cabinets containing the record of nearly every promoter in New York City. "But as a citizen in this community I will be very glad if these companies can be regulated." "And," he added, as he turned to resume dictating a report on a concern of doubtful standing, at the point where the questioner had interrupted him, "if every fraudulent or deceptive real-estate bond company is closed some new method of abstracting the people's savings will be found. I guess my work will keep up."

This man, who reports on the standing and financial responsibility of brokers, promoters, and stock and bond-selling concerns, much as the two great mercantile agencies do in regard to merchants and traders, knew well enough that if the jurisdiction of the Banking Department should be extended his own work would be that much restricted. But he realized that where one rich investor might make use of his private service a thousand poor investors would be protected by the publicly known activities of the State Banking Superintendent. And no good citizen would regret the extension of investment protection from the few to the many.

The authority of the New York State Banking Department over companies selling bonds more or less secured by real estate is at present limited and somewhat hazy. There have been decisions strengthening this au-

thority and the Legislature has been urged to widen materially the scope of the department's activities. Leading real-estate men in New York City favor this movement and if the Legislature will make a few changes in the present law and vote a reasonable appropriation, the situation in regard to real-estate securities in the metropolis will be revolutionized for the better.

There are at least fifty companies in New York City, subject to no State regulation, which sell bonds secured by deed of trust or mortgage on real estate. The law contemplates that this business be reserved to companies regulated by the Banking Department, but its wording is such that at least fifty companies escape regulation. Some of these are strong and in every way financially solvent and responsible. They are managed by men of integrity and sagacity. They have a comparatively long record of successful operation and their properties are advantageously located. These companies will not be affected by new legislation, but there are large numbers of concerns which would be ruled out of business by the standards the Banking Department is certain to establish.

Too many real-estate companies offer the public "guaranteed" 6 and 7 per cent. bonds, without stating whether they are first or second-mortgage or merely equity bonds. These distinctions are vital, but the investor does not properly analyze them, so strong upon him is the lure and romance of the mere name of New York City real-estate.

Many companies buy real estate, manage it and sell debenture bonds against it. If this property is not too heavily mortgaged to begin with and if it is judiciously purchased and managed, the bonds sold against it are excellent investments, provided there are not too many of them. A few companies engaged in this business deserve nothing but praise for their methods. But even with such companies the bonds are not secured by first mortgage. They are merely debentures against the equity in the property, and everything depends on the value of the property, its management, and the number of bonds issued against it.

If the prospectus of one of these companies dwells chiefly on the fortunes made by

the Astors, Vanderbilts, and Goelets in New York real estate, then one can put the offering aside as undesirable. What the prospectus should state is the location and appraised and actual value of the land owned, the amount of mortgages upon it, and the number of bonds sold to investors against it. If the total issue of bonds is less than the actual value of the property minus the mortgages upon it, and the property is well located, then the offering may be considered. What is absolutely essential is to know how many bonds have been issued against the net value of the property. It is positively amazing that any investor should for a moment consider bonds of this class without knowing this one simple but vital fact, and yet the thing is done every day.

If the Banking Department secures authority over real-estate bond companies they will be compelled to make public facts of the nature outlined, facts which so many of them have suppressed. Mere publicity will almost automatically drive the worthless companies out of existence.

The Romance of New York City

THE vendors of securities more or less related to New York City real estate never tire of telling the romantic story of vast fortunes which the growth of wealth and population have created in that city. The story is only too well known: Men who should purchase desirable mortgages from reliable dealers in their home towns in Maine or California are led to squander their savings with some far-away New York City real-estate corporation whose standing they can never hope to know as well as they do that of their local dealers. Of course there is much New York City real estate of the utmost value, but nowhere does capital compete more fiercely or intelligently for the best investments. Many real-estate ventures in the city turn out badly, much property is selling at prices below the assessed valuation, and in many sections it grows more and more difficult to earn a fair return upon the money invested.

If one must invest in bonds of companies dealing in New York City real estate let him confine his operations to the securities of those concerns which make an intelligent financial report along the lines which the State Banking Department will probably insist upon, and let him be wary of the operators who devote reams of good paper to telling about fortunes which other people have made with so little trouble.

Conservation of Savings

INVESTORS, big and little, both in this country and abroad, should welcome the news of the organization on the eighth of last month of the Investment Bankers' Association of America.

No movement inaugurated in the world of finance in many a day has been fraught with greater possibilities for usefulness than the one in which these bankers have united. "Conservation of Savings" might fittingly have been adopted as the slogan of the new Association. For, its chief object is to direct into the channels of safe and profitable enterprise the surplus, or savings, of the public, and especially that part, which, according to the estimates of the Postmaster General, has been finding its way into the pockets of fraudulent or irresponsible promoters at the rate of more than \$100,000,000, annually.

Sporadic attempts during the last few years to procure Federal legislation, looking to this end, failed of direct results. Last year, however, Kansas placed upon its statute books its widely-noticed "Blue Sky" law, which, within its natural limitations, has apparently been effective in restraining peddlers of doubtful stocks and bonds. It has seemed likely that other States would follow Kansas' lead; and that, as time went on, the way of these transgressors might be made increasingly hard.

But, notwithstanding this encouragement, there was the recognition of a growing need for coöperation among those best fitted by training and experience to champion the saver's cause, to spread investment education, and to create real investment opportunity. The purpose of the Investment Bankers' Association is to supply that need. With a membership made up of bankers of the highest character—the kind with which the REVIEW of REVIEWS has done much to acquaint its readers during the last five years—and with that membership sharing collectively the responsibilities incident to the exercise of the characteristic function of the investment banker, which is to analyze, approve, create and distribute "secured credits" at present aggregating \$1,500,000,000 annually, it is difficult to imagine a limit to the good which the Association may accomplish.

Note the following purposes set forth in the preamble of the new Association's constitution. To promote the general welfare and influence of investment banks, bankers, or banking institutions operating bond depart-

ments; to secure uniformity of action both in legislation and in the handling of securities; to derive the practical benefits which come of personal acquaintance; to discuss subjects of importance to the banking and commercial interests of the country, as affecting the investing public; to protect against loss through wilful misrepresentation of investment securities; and to surround the offerings of members with greater safeguards to the end that they may enjoy the broadest possible markets both at home and abroad.

Nor does it appear that, if all of the aims of the Association are realized, the investing public will be the sole beneficiary. The corporations, themselves, must be considered. As President George B. Caldwell intimated in

the speech with which he opened the convention, there should be coöperation "for the protection of our industries, which can best be secured . . . by a campaign of honest publicity and a broader education of our great army of voters," to the end that public sentiment may no longer run against "big business," as such, and that a supporting hand may be given to the markets for our securities.

The stand which the Investment Bankers' Association has taken is, in short, for "responsiveness and responsibility";—responsiveness to the capital demands of legitimate industry; responsibility to those to whom the bankers must look to provide the capital supply.

TYPICAL INQUIRIES AND ANSWERS

No. 383. REAL ESTATE BONDS

What are the advantages of so-called "real estate bonds"; first, as to their being convertible into cash within reasonable time; second, as to income when considered from the standpoint of safety? Would it be best to take short or long term bonds of this class?

Ready convertibility is the one "advantage" that is, perhaps, most conspicuous by its absence in the general class of real estate bonds. No free market exists anywhere for such securities, and, on this account, they are essentially "income" propositions. Certain of the best known issues may be found in the lists of brokers who make a business of bringing together buyers and sellers of inactive and "unlisted" securities. But the market created in this way is "uncurrent" and narrow, and the prices at which exchanges are made are usually found to be determined rather by the intensity of the seller's desire, or necessity, for cash, than the intensity of the buyer's desire for the bonds.

Certain other bonds are given by the issuing companies themselves a cash surrender value before maturity. In these cases, it is usually provided, however, that the bonds may not be offered for redemption until after the second or third anniversary of their issuance, and then only on condition that the holder agree to such a discount from the principal as will adjust the income during the period of his ownership to a rate one or two per cent. below the rate nominated in the bonds.

Still other issues are distributed by bankers who make it a custom to repurchase the securities from their clients at any time at par, less a nominal handling charge. There can, of course, be no guarantee that this custom will be adhered to at all times, and under all circumstances, but there are a few instances of its having been satisfactorily maintained for a number of years. Manifestly, convertibility of this sort depends almost entirely upon the strength and resourcefulness of the banking house specializing in the bonds.

Again, the term, "convertibility," is sometimes used in connection with securities of this class in a sense vastly different from the average investor's

understanding of it. We refer to instances where it is found upon analysis to mean that the bonds are exchangeable, at the holder's option, *not for cash*, but for an amount of the real estate which the issuing company has for sale, supposedly equivalent in value to the face value of the bonds. Cases have come within the observation of this magazine where this anomalous use of the term has been a source of trouble and inconvenience to investors.

An old investment rule says that risk increases about in direct proportion to income yield. Under some circumstances this rule is subject to certain qualification, but, in general, it affords a pretty sound basis of judgment of the relative merits of different securities. For example, as between a real estate bond yielding five per cent. and one yielding six, it would be reasonably safe for the investor to assume, without inquiring very minutely into the general characteristics of each issue, that the former was the more carefully safeguarded as to both principal and interest.

If both bonds were secured by mortgages, the difference in respect of safety would, in the last analysis, probably be found to rest upon, either a difference in the liens of the mortgages, or a difference in the location and character of the mortgaged properties. To illustrate the second, and perhaps more common of these two points of difference: the security for the one issue might be improved, income-producing, urban real estate of the highest grade; while for the other it might be unimproved, suburban property of more or less speculative value.

If neither bond was secured by mortgage, but was issued, as most of the widely advertised real estate securities are, merely in the form of a "debenture," or plain promise to pay, the difference in respect in the nature of the operations of the issuing companies, and in their management and credit standing.

As between two real estate bonds, bearing the same rate of interest, and selling on the same basis of income, say six per cent. which is the average for such securities, it is obvious that investment merit cannot be determined by any simple form-

ula. In any event, the subject is one for thoroughgoing investigation and careful discrimination on the part of the prospective investor.

Short term bonds of this class are generally held to be intrinsically the more desirable. As a matter of fact, the usual methods of long term, or permanent financing, seem less suitably applied to real estate operations than to any other form of enterprise. Ten to fifteen years is fairly well established as about the limit of the time which such bonds should run, even in cases where the security is property of advantageous situation, and earning power already established, or possible of accurate estimate. Changes in conditions affecting real estate values are oftentimes sudden and of an entirely unforeseen nature. The risk of an unfortunate outcome of such changes from the bondholder's point of view is, of course, minimized where the maturity of the bonds is short.

NO. 384. BOND INTEREST RATES

In considering the purchase of bonds, this question has arisen in my mind: Why should desirable (industrial) corporation bonds bear 5 per cent. and higher, while municipal and railroad bonds bear 4 and $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. or even as low as $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.? Is this difference in interest rates due to loss of safety and marketability, or to the desire of the property owners to make their bonds the most attractive?

It is due primarily to the additional risk inherent in industrial bonds,—a risk which, it must be granted, is in many cases more or less theoretical, but which in no case ought to be disregarded by the investor. One brief way to make clear the fundamental difference in respect of safety between an industrial and a municipal bond is to point out that the former depends for its support upon the earning power of a single form of enterprise, subject all of the time to changing business conditions, whereas the latter depends for its support upon the power of the issuing community *to tax all property within its limits* to raise the money necessary to meet the obligation. One fundamental difference between industrial and railroad bonds is analogous to this one existing between industrials and municipals. That is to say, the earnings of the railways, depending in most cases upon the movement of products of many industries of diverse character, are apt to be the more stable. This point of difference is, of course, less emphasized in cases where the industrial bonds are the obligations of companies manufacturing products which supply the daily consumptive needs of the people. Other differences making for a higher average rate of interest on industrial securities, as compared with both municipal and railroad securities might be mentioned. But those suggested here are usually considered as the basic ones. Generally speaking, municipal bonds have a slower and narrower market than either of the other two classes; and industrials, except for a relatively few large and popular issues, a slower and narrower market than railroads.

NO. 385. MUNICIPAL SECURITIES

Can you explain to me why it is that Seattle municipal bonds seem to go begging at 7 per cent. while other Pacific Coast cities have no difficulty in marketing their bonds at a much lower rate? I also note that Seattle mortgages bring a much higher rate than do other coast cities. I have some small investments in Seattle and the above stated condition of affairs has a tendency to be disconcerting.

We think you will find that the Seattle bonds to which you refer as securities that "go begging at 7 per cent." are not the kind of bonds to which we ordinarily refer when we use the term "municipal." They are, on the contrary, what are known as "local improvement," or "special assessment" bonds, depending for their security upon the taxable values of property in certain limited districts, and not backed up, except in rare instances, by the general credit of the municipalities themselves. Recent quotations of Seattle bonds that are the direct obligations of the city show as follows: one issue of 5 per cents on a $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. basis; another issue of 5 per cents on a 4.35 per cent. basis; two issues of 4 per cents on 4.35 and 4.40 per cent. basis, respectively; and three issues of $4\frac{1}{2}$'s all on a 4.40 per cent. basis. We find these quotations are about on a par with those of the bonds of other Pacific Coast cities like Los Angeles, Oakland, Pasadena, Sacramento, and Santa Barbara, California; Portland, Oregon; and Spokane and Tacoma, Washington. We are also of the opinion that you will find that the rates on mortgage investments are fairly uniform throughout the coast section, except possibly for some of the older and more fully developed places.

NO. 386. ROCK ISLAND STOCKS

Kindly give me your opinion as to the advisability of investing in Rock Island stocks at present. The quotations have declined of late. Do you consider such decline warranted by conditions? Also, when does the Rock Island's fiscal year end?

The stocks to which you refer are those of the Rock Island Company, a holding concern twice removed from the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway, the company that is engaged in the business of railroading. The Rock Island Company's shares are, to say the least, highly speculative securities, which, on several occasions, have been the objects of some very objectionable manipulation on the New York Stock Exchange. As a matter of fact, they have proved dangerous stocks, even for the professional speculators of large resources. They are not now dividend paying issues, and there are no present indications that they ever will be. The fiscal year of the Company ends on June 30.

NO. 387. A SPECULATIVE INDUSTRIAL ISSUE

Would it be safe for me to invest in the stock of the industrial concern described in the literature which I herewith enclose?

This stock seems to be based upon a pretty fair little business proposition, but there is one feature about it with which we are not at all impressed, and which we think serves to indicate the large element of speculative risk that attaches to it. We refer to the offer of the banking house that is distributing the stock to buy back immediately the common stock bonus given with the preferred for the sum of \$50. This seems to us to be sort of a subterfuge to avoid the rather unfavorable appearance of a seven per cent. preferred stock being sold at 90, or on an eight per cent. basis, which is what the proposal really amounts to. High grade investment stocks of the industrial class do not sell in the market on anywhere near that income basis.



THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

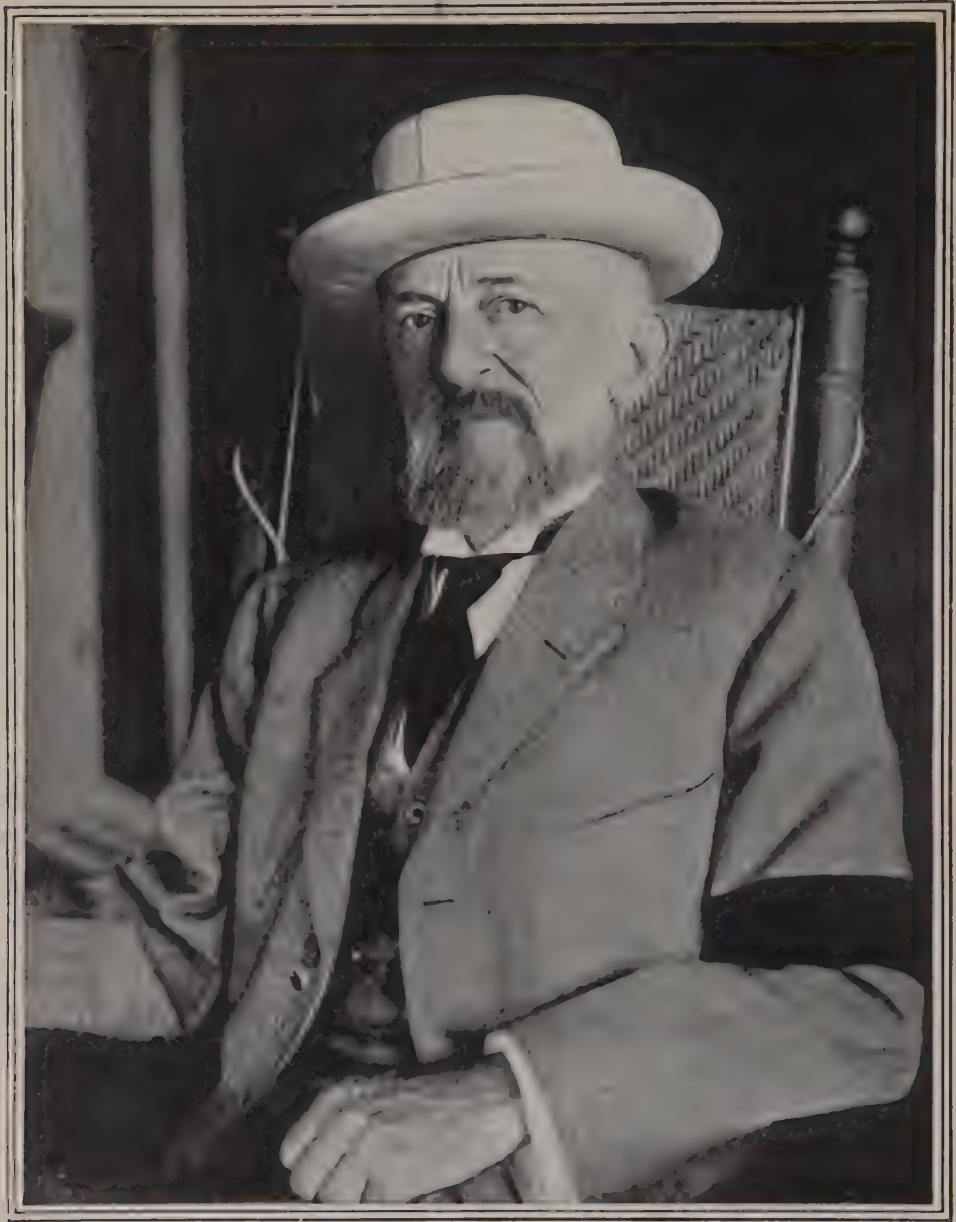
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OSCAR S. STRAUS, THE HAPPY CHOICE OF THE NEW YORK PROGRESSIVES FOR GOVERNOR

(The Hon. Oscar S. Straus, who, on September 6, was nominated by the Progressive party of New York, as its candidate for Governor, is a public-spirited American citizen who has achieved distinction in the widely differing fields of law, business, literature, diplomacy, and statesmanship. He has been our most efficient Ambassador to Turkey. He was Mr. Roosevelt's valued and useful Secretary of Commerce and Labor, the first Hebrew ever to become a member of a President's Cabinet. Altogether he has held appointments from five Presidents,—Cleveland, Harrison, McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft. All his life he has been interested in public questions, endeavoring to carry out what he calls his greatest hobby, a passion for social justice. He has been vice-president of the National Civic Federation, president of the New York Board of Trade and Transportation, president of the American Social Science Association, and one of the vice-presidents of the American Society of International Law. He organized the National Chamber of Commerce. He is a member of the permanent tribunal of arbitration at The Hague. His earnestness, energy, courage and tact, together with his broad human sympathies and patriotic consecration of purpose make him an ideal candidate of the new party of social ideals.)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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NEW YORK, OCTOBER, 1912

No. 4

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Remoteness
of Recent
History*

It is not to be expected that a very large number of the ninety-five million people of the United States should have a full and explicit memory of the political campaign of 1904. The movement of general affairs is so swift and varied, and the newspapers are so lavish in their supply of daily topics that catch and absorb public notice, that even the men whose business it is to be well informed in some particular field find it hard to bring back freshly to their minds those situations—though comparatively recent—with which they were once familiar. These remarks are made in view of the fact that the Senate committee that had been investigating campaign expenditures is to return to Washington to continue its work, on September 30, with particular reference to charges and counter-charges relating to Standard Oil contributions to the Republican campaign fund of eight years ago. In the closing days of the long session of the present Congress, which finally adjourned on August 26, this topic came up in a sensational fashion, and the press of the entire country was flooded with its discussion. Yet there seemed to be very few men, even in active politics or connected with the press, whose memories readily encompassed the conditions under which the Roosevelt-Parker campaign of 1904 was fought out. Americans nowadays live so intensely in the present that it is hard for them to think back in politics even two years, while not one in a hundred can trust his political memory over a period of twelve years or even eight.

*The Penrose-
Archbold
Controversy*

The starting-point of the controversy that brings the Senate committee together on September 30, was the publication of an article in the August number of *Hearst's Magazine*, called "Startling Revelations in Standard Oil

Letters." The first of these letters, as printed in the article, was one from John D. Archbold to Senator Penrose of Pennsylvania. Mr. Archbold is now president of the Standard Oil Company and at the time when this letter was written—October 13, 1904—he was one of its chief officials and was in particular charge of its activities in the States of Pennsylvania and Ohio. His letter was as follows:

Personal

October 13, 1904

MY DEAR SENATOR:

In fulfilment of our understanding, it gives me pleasure to hand you herewith certificate of deposit to your favor for \$25,000, and with good wishes, I am,

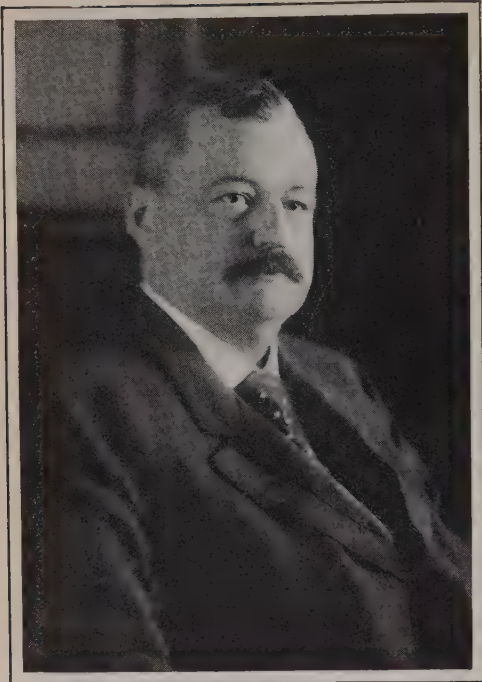
Yours truly,
JNO. D. ARCHBOLD.

TO HON. BOIES PENROSE,
1331 Spruce Street,
Philadelphia, Pa.

The chief opponents of Senator Penrose in Pennsylvania made the appearance of this letter, together with several others that were reproduced at the same time, the occasion for a drastic attack upon the Senator. They demanded that he be expelled from the Senate, on the ground of having been the paid agent of the Standard Oil Company through a long period of years. Senator Penrose, on August 21, rose to a question of privilege in the Senate and undertook to explain the transaction in all its bearings.

*The Attack
Upon
Roosevelt*

He admitted receiving the \$25,000, but said that it was a part of \$125,000 contributed by the Standard Oil Company, through Mr. Archbold, to the Republican campaign of 1904. He explained that \$100,000 of this amount was given directly to Mr. Cornelius N. Bliss, who was treasurer of the national campaign committee, of which Mr. Cortelyou was chairman. Mr. Penrose attempted to



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SENATOR PENROSE OF PENNSYLVANIA

create the impression that President Roosevelt knew all about the gift of \$100,000, and that an additional sum of \$150,000 was solicited. The inference from the Penrose statement was that the subsequent prosecution of the Standard Oil Company by the Roosevelt administration grew out of the refusal of the Standard Oil Company to increase its gift of \$125,000 to the total of \$275,000. Mr. Penrose holds that Mr. Archbold desired to make the additional contribution, but was overruled by his associates in the Standard Oil Company. Mr. Penrose declares that he was present at interviews between Mr. Archbold and Mr. Bliss, and that Mr. Bliss assured Mr. Archbold that President Roosevelt knew about the actual contribution and appreciated it. It seems that Mr. Archbold had insisted that any gifts made by the Standard Oil should be followed by an assurance of the personal knowledge and appreciation of Mr. Roosevelt. In other words, it was made plain that Mr. Archbold was avowedly undertaking to buy favor for the Standard Oil Company with an administration which could bring suits, or refrain from bringing them, at its own discretion. Mr. Penrose declared as of his own knowledge that Mr. Archbold "wanted to make this further contribution, and felt that it was presented to him in a way that made him desire to make it."

*Prompt and
Sweeping
Denial*

Mr. Penrose brought forward no evidence that his own \$25,000 was for the benefit of the national Republican party. Neither did he adduce any evidence that \$100,000 had been given to Mr. Bliss and Mr. Cortelyou for the general campaign. Mr. Bliss has been dead for nearly a year. Mr. Archbold, who always took receipts and whose papers have usually been filed with care, was not able to find Mr. Bliss's written acknowledgment. Senator Penrose on the Senate floor, August 22, returned to his explanations and attacks; and on August 23 both he and Mr. Archbold appeared before the Senate committee that was investigating campaign contributions. The whole object of Mr. Penrose and his friends was to make it appear that President Roosevelt himself was aware of the sources of campaign contributions in 1904, and was in the moral sense responsible for an attempt virtually to blackmail the Standard Oil Company into giving a quarter of a million



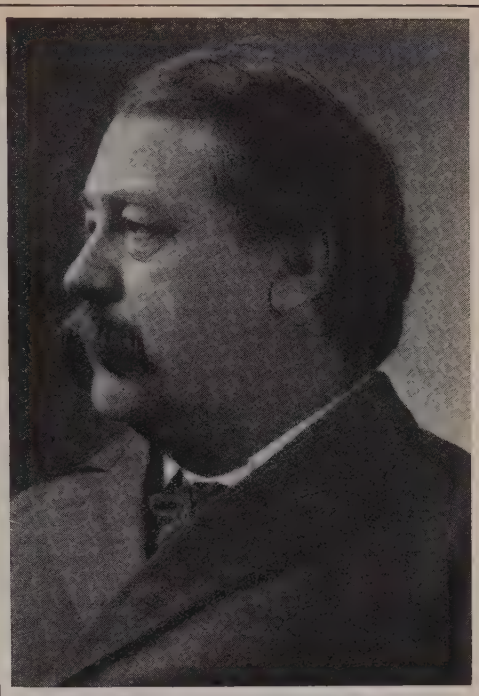
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MR. JOHN D. ARCHBOLD, PRESIDENT OF THE
STANDARD OIL COMPANY

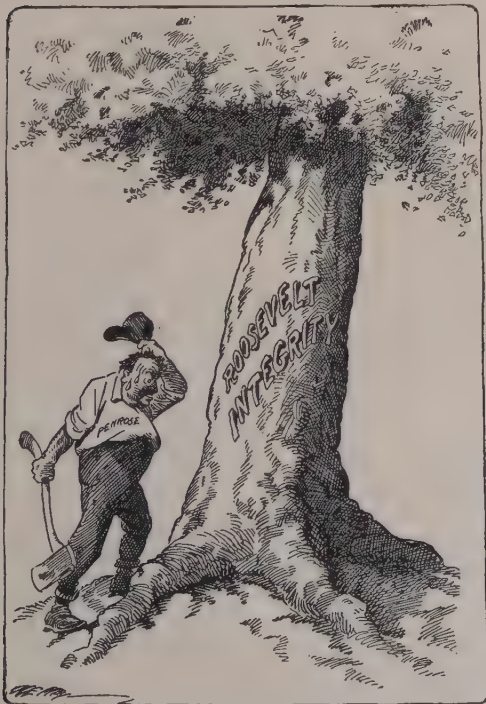
dollars. Mr. Roosevelt lost no time and spared no words in denouncing these aspersions. He was able to produce letters written by him in October, 1904, to Mr. Cortelyou as chairman of the National Committee, insisting that if any money had been received from the Standard Oil Company it must be at once returned. Both Mr. Cortelyou and Mr. Loeb, who was then Secretary to the President, were able to say, through the press, that they knew nothing of the alleged gift of \$100,000. Mr. Loeb made a very important statement, and testified to the position taken by Mr. Roosevelt at the time.

*The
Approaching
Investigation*

As soon as Mr. Archbold had made his statement to the committee he sailed for Europe. Mr. Roosevelt asked the committee to allow him to testify at once; but the Senate was on the point of adjourning, and the members of the committee were so scattered that Senator Clapp, as chairman, could not bring them together. It was arranged by the Senate that these particular charges should be investigated, together with others relating to recent political expenditures, including those of the present year. Senator Penrose and Senator LaFollette, of Wisconsin, associated themselves together in an attempt to pro-



SENATOR MOSES E. CLAPP, OF MINNESOTA
(Chairman of the sub-committee investigating charges relating to campaign contributions)



PENROSE: "BY HECK, I CAN'T MAKE A DENT IN IT!"
From the *Leader* (Cleveland)

mote an investigation which they believed might be injurious to the political prospects of Colonel Roosevelt as a candidate for the Presidency this year. It was decided that the Clapp committee should convene for this purpose on September 30. It should be explained, perhaps, that this is a special sub-committee of the standing committee on privileges and elections, and that the investigation will be conducted by Senator Clapp, of Minnesota, as chairman, with the following Senators as his colleagues: Wesley L. Jones, of Washington; George T. Oliver, of Pennsylvania; Thomas H. Paynter, of Kentucky; and Atlee Pomerene, of Ohio. This will bring Colonel Roosevelt to Washington to testify at a time when the campaign is at its height. The energetic candidate of the Progressives is never dilatory, and he knows when and how to appeal to public opinion. He was indignant at a committee which heard Archbold and Penrose but which could not come together to permit his testimony to be given on Monday, August 26, although the Senate had not adjourned before that time. Nevertheless, it is not clear that any member of the committee had intended to exclude his testimony; and the Colonel met the situation by writing an elaborate letter to Senator Clapp, which was also given to



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MR. ROOSEVELT IN A CHARACTERISTIC CAMPAIGN
ATTITUDE

the newspapers, in which he made his position entirely plain, and assailed his enemies with aggressive confidence.

A point necessary to be borne in mind is the fact that in a great national campaign the candidate for the Presidency is neither omniscient, nor omnipotent. There were certain leaders in New York in 1904 who were very anxious about the New York State situation. It seemed wholly probable that Mr. Roosevelt

would be elected by a triumphant majority; but it was not certain that Republican State tickets would be pulled through. Thus in the State of New York, Mr. Odell was exceedingly anxious to make sure of the election of his friend Higgins as Governor. The much-talked-of Harriman fund, raised at that time, had virtually nothing whatever to do with Mr. Roosevelt, but everything to do with the New York State Committee in its effort to elect a Republican Governor and legislature. There is ample testimony, from various sources, that entirely exonerates Mr. Roosevelt from any connection at all with the Harriman fund. Since Mr. Archbold testifies that he gave the sum of \$100,000 to Mr. Bliss, this bare fact may be taken as settled. Mr. Archbold says that he got the impression from Mr. Bliss that Cortelyou and Roosevelt knew about the gift. But there is ample reason to believe that Mr. Cortelyou did not know anything about it at all; and nobody with any common sense believes that Mr. Roosevelt was informed of it. Mr. Bliss, before he died, had made statements to the contrary; and if such gifts had been received, a candidate like Mr. Roosevelt would never have been told.

*As to
Money in
Politics*

It has been intimated, for example, that, directly or indirectly, certain of the largest trusts in this country contributed vast sums to Mr. Taft's preliminary campaign last spring, and are contributing to his campaign fund at the present time. And, if this be true, it is wholly probable that Senator Penrose, Mr. Barnes, and several others, know a great deal about it. But there is nobody who supposes that Mr. Hilles, as chairman of the Republican National Committee, knows anything whatever about it; for nobody who is really upon the inside of the political situation would dream of telling Mr. Hilles. Nor is it likely that anybody would tell President Taft at this stage of the game,—although what Mr. Charles P. Taft might know about the matter is a wholly different thing. To return to the situation in 1904, the campaign of Mr. Roosevelt did not need a single penny, nor was there any absolute need of having a national campaign fund. Every State in the Union had its own political situation to deal with. Mr. Roosevelt's name at the head of the Republican column on the ballot paper in every voting precinct was a bigger asset than all the money that could possibly have been contributed for national, State, and local purposes. Thus Mr. Roosevelt was not

*Roosevelt
in No Way
Involved*

under the slightest temptation to ask Harri-
man, Archbold, or any other man of wealth
to give large sums of money.

*How
Money
Is Used*

It is easy, indeed, to spend mil-
lions in a national campaign
without being guilty of trying to
bribe any voters. The country is vast, our
population approaches a hundred millions,
and campaign work has a tendency to become
excited and extravagant. A flood of printed
material is distributed, the traveling expenses
of many speakers are paid, the rent of halls
must be met, and thus an expenditure of
a few pennies for every voter runs into an
aggregate of millions of dollars. But, on
the other hand, if the campaign committees,
with their strenuous efforts, were all wiped
out, there are at least some years in which
there would be no great difference in the re-
sults. The so-called "literature" that the
campaign committees labor over and distrib-
ute, is as a rule badly edited and prepared,
and wastefully distributed. What the news-
papers do to promote publicity in campaign
times is the important thing, and political
campaign managers are wise when they under-
stand that the voter reads the newspapers
and makes up his own mind.

*The Great
Roosevelt
Vote in 1904*

It happened that in 1904 the peo-
ple had made up their minds, and
Mr. Roosevelt in any case would
have been elected by a great majority. Every-
where Mr. Roosevelt ran ahead of Republican
State tickets, and his popularity was the great
and potent influence that elected a Repub-
lican Congress and State tickets in almost
every one of the Northern States. In New
York, it is true that Governor Higgins finally
pulled through with a plurality of 80,000 over
his opponent; but on the same day Mr. Roose-
velt carried the State by 175,000 over the
Democratic candidate for President. The Re-
publican State ticket failed in Massachusetts,
yet Roosevelt won by nearly 92,000. A Demo-
crat was elected Governor of Minnesota by
a decisive majority, yet Roosevelt carried
that State by 161,000. As a typical case,
Michigan's Republican candidate for Govern-
or had a majority of 78,000, while Roose-
velt's majority was, in round figures, 228,000.
In Missouri, Roosevelt was successful by
more than 25,000, while at the same time the
Democratic candidate for Governor was
elected by over 30,000. In Wisconsin, Mr.
La Follette was elected Governor by about
51,000 majority over his Democratic opponent,
while Roosevelt carried the State over Judge

Parker by 156,000. In Nebraska, the Repub-
lican candidate for Governor had a majority
over his chief opponent of 9000, while Mr.
Roosevelt had a majority over Judge Parker
of more than 86,000. Mr. Roosevelt carried
Ohio by 225,000 majority over Judge Parker;
and although no Governor was elected in that
year it was evident that Mr. Roosevelt was
enormously stronger than his party

*The People
Triumphed
Over Bosses*

It is not necessary to multiply
these statements, although they
could be extended to cover every
Republican State in the Union. No such
popular majorities were ever given in the
history of the country for any Presidential
candidate as for Mr. Roosevelt in 1904.
Everything in his attitude at that time was
consistent with his position in the present
year. There had been a very determined
effort, behind the scenes, on the part of
exactly the same interests as those repre-
sented by Senator Penrose and the political
and financial leaders who are now supporting
Mr. Taft, to prevent the nomination of Mr.
Roosevelt. This effort failed on account of
the overwhelming sentiment of the plain
people. Mr. Roosevelt owed nothing at all
in 1904 to the political bosses or the financial
magnates. At that time, the masses of the
Republican party were with the administra-
tion, and they succeeded in defeating the
bosses; and thus Mr. Roosevelt won his
nomination and his triumphant indorsement
at the polls.

*A Total
Contrast*

In 1912, on the other hand, the
political bosses and financial mag-
nates had the whole power of the
administration at Washington working with
them to defeat the manifest will of the plain
members of the Republican party. The con-
sequence was that this sinister combination
was successful as against the sentiment of
the majority of voters. But this is a familiar
story, because it is recent. The thing of
which we are reminding our readers is the
situation eight years ago. It may be per-
missible, in order to show the prevailing
opinion of that time, to quote from our own
editorial review of the election of 1904 the
following paragraphs which appeared in our
December number for that year, immediately
following the election:

*A Victory
for the
Plain People*

American public opinion won a
great triumph when it compelled
the Republican party to accord the
nomination to Theodore Roosevelt in spite of the
preferences and efforts of a majority of the party's

leaders and professional politicians. The real campaign was not that of 1904, but that of 1903. The plain people of the country wished for a chance to elect Mr. Roosevelt as President. Under existing conditions, this chance could only come through the nominating machinery of the Republican party. The great victory, then, of November 8, was something more than a triumph of the Republican party as such. If the formidable movement of the politicians last year to defeat Mr. Roosevelt and to nominate Mr. Hanna or some else had been successful, there is nothing in what has now happened to render it by any means certain that the Republican party would have been victorious. With a good candidate, the Democrats might have won.

Our Foremost Public Character But there was never the smallest chance of beating Mr. Roosevelt at the polls this year, no matter what man might have been nominated against him. He combines so many elements of popularity that he now stands in our national affairs as the one conspicuous figure, with no close second in sight. He has always been a loyal enough member of his party; but in spite of himself he is a man of the whole people rather than of a party. The country likes his vigor, and it believes implicitly in his honesty. Furthermore, the country thoroughly approves of that combination of the serious-minded man and the optimist which is so typical of our national life at this time, and which Mr. Roosevelt exemplifies more completely than any one else. Thus one might comment through many pages; but what was plain to many of us long ago is now clear as daylight to everybody, and there is no need to multiply words. For many months past it had been frequently remarked in this magazine that the voters had made up their minds and were merely waiting for election day. This proved to be plainly true. The campaign committees were diligent on both sides, but this year it was not in their power greatly to make or to mar the situation. It was all a foregone conclusion.

A Consistent Record Such was our estimate, eight years ago, of the conditions under which the campaign had been brought to a conclusion. And there was no dissent in any quarter from an expression of opinion that was so obviously sensible. As to the use of money in that campaign, the subject was threshed out with sensational incidents in the week preceding the day of election, and the country was undoubtedly satisfied with the truth of President Roosevelt's statements, covering the whole matter, made on November 5, 1904. The discussion of that subject in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for December, 1904, becomes of interest in view of the belated attempt to show that Mr. Cortelyou and Mr. Roosevelt were virtually engaged in the blackmailing of corporations at that time. Nothing could be farther from the essential truth. It will hardly avail anything now for Mr. Roosevelt's opponents to go back to that time for campaign material against him.

Secrets of the "Government Invisible"

The investigations at Washington this month will bring to the witness stand a number of prominent politicians and financiers, and it is possible that some facts may be elicited that will lend themselves to sensational treatment in the closing days of the Presidential campaign. But it is not very likely that the things most truly significant will ever come to light. The "boss" system has always been maintained on corporation money. Nobody should suppose that the amounts of such money handled by so-called "leaders,"—for example, the heads of the Republican and Democratic machines in the State of New York during past years,—will ever be known. Since there was every intention that the financial transactions involved in these corrupt relations should be kept secret, it is not to be supposed that the whole truth can be established by asking a few men to appear before a committee of Senators at Washington. It would appear that four or five years ago some of Mr. Archbold's letters were purloined, whether in one way or in another; and because of their political importance they were purchased by a distinguished promoter of publicity. But while these letters indicate the nature of the political activity of certain corporation interests, it must not be thought that they afford any measure of the extent of those activities. Mr. Archbold is a great letter-writer; but most of the corporation money used in politics is not made a subject of correspondence, and even Mr. Hearst cannot find out the details.



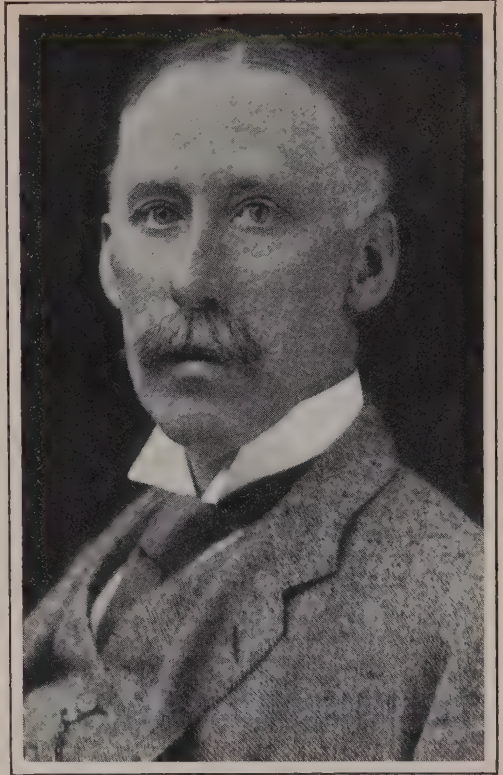
HEARST—THE MAGICIAN
From the Press (New York)

*What of
This Year's
Expenditures?*

Thus, it must have cost a colossal sum of money, garnered from the coffers of millionaires, to capture the Republican national convention last June in the very face of a wind of public opinion that was blowing hurricanes in the opposite direction. Even in the preliminary campaign that secured delegates for Taft in 1908, with public opinion friendly, a very large sum of money was expended,—as Mr. Charles P. Taft, for instance, could testify with much feeling. But in the present year the Roosevelt forces, in endeavoring to carry the State primaries and to win delegates to the Republican convention, were constantly reporting that they found Taft money lavished in profusion everywhere. It is now charged that Mr. George W. Perkins, Mr. Frank A. Munsey, and a few others, spent a great deal of money in helping to get Mr. Roosevelt's name before the Republican primaries last spring. It would appear that what they expended through the Roosevelt headquarters, and in other ways, was the merest trifle in comparison with what was expended in the interest of Mr. Taft's renomination. Furthermore, it was like money spent for protection against burglary. Yet there are few experienced men who imagine for a moment that very much light can ever be turned by an investigating committee upon the political financing that preceded the national conventions this year.

*What is
The True
Remedy?*

The remedy for this bad condition is not to be found chiefly in passing laws requiring that campaign contributions be made public, and that corporations must not contribute. Such laws can always and everywhere be violated with ease. The chief remedy must be found in the direction of removing the temptation. The laws regulating corporations ought to be so just and fair that such a situation as we have seen this year, in which the great corporate interests are all lined up behind the scenes for one candidate, could not be possible. The corporations will be in politics as long as we have the present kind of administration of the present kind of laws. In 1896, a Democrat of as high reputation for private and public honor as Mr. Abram S. Hewitt exerted himself to collect money from insurance companies, banks, and other corporations, to help the McKinley campaign against Bryan. His motive was to save the people interested in these institutions from the impairment of their property by a sudden shifting from the gold standard to the silver standard. He



MR. FRANK A. MUNSEY

(One of the chief supporters of Mr. Roosevelt and the Progressive party, who became the owner last month of the *New York Press*, edited by Mr. Ervin Wardman, and is giving the Progressives of New York the advocacy of a morning paper. Mr. Munsey is also the owner of daily newspapers in Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington)

afterward regretted his part in inducing corporations to provide campaign funds, and predicted that great evil would in due time result from such practices. The fundamental remedy, however, was not in the direction of forbidding corporations to contribute, but in that of making it virtually impossible for the basis of values and prices to be violently disturbed as the result of a political election. If the solvency of banks and insurance companies depends upon electing one man rather than another, it is certain that they will find means to influence the elections. If the status of great industrial monopolies under the federal laws is to be happy and comfortable with Taft reelected, and is to be more circumscribed if one of the other candidates wins, there will be no way to prevent the corporation money from coming to the aid of Mr. Penrose, Mr. Barnes, and the other managers of the Taft campaign. The way to take the corporations out of politics is to put them in a definite and fixed position under the law.

This is what the Progressive party advocates, and what in the long run the best-managed corporations will have to accept as just and fair. The real question is practical, not theoretical.

*Congress and
Panama
Policies*

Elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW will be found an extended article by Mr. Welliver, summing up the work of the long session of the Sixty-second Congress and commenting upon the legislative results. The decision reached by Congress, and approved by the President, to remit the tolls of vessels using the Panama Canal in our coastwise trade, has aroused a discussion of international extent and no little acerbity. As to the wisdom of this provision, we are in doubt. It would seem to us that there is a better reason for encouraging American ships engaged in foreign trade, by remitting their tolls, than for favoring those which are engaged in a trade from which we expressly shut out foreign competition. As regards the intense excitement of those who believe that Congress and the President have been guilty of violating a treaty, we cannot find good ground for its justification. The United States has the same inherent right to promote commerce and shipping by means of subsidies that any other nation possesses. Thus Germany and England, in one form or another, heavily subsidize the merchant marine. If the German government should decide to pay the canal tolls of a German steamship line trading with San Francisco or with the west coast of South America, it would not occur to anybody in the United States to be offended. It is difficult to believe that this country has ever given away by a treaty its freedom to control and regulate its own commercial policy in every respect.

*A
Misunderstood
Treaty*

It is perhaps time that the inner history of the so-called Hay-Pauncefote treaty should be better understood. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850 referred to a particular project for a canal across Nicaragua, about to be built at that time by private capital. The project was abandoned and the treaty never came into any practical effect. Differences of opinion immediately arose as to its meaning, and such theoretical validity as it might have had was destroyed by its constant and permanent violation on the part of Great Britain. It was universally and openly declared in the United States by successive Presidents and Secretaries of State that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was not in effect, and that all

the conditions to which it was meant to apply had disappeared. This being the case, when, after the Spanish-American war, the people of the United States decided to construct a canal across Nicaragua as a Government undertaking, it occurred to nobody in this country that the consent of Great Britain would be needful, nor did it occur to anybody in England. Congress proceeded with the necessary legislation, and the President obtained the desired concessions in Nicaragua. The project was going forward prosperously, with no questions in doubt except those that related to possible costs and to engineering feasibility.

*Mr. Hay's
Attitude*

At this time the illness and subsequent death of John Sherman, Secretary of State, led to a series of Cabinet changes resulting in the promotion by President McKinley of Mr. John Hay, then ambassador at the Court of St. James, to be Secretary of State. Mr. Hay was a man of the highest qualities of personal character, but of much less knowledge and understanding in some fields of international law and diplomatic history than in others. He



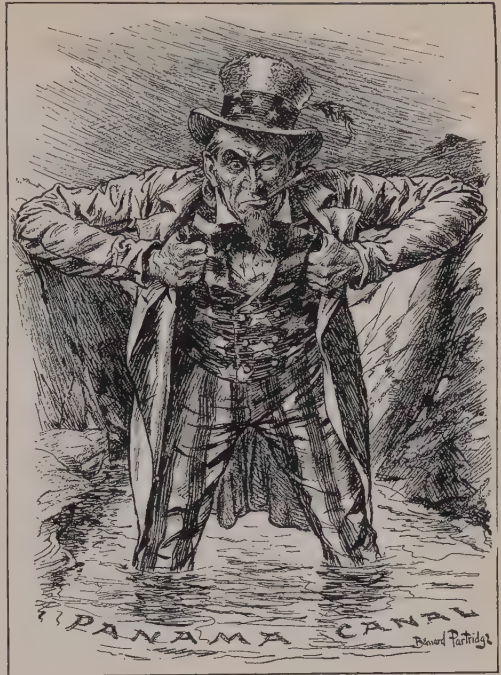
A MERE MATTER OF HONOR
PRESIDENT TAFT. "Here, swallow this."
AMERICA. "Thanks, I'm an eagle; I'm not a vulture."

(This cartoon from *Punch* London is in line with the anti-American editorials on the Panama Canal question in the English newspapers, which have aroused indignation in the United States)

adopted, purely of his own accord, the mistaken theory that because there was no record of a formal abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty it was necessary to regard that agreement as alive and in operation. It is easy, of course, to fall into the error of assuming that a dead international agreement is analogous to an unrepealed statute. Mr. Hay accordingly prepared the first so-called Hay-Pauncefote treaty. This treaty was never "negotiated" at all. Mr. Hay, again following a mistaken analogy, wrote into his agreement the rules which place the Suez Canal under the political control of the commercial powers of Europe. The Suez Canal was a private commercial enterprise, on Egyptian soil, under Turkish overlordship, and naturally the chief users of the canal were obliged to neutralize it under control of the Concert of Europe. But the thing that Mr. Hay proposed to do was to neutralize, politically, a Government work of the United States, which our people were primarily constructing for military and naval purposes, and to put its political control in the hands of a group of great powers, all European except the United States,—an arrangement which would have placed this country in a minority of one.

The Hay-Pauncefote Treaties

It has never been shown that Lord Pauncefote, or that any one else in England or in any other European country, had ever dreamed of our turning our Isthmian Canal over to the commercial powers of Europe for complete control upon every question having to do with its fortification or its relation to our naval and military use. Whether this were a good thing to do, or not, it was purely the work of our own Secretary of State, unassisted by any other human being. Unaccountable as it may seem, this treaty came near passing the Senate without being read, because the Senate understood that the Hay-Pauncefote affair was merely a matter of politeness, doing away with the Clayton-Bulwer treaty by written agreement. When Congress discovered what had been done, the treaty was amended and it failed of final acceptance. Subsequently, the second Hay-Pauncefote treaty was prepared, and it was finally ratified. Still later, Congress decided to abandon the Nicaraguan route, bought out the French Panama Company, secured rights from the new republic of Panama, and constructed the present canal. It is a technical question whether the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, or the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, should or should not be regarded, as pertaining to what we have



ISTHMIAN GAMES
(Extending the cold elbow)
From *Punch* (London)

done in the Canal Zone at Panama. This second Hay-Pauncefote treaty had declared that it was the intention of the United States to treat all nations alike in the use of the canal.

An Uncalled-for Declaration

There was, it is true, no possible reason why the United States should have made any such declaration, whether in a treaty or otherwise. Mr. Hay had a theory of the canal as an international passage, contributed to the world by the generosity of the United States; and it is indeed possible that he meant to promise England that we would never directly or indirectly permit American commerce to derive any exceptional benefit from our vast expenditure. But President Taft makes an elaborate argument to show that such an idea is not sound in the nature of the case. The profound moral to be derived is that treaties ought never to be made when there is nothing to make them about. Another moral is that a treaty should be so made as to close a past controversy, but never made in such a way as to invite future disputes. That we should incur the cost of constructing the Panama Canal and deliberately tie the hands of future generations of Americans with regard to the use and control of the canal, without having been asked by

anybody in any foreign country to do such a thing, is straining common sense a little too far.

*Subsidies
Pro and
Con*

It is a serious question whether or not we ought to subsidize American ships, whether in the coastwise trade or in the foreign trade. Our inclination is to oppose subsidies of all kinds. But if Congress should choose to grant ship subsidies in any form whatsoever, the question would have to be a strictly domestic one. It would not be permissible for any foreign government to question our right to subsidize our own shipping; nor will it be permissible to permit any government to question our right to administer the canal in any way we like as respects the American navy or the American merchant marine. Every part of the mercantile marine is potentially a part of our naval system, in the sense that it is liable to be converted to public use at once in case of war. We shall establish Panama Canal tolls on a fair basis, and treat the ships of all foreign nations alike,—in every way encouraging their use of the canal. We shall not question the right of any foreign nation to adopt any policy it pleases, on its own part, in stimulating its shipowners to increase their trade at ports rendered more accessible by reason of the canal's construction. This ought to be satisfying.

*Lawmakers
Facing Their
Constituents*

Upon questions like this relating to the Panama Canal, and many others, notably the tariff and the trusts, the members of Congress have now had opportunity to face their constituents and to exchange neighborly opinions. Some of them are in a position of embarrassment because of the shifting of party lines and the new issues that have forged to the front. Fortunate is the public man who has always stood firmly upon the foundation of his own convictions, and has dealt with all things in a frank and courageous way. A good example is Senator Cummins, of Iowa. So long as the Senate was in session he stuck to his duties and performed them with conspicuous ability. It was not his duty to declare his position upon campaign issues until he had gone back to Des Moines and had decided what to say and when to say it. On September 4, he issued a statement analyzing the Chicago Republican convention in a way that fully supported the discussion of that subject in the August number of this REVIEW. After showing how the President's patronage system in the South, and his alliance with the

boss system of the East, had been used to control the convention, Mr. Cummins proceeded as follows:

*Senator
Cummins on
the Issues*

The system, indefensible as it is, was not enough to overcome the adverse majority in the Republican States, and, therefore, the complaisant committee, and following them, the convention, deliberately seated Taft delegates from Washington, California, Arizona and Texas who had no shadow of title to seats in the convention. I speak of these States because I have examined the record as to them, and have reached a conclusion after the most careful study and reflection. And thus the will of a tremendous majority was defeated by the machinations of a committee.

I take no pleasure in reciting these things, for I would like to support a Republican candidate for President. There is one only way, however, to make sure that the system of the Chicago convention will be abolished, and that is to make it plain that the candidate who is the product of the system and the beneficiary of the methods cannot reach the office to which he aspires. Therefore I cannot support Mr. Taft.

In so saying I am all the more a Republican, for it is clear to me that the existence of the party depends on a quick and emphatic condemnation of the wrongs I have mentioned. The reason the Republicans were so largely against the renomination of Mr. Taft was their profound conviction that he is not a progressive and does not believe in a proper sense that the people should rule the country. The fact that this was the attitude of the vast majority of the Republicans proves to me conclusively that a new party is unnecessary, untimely and unfortunate. I fear that it will retard rather than hasten reform.

Theodore Roosevelt was the manifest choice of the great number of Republicans who expressed a choice for President. He is appealing to the moral and progressive forces of the people, and I expect to vote for him, but it must be understood that I will do so protesting against the organization of a new party and dissenting with some of the doctrines of his platform. My vote for him will indicate that I believe he desires to promote the common welfare, but will not indicate that I look on the new party as a wise or enduring movement in public affairs.

*Should Not
Progressives
Act Together?*

This position of Senator Cummins is definite and clear. As a man of honesty and intelligence, he must of necessity repudiate the work of the Chicago convention. And when he objects to the forming of a new party, his sincerity is beyond question. But what perhaps he does not quite perceive is that, for several years past, all of the Taft Republicans and standpat leaders of the party have looked upon Senator Cummins himself as already permanently out of the party and a foremost leader of a group preparing to announce a new party at the convenient moment. It is not a question of the Republican voters, but of the control of the party machinery. The new party merely expresses the desire of the

voters to have candidates and a platform, this very year, that are in general accord with the standards and convictions of Senator Cummins himself. The group of public men with whom Mr. Cummins has been associated gave us the Progressive movement. Why should not the adherents of that movement have their own candidates and platform, since they were cheated out of their right to control the Republican convention at Chicago? These progressives would have been well pleased with Mr. Cummins as their Presidential candidate, and they recognize his great value as a member of the United States Senate.

*The Right of
Republicans to
be Progressive*

If Senator Cummins means that the new party ought this year to work harmoniously with Progressive Republicans, in States where the Progressives are in control and choose to exercise their right of keeping hold of the party name and organization, he is clearly in the right. The most impudent thing in all the history of American politics is the pretense of the Taft national committee that it can go into a State like Kansas and deprive the Republican majority in that State of their right to do as they will in naming their own local candidates for the office of Presidential elector. The state and Federal courts last month repudiated the Taft position. It is purely a matter of guess-work whether in the long run the Progressive

Republicans of the West will keep the name "Republican" or let it drop. The situation is more difficult in the Eastern States; and the formation of the new Progressive party has seemed to be the only means by which people could this year act together who desired to oppose the machines of both of the old parties. Thus, in the State of New York, where the two machines were firmly entrenched, there seemed to be no possible line of action except to bring forward the new movement aggressively, because it seemed to be the right and honest thing, quite regardless of its immediate numerical strength.

*New York
Progressives*

There are times, however, when the mere courage to do right appeals unexpectingly to a very large public. There is no language strong enough to express the abhorrence with which right-minded men and women in the State of New York hold both of the old political machines. The Progressive movement has no claim to being free from human imperfections. But in the State of New York it is the most intelligent and the most high-minded political movement on a large scale that has ever been known. Its organization had proceeded with rapidity under the direction of Mr. Hotchkiss as State chairman, and its adherents were earnest and hopeful. But no one had dared to predict for the new party a State convention of such amazing enthusiasm as that which assembled at Syracuse on September 5. It was a very large convention, with a great number of women present as delegates, and many more as adherents. Two or three men were prominently named for Governor, all of them of unquestioned fitness to hold the office. The most prominent of these were Mr. Prendergast, Comptroller of the City of New York, and Mr. William H. Hotchkiss.



SENATOR WORKS' IDEA PUT INTO ACTION

(The California Senator is one of those Progressive Republicans who believes in staying in the old organization)

From *The Tribune* (Los Angeles)

*Oscar Straus
for
Governor*

But the convention was marked by such essential unity of spirit that it preferred to avoid even a friendly contest over a nomination. The Hon. Oscar S. Straus, of New York, who was acting as permanent chairman of the convention, and who was in no sense a candidate, was suggested as a compromise; and the convention proceeded to nominate him with perfect accord amid scenes of wild enthusiasm. For Lieutenant-Governor the convention chose its temporary chairman, Frederick M. Davenport, who was elected to the State Senate in 1909 and who has been since 1904 professor of law and political science at Ham-



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HON. OSCAR S. STRAUS, WITH MRS. STRAUS

(For a summarized statement of Mr. Straus' qualifications and career, see frontispiece of this number)

ilton College. The ticket as a whole is of a high order and includes no men who are mere political tools or ordinary place-seekers. The nomination of Mr. Straus met with great and well-deserved praise. He has had an enviable career of usefulness in public as well as in private life, and he combines practical efficiency with devotion to lofty ideals. The platform adopted at Syracuse is a model of precision and definiteness, embodying the views and demands of the Progressive party in respect to a large number of subjects.

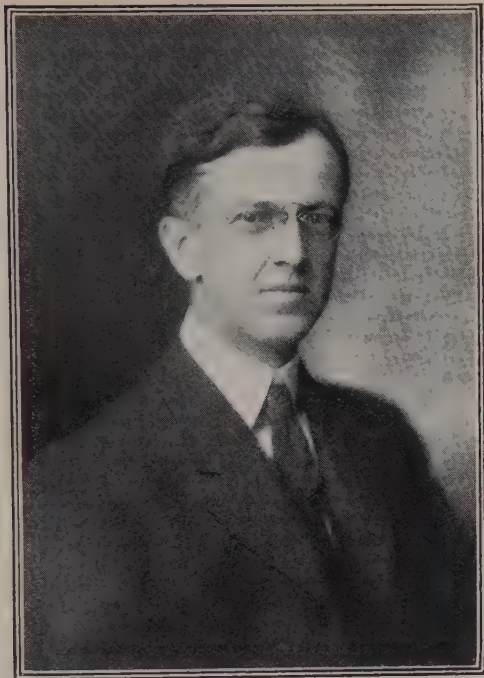
While much of the program set forth could not be realized immediately, it is not visionary at any point. It sets forth the things to which the Progressives are committed. Doubtless most members of the new party care much more for some of these proposals than they care for others. But the Progressive party, by virtue of this platform, puts itself in line with modern scientific thought in the field of political and social action. *In short, the Progressives propose that the American people shall try to get the benefits that are properly coming to them from the fact of being a democracy.*

*Murphy, Dix
and a Hard
Situation*

The Republican convention was set for September 25; and the Democratic for October 1. Thus the Progressives had the advantage of getting into the field nearly a month in advance of the other parties. Mr. Taft has shown a characteristic lack of fine discrimination in putting the management of his entire campaign in the hands of William Barnes, Jr., head of the New York Republican organization, at the very time when the Republican party of New York is feeling that it must, in self-defense, try to keep Mr. Barnes in the background. The nomination of Mr. Straus by the Progressives puts both of the other parties in a painful predicament. Mr. Barnes must try to find for the head of his ticket a man of repute and character. As for the Democrats, their position in like manner is one of peculiar difficulty. The Democratic party in New York is even more completely dominated by Charles F. Murphy, head of Tammany Hall, than the Republican organization is dominated by William Barnes, Jr.

*Quandary of
New York
Bosses*

Mr. Murphy had expected to renominate Governor Dix. But the chief opponents of Murphy in the party regard Dix as a weak and pliant tool in Murphy's hands, and have announced their inveterate opposition. The foremost of these opponents is the *New York World*, which is also the most powerful of the New York supporters of Woodrow Wilson as the national candidate. Murphy and Dix had hoped for some conciliatory expressions on the part of Governor Wilson. But it was plainly to be inferred, when the national candidate met Governor Dix, Murphy, and other leaders at the Syracuse State Fair on September 12, that he was not in sympathy with the Tammany boss. Yet Murphy's practical hold upon the party is so firm that even if he should not renominate Dix he would almost inevitably control the selection



HON. FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

(Who has second place on the New York Progressive ticket)

of the ticket. On September 16 the New York *World* began a series of extended attacks upon Murphy and Dix for their relations to the expenditure of many millions of dollars during the past year and a half in the construction of the State system of highways. These charges would seem to have made Dix quite unavailable for renomination. Under the circumstances, a great number of voters were declaring their intention to vote for Oscar Straus for Governor without reference to Mr. Straus's high position in the so-called "Bull Moose" movement.

Vermont
as a
Sign-Post

The Vermont election on September 3 was interpreted in various ways by the political leaders who were seeking to find some assurance in it of November success. In round figures, Fletcher, the Republican candidate, received 26,000 votes; Howe, the Democrat, 20,000; and Metzger, the Progressive, 16,000. Vermont was regarded as the most impregnable Republican stronghold in the entire country. The new party made an astonishing show in view of all the circumstances. Many of the voters who chose to support Fletcher for Governor in September did not conceal their intention to vote for Roosevelt in November. Compared with former years, the falling off of Republican votes in Vermont would indicate

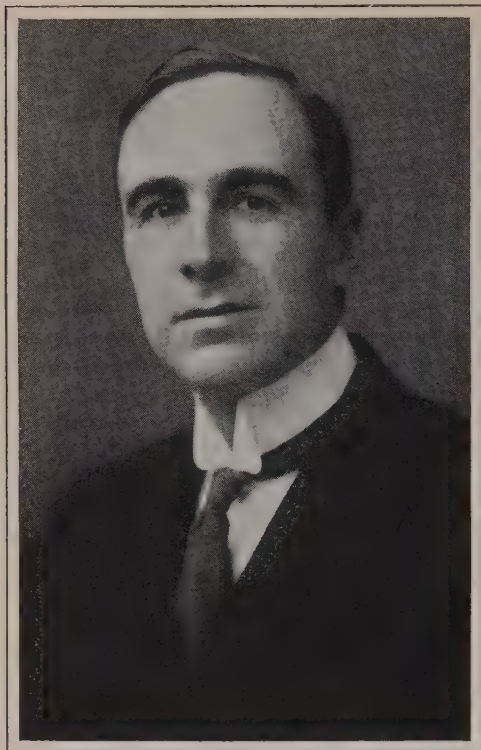
a crushing defeat for Taft throughout the country and the probable election of Wilson by a considerable majority over Roosevelt, with Taft as a negligible third. But it must be borne in mind that all signs fail in a year like this, and that nobody can tell what may happen. Each one of the three Presidential candidates has a fighting chance to carry the electoral vote of Vermont next month. Since Fletcher received a plurality but not a majority, the election of a Governor will be thrown into the Legislature, which meets on October 2.

Maine
as a
Further Index

The election in Maine, on September 9, resulted in the choice of William T. Haines as Governor by a majority of about 3000 over the present Democratic Governor, Plaisted. President Taft warmly congratulated Haines, which somewhat amused the Progressives because the situation had been shaped and controlled by them. The Taft minority had followed the Roosevelt majority in supporting Haines on purely State issues, and national politics had been kept out of the State campaign by agreement. Yet Mr. Hilles and the Republican national campaign managers declared that the Maine result was exceedingly favorable for Mr. Taft. Such a claim is obviously unfounded. On the contrary, the result in Maine is clearly favorable to the hopes of the Democrats. It has been admitted that the proportion of Progressives in Maine is larger than in Vermont. It is probable that Wilson will have something like the normal Democratic vote in Maine, and that the larger part of the remaining vote will go for Roosevelt, and the smaller part for Taft. Thus, in 1908, Bryan had 35,400 votes in Maine, and Taft had 67,000. In the State election of 1910, Plaisted (Democrat) had 73,400, and Fernald (Republican) had 64,700. Last month Plaisted had 67,800 and Haines 70,800. Mr. Bryan did not receive a normal Democratic vote in Maine, although his showing was considerably better than that of Parker in 1904. As in the case of Vermont, so in that of Maine, the thing that will happen in November is beyond any man's prediction.

Churchill for
Governor in
New Hampshire

In New Hampshire, the State election coincides with the national, and the Progressives have put a ticket in the field with Mr. Winston Churchill as the candidate for Governor. Mr. Churchill's activity in New Hampshire politics for a number of years past has been directed toward thoroughgoing political reform and the emancipation of the State from



HON. WINSTON CHURCHILL, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

the control of corporation influences. Hitherto he has been a Republican, but the Progressive platform accords with his views, and his past record makes him the logical candidate for Governor. The Republicans of New Hampshire have nominated Franklin Worcester for Governor, and the Democratic candidate is Samuel D. Felker, these candidates having been chosen in a primary election on September 3. Governor Bass, who refused a renomination on the ground of ill health, is, of course, a supporter of Mr. Churchill, in a fight for principle.

A Massachusetts Leader

The Progressives in Massachusetts, as in New York, are well ahead of the other parties in presenting their leader and taking the field. Mr. Charles S. Bird, of East Walpole, is the candidate for Governor on the Progressive ticket and, his personal standing is as high in Massachusetts as that of Oscar Straus in New York, although he has not, like Mr. Straus, been in public life. Mr. Bird is a graduate of Harvard College and a manufacturer who has made a record for advanced and humane views upon industrial and social questions. He is the father-in-law of Governor Bass of New Hampshire. He was the

leader, ten years ago, in granting the eight-hour day to paper-mill workers who had previously been employed in day and night shifts of twelve hours. It is expected that Governor Foss will be renominated by the Democrats. The Republican State convention will be held on October 4, with Senator Lodge as its chairman. The Connecticut Republicans had nominated Judge John P. Studley to run for Governor against the Democratic incumbent, Governor Baldwin, and the Progressive convention was set for September 25.

Politics in New Jersey

In New Jersey and Pennsylvania there are no elections for Governor this year. Governor Wilson's term does not expire until the beginning of the year 1914, and he keeps his place as Governor while campaigning for the Presidency. A Republican Lieutenant-Governor is the acting head of the State when Governor Wilson is absent on his speaking tours. The choice of a legislature this fall involves the election of a United States Senator, and Governor Wilson's chief enemy, James Smith, Jr., for many years the reputed Democratic boss of New Jersey, was the most prominent Senatorial candidate before the primaries of September 24. Governor Wilson has bluntly denounced Smith, and has intimated his unfriendliness toward all of the Democratic State bosses elsewhere belonging to the class of whom he regards Smith as typical. Smith, on the other hand, has bitterly fought Governor Wilson's Presidential aspirations. Senator Briggs, who seeks reelection, is the unopposed Republican candidate.

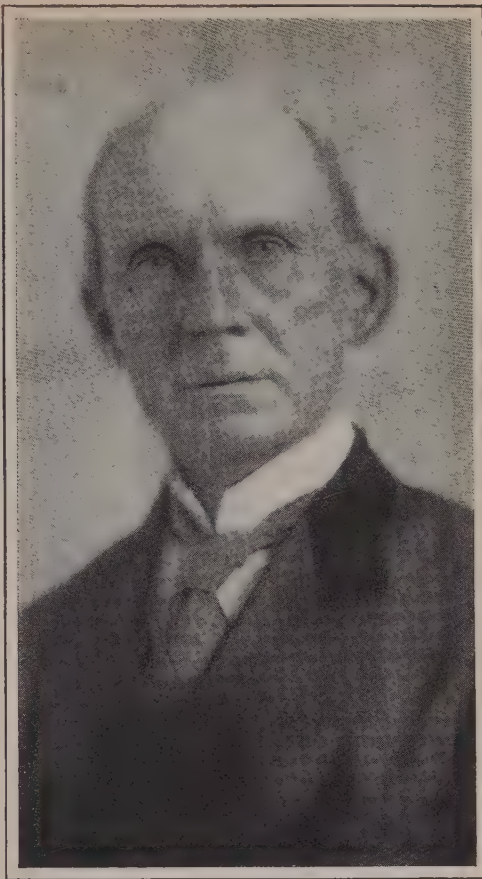
Ohio in Campaign Order

In our issue of last month, we set forth the State situation in Ohio, where the Hon. James M. Cox, of Dayton, heads the Democratic ticket as candidate for Governor, with General R. B. Brown as the Republican nominee. On September 4, the Progressive party held its State convention, and Arthur L. Garford, of Elyria, was nominated for Governor. Mr. Garford is a manufacturer and a man of very high personal influence and repute. His nomination is in entire harmony with the standards of the Progressives in their selection of candidates in other States. The choice was made with great enthusiasm and by acclamation. Governor Johnson of California addressed the convention, and the Progressives declare that Garford will be elected. The platform is in accord with that of the national Progressives, and is strong in the direction of industrial and social reform.



Photograph by Pirie MacDonald, N. Y.

ARTHUR L. GARFORD, OF OHIO



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CHARLES S. BIRD, OF MASSACHUSETTS

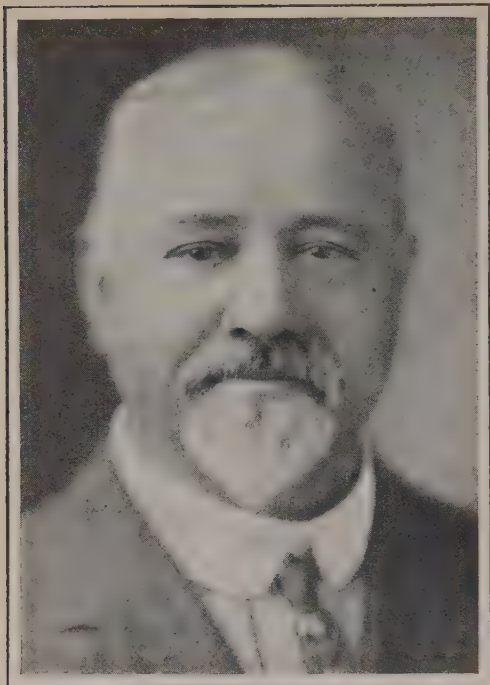
TWO SUCCESSFUL MANUFACTURERS HEADING THE PROGRESSIVE TICKETS OF THEIR STATES

The hopefulness of the new party was in some measure due to the fact that on September 3, the day before the Progressive convention, the voters of Ohio at a special election had approved the greater part of the radical work of the constitution-makers.

*Ohio's New
Progressive
Constitution*

To be explicit, thirty-four of the forty-two amendments submitted by the Constitutional Convention that completed its labors in May last, after a session of five months, were adopted by popular vote. The general character of these amendments was described in the July number of this REVIEW by Professor Elson, who was a member of the convention. The new constitution weakens in some degree the power of the judiciary by requiring more than a bare majority of the judges of the Supreme Court to concur in holding a law unconstitutional. At the same time greater powers are conferred on the legislature, especially as to

the control of corporations, labor laws, the levying of progressive inheritance and income taxes, and the protection of the State's natural resources. On the other hand, legislative control of municipal governments is handed over to the people of the cities, who are empowered to frame their own charters. The provisions for the initiative and referendum affect all the people of the State and place Ohio in the forefront of the Progressive movement. The most important proposals that were defeated at the polls were the woman-suffrage amendment and the provision for restricting the powers of the courts in labor injunction proceedings. The total vote cast on the amendments was about 50 per cent. of the State's vote in the Presidential election of 1908. The "welfare" measures were emphatically endorsed, the minimum wage being approved by a vote of 340,511 to 184,968, while on workmen's compensation the division stood, 310,019 to 205,949.



HON. JOHN L. STEVENS, OF IOWA

The Parties in Iowa The great mass of Republicans in Iowa have for a good while been progressive in sentiment, and the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt instead of Mr. Taft would have put the party in a strong position. It was for some time doubtful whether the Progressives would enter the State field or not; but in their convention of September 4 they decided to name a Governor and full ticket. They chose Judge John L. Stevens, a well-known lawyer, as their candidate, the Republican nominee being the present Lieutenant-Governor, Clark. The Democratic candidate is Edward Dunn. Senator Cummins and his friends are supporting Colonel Roosevelt, but are afraid that the situation will result in a Democratic legislature which would end the career of Kenyon as Senator. Mr. Kenyon had declared himself for the whole Republican ticket, including President Taft, while denouncing the methods by which Mr. Taft secured his nomination and also denouncing by name those very leaders—Barnes, Penrose, and the rest—who are in full and official control of Mr. Taft's campaign and closest in his political councils. It is reported from Iowa that Kenyon as Senatorial candidate, and Clark as straight Republican candidate for Governor, while nominally for Taft, are going the rounds of the State, speaking at county fairs and mak-

ing their own canvasses, without even mentioning the name of their candidate for the Presidency. This would seem a rather weak and humiliating position. Meanwhile, the Progressives have not been nominating legislative candidates against Kenyon, and his attitude is treated with surprising indulgence by the Taft people, whom his lukewarm support does not help, and the Roosevelt people, whom his lukewarm opposition does not hurt.

In various Western States

The three parties are fully launched and in the field in the State of Missouri, the Republicans having named, for Governor, Hon. John C. McKinley, and the Democrats Attorney-General E. W. Major, in the primaries of August 6. The Progressives on September 4 nominated Judge Albert D. Norton, of the St. Louis Court of Appeals. The Democratic prospects are naturally much better than those of the other parties. Even in Kansas the Democrats declare that the situation may result in their success. Mr. George H. Hodges, the candidate for Governor, expects to see a victory for Wilson



HON. ARTHUR CAPPER, OF KANSAS



ALBERT D. NORTONI,
PROGRESSIVE

ELLIOTT W. MAJOR,
DEMOCRAT

JOHN C. MCKINLEY
REPUBLICAN

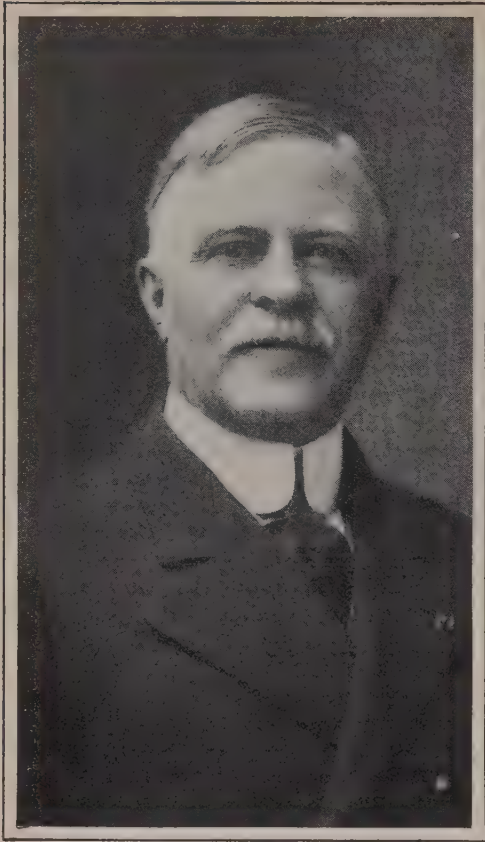
THE CANDIDATES OF THE THREE PARTIES IN MISSOURI

as a result of the division of Republican strength between the Taft and Roosevelt followers. Mr. Arthur Capper, the Republican candidate, is the owner and publisher of the Topeka *Daily Capital* and is a man of great vigor and strong Progressive convictions. It is true that in Kansas the Progressive movement is in control of the Republican name and emblem, and that there is no third party in the field as regards State offices. But the Taft men will nominate an electoral ticket by petition, and this will benefit Governor Wilson and the Democrats. In Nebraska, the Progressives have ratified the nomination of Governor Aldrich for another term, and, as in Kansas and California, the Republican machinery has been in control of the Roosevelt supporters. In Wisconsin, the Republicans have renominated as Governor the present incumbent, Mr. McGovern, who has become a pronounced Roosevelt man. The Democratic candidate, County Judge John C. Karel, of Milwaukee, was chosen in the primary on September 3. The Michigan primaries, on August 27, resulted in the nomination of Woodbridge N. Ferris, Republican, and Amos S. Musselman, Democrat.

*Progressives
Abandon old
Party*

In the earlier stages of the campaign, immediately after the nomination of Taft and Sherman at Chicago, it was the intention of the Progressive Republicans to keep their own

Roosevelt electors on the regular Republican tickets of States where Roosevelt men were in control of the party machinery. But after the later convention at Chicago, in which the Progressives formed a new party and nominated Roosevelt and Johnson, the tendency all along the line was to withdraw from the earlier position and to allow the Taft men to use the Republican name and emblem while putting the Roosevelt men in a separate column under the Bull Moose emblem. Thus it was finally agreed in Pennsylvania, where the Progressives were in full control of the State machinery, to withdraw the Roosevelt men from the Republican ticket as soon as petitions had been duly signed and accepted which would make it wholly certain that the Progressive electors would appear on the voting paper. It would seem that Kansas finally remains alone as a State in which the Progressives keep the Republican name and the Taft people are obliged to nominate by petition. In California the Progressives won the Republican primary of September 3, and were in position to put all of the Roosevelt electors under the Republican emblem. But they decided not to do this, and the Roosevelt electors will be placed on the ballot by petition. Even Nebraska has pursued the California course rather than that of Kansas. The Progressives were both legally and morally entitled, in any State whatsoever, to hold the Republican name and emblem if they had the requisite majority



HON. WINFIELD T. DURBIN
(Republican nominee for Governor of Indiana)

and so desired. But they have very rapidly arrived at the conclusion that they are in a better position to come squarely out as a new party, on Progressive platforms, and in unambiguous relationship with the Progressive movements of all the sister States.

Congress and the Presidency The appearance in this campaign of a new party of unknown strength and possibilities has given rise to an unusual amount of speculation regarding the outcome in the event of the failure of any one party to obtain a majority in the Electoral College. Such a thing has not happened in our political history since the election of John Quincy Adams by the House of Representatives in 1825. At that time, no candidate having received a majority in the Electoral College, although Jackson had a plurality, the matter was determined in accordance with the rules laid down in the Twelfth Amendment to the Federal Constitution. The House voted by States on the three candidates who had stood highest in the electoral vote and this

restriction excluded Clay's name from the balloting, which was confined to Jackson, Adams, and Crawford. The greater part of Clay's support went to Adams, who received the vote of thirteen States, against seven for Jackson and four for Crawford, and was declared elected. From that day to this there has been only one Presidential election (that of 1876) when the majority in the Electoral College was not so large as to be quite beyond dispute, although in several instances the popular vote has not corresponded with the electoral vote. In only six of the twenty-one elections held since 1825 have more than two candidates received electoral votes. The last instance of this kind was in 1892, when Weaver as the Populist candidate received twenty-two votes. Thus the possibility of having a Presidential election thrown into the House has been so remote that for many years it was regarded as negligible. This year shrewd observers hesitate to say that anything is impossible, and few would be surprised if no candidate should succeed in winning more than half of the votes of the members of the Electoral College, thus placing upon Congress the responsibility of choosing the next President.

The Vice-Presidency in the Senate It adds to the interest of the situation that twenty-two of the State delegations in the House are Democratic, twenty-two Republican, and four equally divided. If this complexion remains unchanged by the occurrence of vacancies, the House might be deadlocked and thus unable to elect a President. In the meantime the Senate might have proceeded to elect a Vice-President (also in accordance with the Twelfth Amendment of the Constitution), for it must be assumed that if the Electors fail to give a majority for President they will at the same time fail to elect a Vice-President. The Senators will vote, not by States but as individuals, and they will choose one of the *two* (not three) candidates who stand highest in the vote of the Electoral College. Now the choice of a Vice-President by the Senate would be virtually the election of a President, the failure of the House to elect having been assumed, and the situation being the same as a vacancy in the office of President from any other cause. Supposing that Governor Marshall should be one of the two candidates having the highest standing before the Electoral College, he may count on the votes of the forty-four Democrats in the Senate. As to the fifty Republican votes (and the possible accession of two more to



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 Treasurer

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 Vice-Chairman, at Chicago,

HENRY MORGENTHAU
 Chairman, Finance Committee

**THREE PROMINENT CITIZENS WHO ARE MANAGING THE FINANCES OF WOODROW
 WILSON'S CAMPAIGN**

(The financial plans of the Democratic management are open, direct, energetic, and ingenious. Mr. Wells, the treasurer, was formerly mayor of St. Louis. Mr. Morgenthau, of New York, is a citizen of wealth and public spirit whose business is real estate. Mr. Crane, of Chicago, is an unselfish idealist in politics, who when named for the post of minister to China was declared by President Taft to be the most gratifying appointee he had found for any office)

fill the vacancies in Illinois and Colorado), there can be no such assurance. Several writers,—notably, Colonel Harvey in the *North American Review* for September,—have pointed out the possibility of Vice-President Sherman's election by the Senate. Such a prediction is based, of course, on two highly improbable contingencies,—first, that Mr. Sherman will be one of the two candidates to be voted on by the Senate, and, second, that forty-nine of the Republican Senators (including Progressives) will vote for him if they have the opportunity. Even if only four of the eight Progressive Senators should refuse to vote for Mr. Sherman, he would fail of election. It is, of course, well known that more than four of these Progressive Senators are strongly opposed to the Vice-President on many public questions; and they might refuse to take any action that would seat him in the Presidency for four years,—especially if their States had failed to choose Taft-Sherman electors, as is also quite conceivable. In the latter event the Senators would be free to make their own choice.

*If Congress
 Fails to
 Elect*

Even admitting that Governor Marshall will head the list of Vice-Presidential candidates, nobody who really values his reputation for political prescience very highly would care to say at this time that Mr. Sherman would be second. If Mr. Sherman were second, there are good grounds for doubting the possibility of his election; and if Governor Johnson, it is also impossible to say with any assurance that the votes of forty-nine Republican Senators would be counted for him. The fact is that the prospect of the Senate's failure to elect a Vice-President, and indirectly a President, is not much more remote than the prospect of failure on the part of the House to elect a President directly. If neither House nor Senate could give us a President by the appointed method, Secretary Knox would serve as President *ad interim*, and would convoke the new Congress, which would provide for another election. All this might come to pass if neither candidate succeeded in winning 266 of the 531 Electors to be chosen on November 5 next.



DAVID LLOYD-GEORGE, CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, THE COURAGEOUS ENGLISH PROGRESSIVE WHO HAS "ACHIEVED SO MUCH FOR THE COMMON GOOD"

*Progressivism
Throughout
the World*

It may surprise some of those who regard the platform of the Progressive party in the United States and the policies of its candidate for the Presidency as dangerously radical, to be reminded that many of these policies have already been enacted into law in other parts of the world, in countries usually regarded as more conservative than our own. In his speech at the convention of the New York Progressives, at Syracuse, on September 6, Governor Hiram Johnson reminded the delegates and audience that the National Progressive platform and covenant is far from being ultra radical. He said:

Imperial Germany to-day has carried to consummation that covenant of ours; royal England has under way and has executed a part of that particular covenant. And do you understand that in the solution of these problems the laggard of all the nations, all the nations that we believe to be nations of the first class, is the richest, the most powerful, the one that boasts the most freedom, the United States of America?

To set forth some of the points which indicate the kinship between the new Progressive movement in this country with the trend of the times in the rest of the world

toward greater, freer democracy, and what Governor Johnson called the policy of caring for the nation's greatest asset, its men, women and children, will be stimulating and useful at the present time.

*What it is
Doing in
England*

Professor Hobhouse, the English economist, whose knowledge of American economic conditions is accurate and detailed, in his books and magazine articles always insists that the problems confronting the awakening democracy in both England and the United States are almost exclusively economic in character. There is one difference, as he points out in a closely woven article in a recent number of the *Atlantic Monthly*. "While America has to deal with her rich, England has to deal with her poor." Yet in another vital sense the problem is the same. It is that of "diverting from anti-social purposes and turning to social account the immense augmentation of wealth that modern industry places in the hands of those who exercise financial control." During recent years, particularly since the advent of the Liberal party to power in England in the elections of 1906, there has been what Premier Asquith is fond of calling "a strengthening of the sense of common responsibility" on the part of Englishmen and an increasing willingness (to quote from a speech of Chancellor Lloyd-George) "to search out and eradicate the causes of suffering and of public evil."

*Forcing Social
Questions into
Politics*

What Carlyle called the "condition of the people" question was projected into the stern arena of practical politics in the early months of the liberal ministry of Campbell-Bannermann, in 1908, when the employer's liability law was greatly extended and strengthened and all the poor school children of England were fed out of the funds of taxation. During this ministry also and that succeeding, under the present Premier, Mr. Asquith, a great deal has been done in England to remedy economic distress. Wages boards have been established for most of the "sweated" industries, and fixed minimum wages for workers of both sexes have been established. The great coal strike of the spring of 1912 resulted in the passage of a minimum wage law for the coal industry by the Imperial Parliament, and efforts have been made to secure the enactment of such laws for other industries. The complete "socialization" of the British Isles is the program of the British labor leaders.

*Old Age
Insurance and
Pensions*

The social reform program of the Asquith Ministry owes its noteworthy advance chiefly to the championship of David Lloyd-George, Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1909 the old age pension act providing for the needy poor after the age of seventy and formulated by Mr. Lloyd-George was adopted. The national insurance law also due chiefly to the efforts of the doughty Welsh Chancellor, went into effect in July of this year. It is on a contributory basis. The workmen, the employer and the State all contribute to a fund in return for which workingmen and women get free medical attendance when they are ill, and if permanently incapacitated from earning a living for themselves, a benefit until their seventieth year, when the old age pension begins to operate. In addition there is a maternity benefit for women and a special provision for the cure of consumptives. It has been proven by statistics that the two evils which press most heavily on nearly fifty per cent. of the British population are low wages and irregular employment. The program of the Liberal government as partly carried out by legislation already passed through the House of Commons aims to minimize some of the consequences of these evils by providing against the disabilities of illness and old age in the pension and insurance acts already noted.

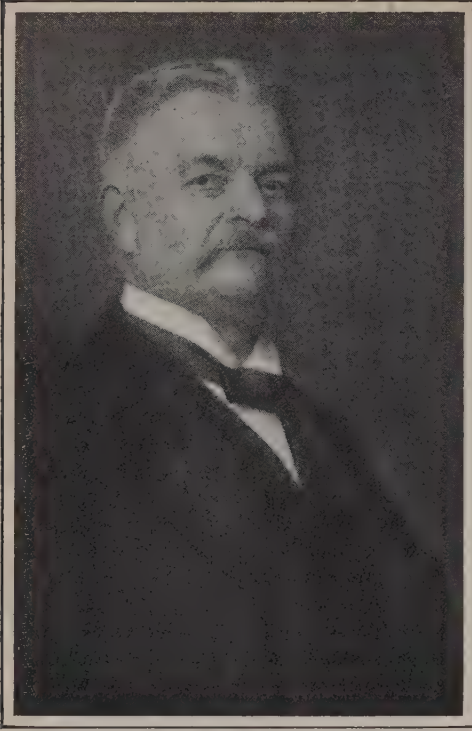
*English
Political
Changes*

The great masses of the British population have heretofore been so much preoccupied with questions of "getting a job" and "earning a living wage," as well as being devoid of what Adam Smith called economic hope, that they have not been alive to many of the political changes that were taking place along with and as a result of the industrial and economic movements we have spoken of. While a very conservative country socially, England is becoming, politically, more and more nearly a pure democracy. The radical Lloyd-George budget of 1909, which introduced new methods of taxation upon land, brought squarely before the British people the question of the supremacy of the House of Commons in legislation. It appears, in their rejection of this budget, the peers were really attempting to regain their old-time power. The attempt, however, was not only unsuccessful; it resulted in the complete downfall of the House of Lords. The limitation of the veto power of the peers, which has been characterized as the most momentous piece of legislation since the great reform bill of 1832, was a political revolution.

The country was so absorbed in industrial questions, however, and, regardless of political party view, was so convinced that the veto was an anachronism, that public opinion scarcely noted the change. At once a number of measures agitated for years but never within the sphere of practical politics became questions of the hour. Franchise reform, home rule for Ireland, disestablishment of the Welsh church, and educational readjustment have become realizable. Instead of continuing the piecemeal reform of the franchise, extending or withdrawing modifications for party advantage, the Asquith ministry has brought in a bill establishing manhood suffrage, the measure being so framed that the ballot can be given to women without altering its general content. This measure will undoubtedly become law at the next session of Parliament.

*Britain
Affected by
Continental
Conditions*

In other ways the governing machinery of Great Britain is being simplified. The abolition of plural voting will take away from property the undue advantage it has possessed in the past and residence will become the sole basis of the franchise. Registration laws are being simplified, and the Liberal Ministry contends that the changes now in course of being effected will establish for the first time a thoroughly democratic House of Commons. Labor conditions and the growth of organized labor parties and groups, inside Parliament as Laborites and outside as Syndicalists, have complicated the problem for the present ministry. In Great Britain, as well as in the other parliamentary countries of the world, party government is being increasingly regarded as undergoing "degenerative changes." Government by political parties is coming to be regarded in England as more and more inefficient, and new methods of ascertaining and executing the popular will are demanded. In addition to domestic complications one of the salient facts in British political development to-day is the numbing influence of militarism. The British state is spending its financial resources to their limit, and this limit is largely determined by the demands of the army and the navy. These demands are in turn conditioned by the naval rivalry with Germany. In one of the recent speeches of the opposition in the Commons it was said that "the main lines of the British budget are laid down in the German chancellery." In this way the progress of British democracy is bound up, to a certain extent, with the democratic idea and progress on the continent.



ERNST BASSERMANN, LEADER OF THE NATIONAL LIBERALS IN THE GERMAN REICHSTAG, ONE OF THE FOREMOST GERMAN PROGRESSIVES

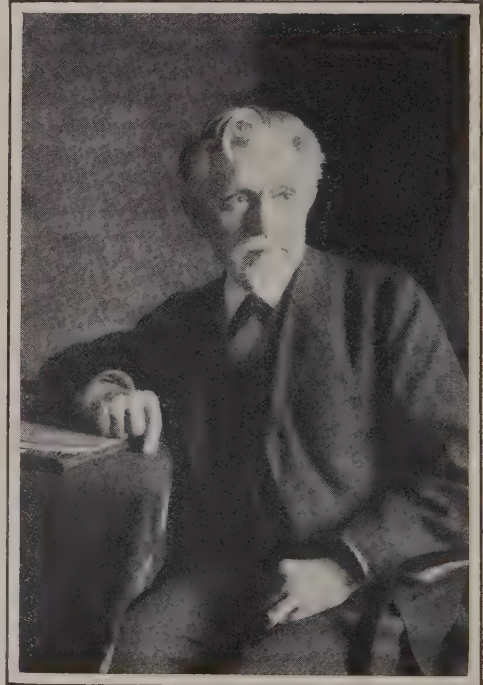
*German
Social
Politics*

The German Empire, it has been said, is a compromise between a naturally agricultural country fast becoming an industrial one and a feudal social order. Since the war with France which created the Empire, the German people have been passing through a social and economic revolution similar to that which Great Britain underwent during the first half of the nineteenth century, although on a greater scale and at a more rapid rate. Moreover, this transformation is taking place with no properly regulating machinery such as England has had, in the form of a real representative system of government. The German Reichstag does not truly represent the German people, and the Chancellor, or Prime Minister, is not responsible to the popularly elected body. However, "he who doubts that Germany shall henceforth be governed in a liberal and social spirit is blind politically." This was the comment of Ernst Bassermann, leader of the National Liberals, on the recent German general elections. The immense increase in the Socialist vote, in the face of a demand on the part of the Government that the Socialists be defeated, amounted to a refusal to express confidence in the Govern-

ment, a presumptuous proceeding ventured upon by the German people for the first time in their history. The German Social Democrats are a party of protest against an antiquated political system. To vote the Socialist ticket in Germany has become the most effective way of demanding that the Reichstag shall become a real legislature, that ministerial responsibility be established, that the unfair three-class Prussian franchise be abolished, the unjust distribution of seats be corrected, and the country freed from agrarian and clerical domination.

*What They
Have
Achieved*

Aristocracy is still supreme in Germany and the Reichstag is still in the protesting stage of its development. Nevertheless, it would appear that the German people have arrived at their political maturity, and it is not likely that the governing class will long be able to withstand the pressure for a fuller democratization of the country. Despite this political handicap the German state is the most highly socialized in Europe. Bismarck began this socialization with the old age pension act, the sick benefit and insurance laws. The German state owns all the means of communication, railroad, telegraph, post office, parcels post and telephones. The cities own their public utilities, own and manage their



AUGUST BEBEL, LEADER OF THE GERMAN SOCIALISTS, ALSO A PROGRESSIVE

markets, theatres, electric power houses, bake shops, meat shops and factories, and the German service in these particulars is among the best, if not the best in the world. The state provides a pension for almost everybody. In January, 1911, an all-inclusive workman's insurance bill was enacted into law. This was designed to contain in a single measure all the insurance schemes, and the general provisions have been extended by subsequent legislation until now there is insurance for widows and orphans. A bill remodeling the franchise system was passed by the Prussian Landtag two years ago but was unsatisfactory. The demand for thoroughgoing reform is insistent and increasing. Nowhere in the world is there such intelligent coöperation between science and invention and government as in the German Empire. Nothing is too difficult or radical for the German state to do for the comfort and well-being of its citizens. The fuller participation of these citizens in the administration of government itself must be merely a question of time.

*Electoral
Reform in
France*

France also is a highly socialized state. The Republic is the original home of syndicalism, a later development of the struggle between labor and the so-called privileged classes. The French have a fairer distribution of party power in their parliament than the Germans, but much pressure has been brought recently to reform French parliamentary voting methods. The French have now what is known as the "scrutin d'arrondissement," the election of a single representative for each small district, which has proved favorable to the growth of a corrupt bureaucracy. The electoral reform bill now pending in the French Senate, which was passed in the Chamber of Deputies by a large majority, early in July and is likely to become a law, provides for the "scrutin de liste," or the method of electing representatives at large on a general ticket. France also has pensions and public aid for age and indigence.

*Democracy
Coming into
Its Own*

Universal suffrage is a very important issue in many European countries. It was attained in Sweden only as late as the present year. In Austria-Hungary the question of extending the franchise has been one of the most important problems confronting every ministry of the past two decades. The elections for the fourth Russian Duma were held on September 23, and the new session will be opened on

the 28th of the present month. Despite the efforts of the reactionaries, the elections for this session will give wider opportunity than ever before for the expression of the popular will. During the past few years parliaments have been established in Japan, Persia, Turkey and China, and insistent demands have been made for self-government in Egypt, India and the Philippines. In most civilized states political power is being steadily transferred from the few to the many. Moreover, the most important business of political experts has now come to be the improvement of old machinery, or the creation of new, to discover the will of the people. For years Switzerland has found that the initiative and the referendum work well. Australia and New Zealand have adopted these, as well as some of our own states, notably Oregon. In the presidential campaign of this year in the United States, the initiative, referendum and recall have become watchwords. Proportional representation has proved its efficiency in Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Finland and some of the Swiss cantons. Australia, New Zealand, Norway, Finland and six states of the American Union (Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Washington, California) have given the voting right to women. In Belgium and some parts of Switzerland a citizen is fined if he does not go to the polls, and Italy and Argentina are reported to be considering the passage of similar legislation. All over the world we find a democracy already in possession of, or coming into its own.

*What European
Democracy
Can teach us*

Democracy in Europe says Samuel P. Orth, a brilliant student of world questions in an article in the current *North American Review*, has attained a new impetus through the political organization of labor and has achieved power through forcing a coalition of Socialists, Radicals and Liberals—

a coalition which foreshadows greater changes in the international policies of Europe and the internal polity of its empires than did the conquests of Charlemagne, the triumphs of Cromwell, the genius of Frederick the Great, the ambitions of the Bourbons, and the havoc of the military minotaur, Napoleon Bonaparte. Because it is shifting government from a property to a personal basis, it is creating a new political paternalism and is threatening that individualism which Americans have been taught to revere as the mother of progress. In the light of recent movements in Europe our democracy remains the most conservative democracy in the world. Can you imagine a transformation in the Federal Senate such as the English democrats effected in their House of Lords? Or the kaleidoscopic changes of Paris taking place at Washington? Or the Erfurt Program of Herr

Bebel's party adopted as the platform of either of our great parties? It is true we have no burdensome militarism, no hereditary tinsel, and have achieved universal manhood suffrage. In spite of all this, democracy in Europe is more radical in theory and in practice than democracy in America.

This year (1912) has shown the beginning of a new courageous radicalism in American politics that is at last making us face reality.

Despite the mass of newspaper reports magnifying the so-called Orozco revolution in Mexico and the alleged necessity for intervention by the United States, the American people, it is safe to say, are not deceived. They are in sympathy with the efforts of the Mexicans to progress along the paths of prosperity and peace. They are in favor of giving President Madero a chance to carry out his policies of economic regeneration. During his eleven months in office many of these have already been inaugurated, and others will be formulated into law by the new Congress, which began its sessions in Mexico City on September 16. The last session was not really in sympathy with the Madero policies, being composed largely of Diaz "holdovers." The new session will be a reform Congress. It will be remembered that the Mexican national legislature holds two sessions a year, from April 1 to June 1, and from September 16 to December 15, and that a permanent com-

mittee of both houses sits during the recesses. During the summer months just past this permanent committee has been working hard, under Señor Madero's direction, formulating new legislation. It will be dominated by the Constitutional Progressive party to which Madero owes his election. We learn that 150 out of 243 representatives in the Chamber of Deputies and the controlling vote in the Senate will be in favor of the Madero reform schemes. Bills embodying these schemes, including the redistribution of land, anti-peonage laws, and legislation in the interest of factory workers, will be introduced.

As to
American
intervention

Mexico has passed rather suddenly from a despotism to a régime in which an attempt is made at something like democracy. During such a transition it is inevitable that certain difficulties and disorders should arise, among them such brigand movements as those headed by Orozco and Zapata, which should not be dignified by the name of revolutions. On reliable authority we are informed that the Orozco revolution was begun in good faith. Its leader, Pascual Orozco, Jr., was probably misled by agitators who claimed that President Madero did not intend to fulfill all the promises of his platform. Orozco's lack of success has cost him the better class of his supporters. His remaining followers in the states of Chihuahua, Durango and Sonora have already degenerated into the same sort of brigands that have been engineering the revolution in the South. There are constant reports of the destruction of American life and property and insistent demands for some radical action by the United States. Last month the newspapers were claiming that President Taft contemplated actual military intervention in the Mexican situation. Mr. Taft, however, stated that he would not take any action in the matter without the explicit approval of Congress, and that he saw no reason to call a special session for the purpose of securing such authorization. Early last month, Senator William Alden Smith, of Michigan, chairman of a sub-committee of the Senate Committee of Foreign Relations, began at El Paso, Texas, his work of inquiring into whether or not American capital has aided or abetted the present uprising against the Mexican Government.

Cuban
Political
Amenities

Fear of American intervention dominated the politics of two other Latin-American countries last month. The rather ridiculous "insult"



"MEXICO FOR THE MEXICANS"

(This is what would happen if Uncle Sam attempted to interfere) From *El Ahuizote* (Mexico City)

offered by a hysterical Cuban newspaper man, late in August, to Hugh S. Gibson, the American Chargé d'Affaires at Havana, stirred up bad feeling in some journalistic quarters both in Cuba and the United States. President Gomez evidently considered this serious enough to call for a personal letter to President Taft assuring the American nation of Cuba's good intentions and appealing to the United States government to "again assure the Cuban people that the United States has no designs upon their independence." The Cuban Secretary of State has refused to give out the terms of President Taft's reply, and our own State Department will say nothing further than that it was "firm but reassuring." It is whispered among Cuban politicians in the opposing political camp to President Gomez that his letter was in the nature of a campaign document in favor of his own reelection, and intended to forestall a searching inquiry into the receipts and expenditures of his present administration.

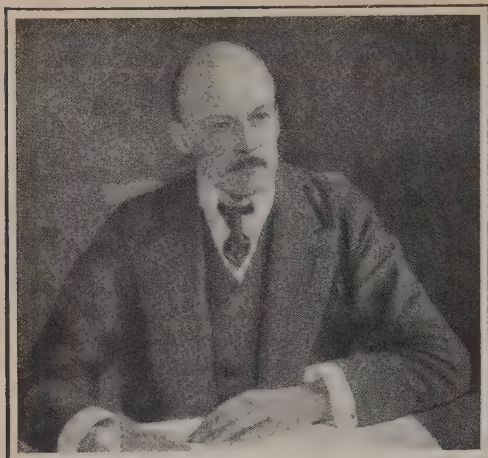
Another Revolution in Nicaragua The world is growing weary of revolutions in Nicaragua. This unfortunate Central American country, the size of the State of New York, but with only about one-eighteenth of the population, has been in an almost constant state of revolution for the past twenty years. When that burly despot, Zelaya, was forced out of office two years ago, as a result of a revolution successful largely because our State Department had openly condemned his practices, Juan Estrada became President. He also was forced out of office, but before "resigning" he issued, (in September 1910) a provisional law under which the government was to be administered until such time as a new constitution could be adopted. Under the terms of this instrument as finally adopted, Señor Adolfo Diaz became Provisional President (in May 1911) to hold office until the last day of the present year, when General Louis Mena, who was elected on October 7, 1911, will become President for the new constitutional period, 1913-16. Diaz had not been in office long before a revolt broke out against his government, instigated, it is now being freely stated, by several American commercial concerns anxious to secure concessions and monopolies. Such privileges, it is reported, have been promised by General Mena, who is anxious to secure the presidency at once. Some of the old followers of the Zelaya régime, joining forces with Mena, have been conducting a guerrilla warfare for several

months. General conditions in the country grew so bad and American life and property, as well as that of other foreigners, were in so much danger that, early last month, the State Department ordered the cruiser *California* to land a large force of marines at Corinto, the port of Nicaragua. This force was then taken to Managua, the capital, which was threatened by the rebel troops, the idea of the Department being to protect American life and property and aid the established government in maintaining order.

Another Case for Election Supervision At its last session the United States Senate declined to approve a treaty proposed by Secretary Knox, under which both Honduras and Nicaragua, with the aid of American bankers, would have been able to refund their debts and establish their finances upon sound foundations. The treaties were rejected because it was alleged they had been formulated by "undue Wall Street influence." Whether or not such financial control of the affairs of these republics as was proposed in the treaties would be desirable, it is coming to be recognized by those who know conditions in Nicaragua, that American supervision of elections in that turbulent republic is inevitable in the near future. American officials now supervise elections in Panama at the request of that republic itself. Last month it was reported that the next elections for the presidency of Nicaragua would be held under the supervision of United States authorities, and that the present government, General Mena and his followers, and the adherents of the old Zelaya régime all agree in requesting such supervision.

Agreeing on the Near Eastern Question A brief item tucked away in an inconspicuous corner of one or two of the better informed American newspapers last month conveyed information of much greater moment to the world in general than all the campaign gossip and speculation which has appeared during recent months in our political press. It was the summary of an official note, issued from Vienna on September 8, in explanation of the recent visit of Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, the German Imperial Chancellor, to Count von Berchtold, Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs. The "note," stripped of its preliminary and concluding verbiage, said:

The exhaustive conversations which took place between the two statesmen resulted in perfect mutual understanding on all pending questions of



COUNT VON BERCHTOLD, AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN
FOREIGN MINISTER

(Who has made a startling proposal for Turkish reform)

foreign policy, especially in regard to the Near East. . . . The object of both statesmen is to maintain the *status quo* in the Balkans and to strengthen Turkey.

*Effect of the
Austro-German
Agreement* This communiqué had a salutary effect in clearing the air in south-eastern Europe. It is the first definite statement from the allied German and Austrian governments as to their attitude on the everlasting Balkan question. In view of what has been going on in this disturbed region during the past summer, the note issued last month from Vienna may be interpreted as an ultimatum, a warning of "hands off" to such governments and interests as have been planning partition of the Ottoman Empire. The continental journals that are known to be semi-officially inspired, have been publishing for some time glowing reports of the military and naval preparedness of Germany and the completion of the Austro-Hungarian and Rumanian mobilizations.

*Rumania's
Self-
Assertion* For several weeks past the French and German press have reported a good deal of passing to and fro of military and diplomatic personages between Vienna and Bucharest, the latest being a visit of the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, Count von Berchtold, to the King of Rumania. These movements are regarded as having a distinct political significance, "with ulterior military possibilities." The compact little kingdom of Rumania is known to be quite in line with Austria-Hungary in all questions affecting Turkey and the Balkan states. In fact, Rumania is now regarded by the European political experts as being a si-

lent partner in the Triple Alliance. All these middle European states, for political and economic reasons, want to maintain the existing order in Turkey. They are also opposed to the emergence of any new Balkan states. An interesting light is thrown upon Danubian politics by an interview with the Rumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, which appeared in a recent issue of the *Reichspost* of Vienna. He is reported as saying:

Rumania is living in good relations with Turkey. The expansion of any Balkan state would naturally affect our credit and our prestige. As such expansion could only be effected at the expense of Turkey, our attitude, in such case, as regards the Porte explains itself the moment we stand by the principle of the maintenance of the *status quo*. As to the eventuality of an *entente* between Rumania and Bulgaria tending to coöperation between them, it is easy to find a base for such an *entente*, but it would be necessary that Bulgaria should give us as a preliminary and in a manner excluding all doubt, the assurance that she renounces her aspirations concerning the Dobrudja. Otherwise such an understanding between the two countries is impossible. We are now the first in the Balkans and mean to remain so.

*How Russia
Tricked
Rumania* This menacing allusion to the aspirations of Bulgaria is significant since it is the key to the real relations between these two Danubian states, Bulgaria and Rumania. At the Congress of Berlin, in 1878, the Russians recovered, as a kind of broker's commission from Rumania, that part of Bessarabia taken from Russia after the Crimean War. The help given Russia by Rumania at the siege of Plevna General Ignatiev had obtained by promising the Rumanian Prime Minister all the Dobrudja (the territory between the Danube, the Black Sea and the Bulgarian boundary) and in addition a small part of Bulgaria. A compromise was made at Berlin, however, and Rumania received only the Dobrudja with a boundary starting from a point on the lower Danube to a point on the Black Sea. This session left the Bulgarians exasperated both with Russia and Rumania, and nourishing the aspirations which the Rumanian diplomat knew no Bulgarian government could renounce definitely. Therefore no *entente* between the two countries was possible.

*The
Berchtold
Proposal* The diplomatic sensation of the situation during the past month was the advice given quite frankly and "with friendly intentions" by the Austrian Foreign Minister to the new Turkish Government to try and relieve the situation and avert an internal conflict of nationalities by

adopting a policy of decentralization in the administration of the empire. This was at once seized on by some as an underhand scheme to bring about the autonomy of the different races and the break up of the Ottoman Empire. The exact terms of the Berchtold proposition are not known except to the foreign offices of the governments to whom they were communicated. From the rather hazy diplomatic phraseology of the authorized statement, reported by the Vienna correspondent of the London *Times*, we gather that the substance is contained in the phrase "a policy of moderate decentralization on ethnic lines." This has been generally taken to mean a demand on the part of Austria for local autonomy for all the Turkish provinces. On August 30 the Turkish Ambassador at Vienna gave the official reply of the Porte to the suggestions of Count von Berchtold. The ambassador stated that it was the intention of his government to extend the scope of local government in Albania. As to the so-called decentralizing policy in other parts of the empire, he thought the Austrian Foreign Office must be mistaken. Albanians and Bulgarians, however, have begun to demand what would amount to separate government for Macedonia and Albania, to which the Bulgarian hotheads would add the Vilayet of Adrianople—the territory lying between the western Bulgarian frontier and Constantinople. The principle of decentralization, moreover, has been favorably received by many of the Turkish papers and at Athens.

The General European "Game"
The foregoing are only details. What may be regarded as equivalent to a Berlin official view of the general European outlook is the statement in one of the German journals, that the

earnest efforts made on both sides to bring about a rapprochement between England and Germany may be considered as "wrecked." Now, Winston Churchill's new naval proposals have made agreement impossible for a long time, and the situation in Europe has become more critical. At which point the thundercloud will burst, or whether there may not be a long wait, cannot be determined. The present internal conflict in Turkey is unfortunate. It may bring on external troubles, with the result that when all is over only a Turkey in Asia will survive. The Bulgarians, who have made alliances with Servia and Greece, are being driven to strike the blow. Russia holds them back because things are not ready yet for the onset. As to England's understanding with Russia and France, even the Paris journals are admitting that it has already assumed the character of a coalition against Germany.

*Italy and
Turkey Making
Peace*

Only a few days less than a year after Italy's ultimatum to Turkey, which began the war over Tripoli, it was reported that the commissioners of the two nations had successfully concluded negotiations for a peace treaty. On September 17 it was announced unofficially, but upon reliable authority, that "pre-official negotiations" in Switzerland had resulted in a tentative agreement providing for the suspension of hostilities and covering four principal points. As illustrating the rather curious indirection of diplomacy, it will be interesting to quote here these points, or, as report puts it, the approximate bases of agreement.

(1)—The Turkish Government will undertake to recognize the Italian occupation of the coast of Tripoli and Cyrenaica and will withdraw the Otto-



UNHAPPY TURKEY BEING ADVISED BY ITS EUROPEAN FRIENDS

From Kikeriki (Vienna)

man forces. Turkey, without formally recognizing Italy's sovereignty in Tripoli, will not oppose Italian expansion into the interior. She will, however, retain a port near Tunis or Egypt, in order to communicate with the hinterland.

(II)—Italy legally will recognize the Caliph's religious jurisdiction in the Libyan provinces and all the privileges and guaranties pertaining thereto.

(III)—Italy will grant Turkey an unredeemable loan of \$120,000,000.

(IV)—As a safeguard for the payment of the interest on that loan Turkey, while retaining the sovereignty over all the Ægean Islands, will allow Italy to hold the twelve islands which have already been occupied, and which, therefore, will remain under Italian administration.

*One Year
of the War*

September 29 was the anniversary of the Italian declaration of war.

The contest has proved to be quite different from the expectation of the Italian statesmen and officers while they were preparing for this conquest of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. Costly in money, men and efforts, the fact remains that an army of more than 150,000 men, well equipped, with a fleet of aeroplanes and dirigibles, and backed by a strong navy holding the supremacy of the seas, against a few old ships of the Turks, has succeeded, after great efforts and sacrifices, in merely driving the enemy a few miles away from the coast, or the larger part of the coast, and is unable to advance much farther than the range of the big guns of the Italian dreadnoughts. Opposed to them is an army of Bedouins and Arabs, all volunteers, seldom before organized and equipped, commanded by four or five hundred Turkish officers, who have succeeded in entering the country, and reinforced by about four thousand Turkish regulars. Unable to accomplish the great result expected in Tripoli, and to defeat the Arabs decisively, Italy attempted to end the war by bombarding Beirut, by helping the Yemen rebels against Turkish rule, by attacking the Dardanelles, hoping thus to force Europe to interfere, by occupying the Ægean Islands and by upsetting the state of things in the Balkans, by helping the Albanian uprising, and provoking the Montenegrins to warlike acts. Among the retaliatory measures which the Sublime Porte employed were the abolition of all treaty privileges, the increase of 100 per cent. on the duty of Italian goods, and the expulsion of all Italians from the empire.

*Turkish
Cabinet and
Opinion*

With the advent of the new cabinet in Turkey peace became much more probable. The Young Turkish cabinet had repeatedly declared that the Turks would never yield, and that

they would oppose Italy to the last. It is said that among the Italian peace negotiators in Switzerland who from time to time took part in the "conversations" were Signors Bertolini, Fusinato, and Volpi, and that the Turks were represented by Nabi Bey (Minister at Sofia) and Ahmed Djivdad, editor of the *Ikdam* of Constantinople. The problem was to find a way to spare the honor and dignity of Turkey, and at the same time to make annexation a permanent thing. As to indemnity, return of the islands, and religious rights in the conquered territory, Italy seems willing to make concessions, but the Turks insist that some part of Tripoli and Cyrenaica shall remain under Ottoman rule. The Turkish press, although advocating peace, insists that the Government should not give in, as the war was unjust and Italy is far from being the conqueror. "We are ready to make sacrifices, but to completely renounce our two African provinces is too much," says the *Jeune Turc*.

*China's Ambitious
Railway
Schemes*

China still struggles to maintain her independent republican government and to conduct her own business without the aid of foreign money. It was reported last month that President Yuan Shih-kai and his advisors had succeeded in floating a domestic loan of \$50,000,000 quite independent of the six-power group of foreign financiers. The Chinese, it should never be forgotten, are much concerned lest the independence of their country may be threatened and actual partition begun if foreign bankers secure control of their finances. Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Chinese patriot and the first Provisional President, has been devoting his time and attention to the economic betterment of his country, particularly to the promotion of railway construction. It was reported, last month, that the government had authorized Dr. Sun to establish a railway corporation to carry out a system covering 70,000 miles and involving a great extension of the privileges of foreigners throughout the country, with possibilities of immense increase in Chinese foreign trade. According to an official statement, President Yuan Shih-kai purposes to authorize the expenditure by Dr. Sun, of 30,000 taels (\$20,000) monthly to promote the railway scheme. Dr. Sun also proposes to borrow abroad, giving the railways as security until the profits pay the loan, but to keep all the lines in the frontier provinces exclusively under Chinese control. It is expected that the National Assembly, at its winter session, will approve of this plan.

*Sun Yat-sen
on China's
Opportunity*

The completed railway system will open up the whole of China proper to foreign residents and enterprise. All foreigners, however, are to be amenable to Chinese laws. In this way the new Chinese Republican government purposes keeping the country for its own people. The three great principles of the Chinese Republic, Dr. Sun Yat-sen is reported as saying in a recent interview in the London labor organ, the *Clarion*, are: (1) The Chinese must be an absolutely free race; (2) the people must be supreme in their own government; (3) the people must be supreme in the production of their own wealth. Now that the Manchus have abdicated, says Dr. Sun, "we have succeeded in establishing the first two of these principles, but it remains for us to accomplish the revolution of society. . . . This is simply our humble part in the great progressive movement that is now agitating the people of all countries." The primary elections for representatives to the new National Assembly will be held throughout the country on December 10, and the final elections on January 10. Dr. George Ernest Morrison, the celebrated veteran Peking correspondent of the London *Times*, who in August was appointed foreign diplomatic adviser to the Chinese Government, is reported as saying that there are no candidates for the permanent presidency except Yuan Shih-kai, and that he will undoubtedly be elected.

*Are There
White
Eskimos?*

One of the most important ethnological discoveries of recent times is that made by Professor Vilhjalmur Stefansson, of the American Museum of Natural History, of a tribe of Eskimos in the far northwest of Canada, some of them white, and still in the stone age of development. Dr. Stefansson reached Seattle last month after completing a four years' scientific expedition in the Mackenzie River region. In association with Dr. R. M. Anderson, of the University of Iowa, Stefansson set himself to work out the solution of the problem which has baffled ethnologists for many years. Arctic explorers have brought from the north stories of a lost tribe of white people. Amundsen declared the natives told him of them. Stefansson now describes these primitive people who had never seen or heard of white men till his party arrived. For months he lived with them in their homes on the mainland of the continent and in Victoria Island. They are a migratory tribe, quite unlike the Alaska or Mackenzie River Eskimos. Stefansson



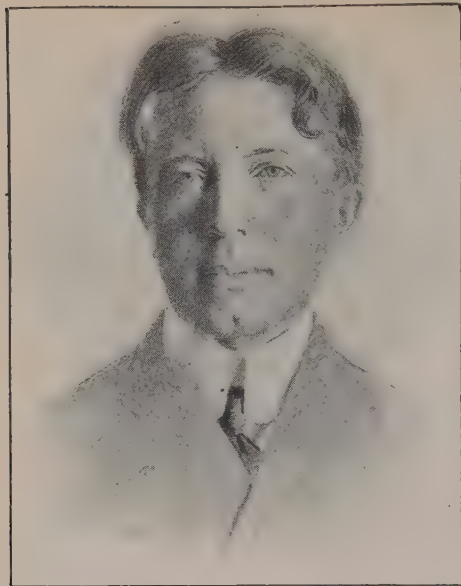
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DR. SUN YAT-SEN, THE CHINESE PATRIOT AND HIS SON
(From a photograph in a recent biography by James Cantlie)

believes they are of Norwegian origin, many of them having fair hair, blue eyes, and fair skins and beards, entirely different from the Eskimos, not only in the shape of the skull, but in the general features, and without a single trace of the Mongolian type. It is known that in the 10th century three or four thousand Icelanders settled in Greenland. Some of these people making an expedition to the mainland were afterwards "lost." The newly discovered tribe seems likely to be their descendants. It may be that these people, Prof. Stefansson (himself of Icelandic descent) says, are the descendants of the Norsemen, who, more than eight hundred years ago, went to Newfoundland with "Lief the Lucky" and were lost. Regarded from any viewpoint the discovery by such a careful, conservative man as Professor Stefansson of a new people in the far north with some white characteristics is of real scientific value.

*Mapping
the Maya
Empire*

At the other end of the North American continent in the scarcely known district of Peten, in Guatemala, a young American explorer, Russell Hastings Millward, has been patiently investigating the life and customs of what



From the *Sun*, New York

VILHJALMAR STEFANSSON, THE EXPLORER WHO HAS FOUND WHITE ESKIMOS IN THE ARCTIC

seems to be the most ancient race of human beings now in existence. "El Peten" lies west of British Honduras, between the Caribbean coast and the Bay of Campeche. It has long been known to all Central Americans as "the mystery." There young Millward, to whom is credited "the world's mileage record for traveling across unknown country," last spring, discovered lakes and mountains, penetrated unknown fastnesses, studied and photographed the ruins of temples and palaces, some never before seen by white men, and laboriously mapped out the extent of the once flourishing Maya Empire. He also studied the commercial possibilities of the region in regard to timber and mineral resources. The present-day Mayas, who now live on both sides of the Mexican-Guatemalan line, have never acknowledged submission to either government. They have no explanation to offer of the mysterious ruins attesting the former grandeur of their race. The architecture of the ruined temples partakes of the Mongolian type, and Millward says that some of the most recently deciphered hieroglyph inscriptions indicate a culture as ancient as that of the Egyptians. Old Mexican chronicles state that the palaces and pyramids of the Mayas were so

ancient when Cortez arrived that at that time there grew on them trees more than a thousand years old. Locating and photographing the ruins of these ancient cities is of inestimable value to archaeologists in making possible a study of Maya history and culture. Millward came upon more than three hundred groups of ruins which marked



RUSSELL HASTINGS MILLWARD, THE YOUNG AMERICAN EXPLORER WHO HAS BEEN INVESTIGATING MAYA RUINS IN GUATEMALA

the site of villages and towns, many of which probably contained twenty or thirty thousand people. On his way back to New York, he almost lost his life by poison, being mistaken for a Mexican revolutionist.



RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From August 15 to September 16, 1912)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

August 15.—The Senate passes the measure creating a Commission on Industrial Relations.

August 16.—In the Senate, the Wool and Steel tariff-revision bills fail of passage over the President's veto; the conference report upon the Panama Canal bill is adopted.

August 17.—The House again passes the Legislative, Executive and Judicial appropriation bill, eliminating the provision which established a seven-year term of office in the civil service; the conference report on the Panama Canal bill is agreed to.

August 19.—Both branches receive a special message from the President, urging the passage of a resolution to the effect that the United States has no intention of violating the Hay-Pauncefote treaty in regulating Panama Canal tolls. . . . The Senate passes the Legislative, Executive and Judicial appropriation bill and accepts the conference report on the Naval appropriation bill, authorizing the construction of one battleship.

August 20.—The House approves the conference report upon the Naval bill, providing for one battleship.

August 21.—In the Senate, Mr. Penrose (Rep., Pa.) replies to charges recently made against him in a magazine article. . . . The House, after receiving the President's second veto of the Legislative, Executive and Judicial appropriation bill, strikes from the measure the provision which would have abolished the Commerce Court.

August 22.—The Senate for the third time passes the Legislative, Executive and Judicial appropriation bill, and agrees to conference reports upon the Indian and Sundry Civil appropriation bills.

August 23.—In the Senate, the General Deficiency appropriation bill is passed and conference reports on the Army and Post Office appropriation bills are agreed to. . . . The House agrees to conference reports on the Army, Indian, and Sundry Civil appropriation bills.

August 24.—Both branches, after all-night sessions, are deadlocked over the General Deficiency bill, the last of the appropriation measures. . . . The Senate considers a resolution calling for a broader investigation of campaign contributions than had previously been authorized.

August 26.—The Senate adopts the resolution broadening the scope of the investigation into campaign contributions. . . . Both branches pass the General Deficiency appropriation bill. . . . The first regular session of the Sixty-second Congress comes to an end.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

August 15.—President Taft vetoes the Legislative, Executive and Judicial appropriation bill because of provisions abolishing the Commerce Court and establishing a seven-year tenure for clerks in the civil service.

August 16.—Colonel Roosevelt opens the Presidential campaign with an address at Providence.

. . . The Government begins proceedings in the federal court at Philadelphia to dissolve the motion-picture combination.

August 17.—Several large audiences are addressed by Colonel Roosevelt in and near Boston.

August 20.—George R. Sheldon is selected as treasurer of the Republican National Committee.



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GOVERNOR WILSON ADDRESSING A NOONDAY
GATHERING IN NEW YORK CITY

. . . Thomas R. Marshall is formally notified at Indianapolis of his nomination for the Vice-Presidency on the Democratic ticket. . . . Delaware Republicans nominate Charles R. Miller for Governor.

August 21.—In the Georgia Democratic primary, United States Senator Bacon is renominated and John M. Slaton is chosen as candidate for Governor. . . . United States Senator Francis E. Warren is renominated in the Wyoming Republican primary.

August 23.—John D. Archbold makes certain allegations before the Senate committee investigating campaign funds, concerning the Government's relations with the Standard Oil Company during President Roosevelt's administration.

August 26.—Governor Marshall, the Democratic nominee for Vice-President, opens the campaign in Maine with a speech at Portland on the tariff. . . . President Taft leaves Washington for his summer home at Beverly, Mass.

August 27.—Governor Bleas and Senator Till-



HON. JOHN M. SLATON, DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE
FOR GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA

man are renominated in the South Carolina Democratic primary. . . . The Michigan primaries result in the nomination of Amos S. Musselman (Rep.) and Woodbridge N. Ferris (Dem.) for Governor; Alfred Lucking wins the Democratic nomination for the United States Senate.

August 28.—The commission form of government is overwhelmingly adopted by the voters of New Orleans.

August 29.—President Taft speaks at Columbus in connection with the Ohio-Columbus Centennial. . . . Colonel Roosevelt speaks in Vermont regarding Progressive principles.

August 31.—The Interstate Commerce Commission suspends until December 31 the proposed increases in freight rates for the transportation of commodities from Eastern points to the Pacific Coast.

September 1.—Colonel Roosevelt, in a letter to Senator Clapp, chairman of the Senate committee investigating campaign contributions, denies that he solicited or accepted Standard Oil money in the campaign of 1904.

September 2.—Woodrow Wilson, speaking at Buffalo, N. Y., criticizes the labor planks in the Progressive platform. . . . Colonel Roosevelt addresses a number of Connecticut audiences.

September 3.—In the Vermont election, no candidate receives a majority of the votes cast for Governor and the choice devolves upon the legislature, which is Republican; Allen M. Fletcher (Rep.) receives 26,260 votes and the Progressive candidate 15,800. . . . In the New Hampshire primary, Franklin Worcester (Rep.) and Samuel D. Felker (Dem.) are nominated for Governor. . . . North Carolina Progressives nominate Dr. Cyrus Thompson for Governor. . . . In the Wisconsin primary, Governor McGovern (Rep.) is renominated, and Judge John C. Karel is chosen as the Democratic nominee. . . . The California Republican primary results in sweeping victories for the Progressive candidates. . . . The voters of Ohio adopt the constitution recently framed by a special convention; eight provisions, including that for woman suffrage, are defeated.

September 4.—Iowa Progressives nominate John L. Stevens for Governor. . . . Missouri Progressives nominate Judge Albert D. Norton for Governor. . . . North Carolina Republicans nominate ex-Congressman Thomas Settle for Governor.

September 5.—Arthur L. Garford is nominated for Governor of Ohio at the Progressive State Convention. . . . Colonel Roosevelt speaks in St. Paul and Minneapolis.

September 6.—Oscar S. Straus, formerly Secretary of Commerce and Labor, is nominated as the Progressive candidate for Governor of New York.

September 7.—North Dakota Progressives nominate Dr. C. C. Cregan, president of Fargo College, for Governor. . . . Montana Progressives nominate Frank H. Edwards for Governor.

September 9.—Governor Frederick W. Plaisted (Dem.) is defeated for reelection in Maine by William T. Haines (Rep.). . . . In the Arkansas election, Congressman Joseph T. Robinson (Dem.) is chosen Governor. . . . Colonel Roosevelt addresses two large audiences of women in Spokane.

September 10.—Robert T. Hodge is nominated for Governor of Washington at the Progressive convention; Governor Hays is renominated in the Republican primary. . . . C. C. Parks is nominated as the Republican candidate for Governor in the Colorado primary. . . . The Delaware Democratic convention nominates Thomas M. Monaghan for Governor. . . . Robert G. Valentine resigns as Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

September 11.—The Southern Pacific Railway formally appeals to the United States Government to protect its employees and property in Mexico. . . . Connecticut Republicans, in convention, select Judge John P. Studley for the Governorship. . . . The Delaware Progressive convention nominates George B. Hynson for Governor.

September 12.—Governor Baldwin of Connecticut is renominated at the Democratic State convention.

September 13.—Utah Progressives nominate N. L. Morris for Governor. . . . The Secretary of the Interior orders canceled the Cunningham claims to Alaska coal lands.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

August 16.—Large numbers of Christians in Albania, near the Montenegrin frontier, are massacred by Turks.

August 17.—Guillermo Billinghurst, mayor of Lima, is elected President of Peru. . . . More than 400 Nicaraguan troops are slaughtered following the surrender of the city of Leon to the insurgents.

August 19.—Violent dissatisfaction is expressed

throughout China over the summary execution at Peking of two generals suspected of conspiracy.

August 20.—The city of Juarez, Mexico, is once more under the control of federal troops. . . . President Yuan Shih-kai declines to explain to the Chinese Advisory Council the reasons for the recent executions.

August 22.—The French Government orders all school-teachers' unions to dissolve.

August 25.—The Turkish Government orders a court martial of all persons implicated in the recent massacre at Kotschana, Bulgaria.

August 30.—It is stated at Paris that Eugene Philipovich Azev, the Russian police official, has confessed that he arranged the assassinations of Grand Duke Sergius and Minister of the Interior Von Plehve.

August 31.—Nicaraguan Government troops capture from the revolutionists 80,000 cartridges for rapid-fire machine guns.

September 2.—The police of Mexico City, in arresting twenty persons, believe that they have broken up a widespread conspiracy for an uprising against the government. . . . The German Emperor reviews 50,000 of his soldiers near Berlin; eight aeroplanes and two dirigibles take part.

September 5.—Rear-Admiral Southerland, in command of the United States forces in Nicaragua, reports that the Diaz government is making progress in its attempt to put down the revolution.

September 8.—It is reported, on good authority, that the Nicaraguan insurgents are making overtures for peace.

September 9.—The Servian cabinet resigns.

September 11.—The Chinese Government authorizes Sun Yat-sen to build a comprehensive system of railways with money raised through the new loan.

September 12.—The Russian Duma is dissolved and elections are set for September 23. . . . A new Servian Ministry is formed, with N. Pasitch as premier.

September 16.—It is announced that Lu Cheng-shiang will retire from the premiership of China because of ill health. . . . The Turkish Council of Ministers suspends martial law in Constantinople and extends the Albanian concessions to other portions of the empire.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

August 16.—Upon the departure of M. Poincaré, the French Premier, an official statement is made at St. Petersburg that the Franco-Prussian alliance has been reaffirmed. . . . Secretary Knox leaves Washington to attend the funeral of the late Emperor Mutsuhito.

August 24.—President Taft signs the Panama Canal bill, certain provisions of which had been objected to by Great Britain.

August 25.—A massacre of natives at Sienitz, Servia, by the Turkish inhabitants, is reported from Belgrade.

August 27.—A regiment of United States infantry is ordered to Nicaragua by President Taft, but later the order is countermanded; 200 American sailors and marines land at Corinto and force their way to Leon and Managua, through territory held by the revolutionists. . . . Great Britain renews her protest against the provisions of the Panama Canal bill as recently passed by the Congress of the

United States. . . . Turkey declines to consider suggestions by the powers in the matter of her administration of Albania.

August 30.—Consternation is caused in China by England's demand for the abandonment of the contemplated expedition to reestablish the authority of the republic in Tibet. . . . A \$50,000,000 loan to China is arranged in London by the Lloyds Bank, but will be opposed by the powers.

September 2.—President Taft receives a cablegram from President Gomez, expressing regret over the assault upon Mr. Gibson, American chargé d'affaires, by a Cuban reporter.

September 3.—Railway and telegraphic communication in Nicaragua is reopened by United States marines.

September 4.—It is stated that one of the demands of Italy, in the unofficial peace conversations being carried on in Switzerland, is for absolute sovereignty over Tripoli.

September 7.—Mr. Knox, American Secretary of State and special ambassador to the funeral of Emperor Mutsuhito, is received in audience at Tokio by Emperor Yoshihito. . . . It is announced at Constantinople that Turkey and Italy have arranged to exchange noncombatant prisoners. . . . Turkey and Bulgaria begin active preparations for war, the latter having been accused of interference in Turkey's Macedonian affairs.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

August 19.—Edmond Audemars, a Swiss aviator, flies from Paris to Berlin (530 miles), making four landings.

August 21.—It is announced at London that the late General Booth had designated his son Bramwell as head of the Salvation Army.

August 24.—A four-cent street-car fare in Milwaukee is ordered by the Wisconsin Railway Commission.

August 28.—More than 30,000 persons participate in the funeral services of General William Booth, the founder of the Salvation Army, in London. . . . The city of Norwich, England, is inundated following incessant rains, and 10,000 persons are temporarily rendered homeless.

August 30.—William M. Wood, president of the American Woolen Company, is arrested on charges of dynamite conspiracy growing out of the recent strike at Lawrence, Mass.

August 31.—The centenary of the launching of the first passenger steamboat in European waters is celebrated at Glasgow. . . . Col. C. P. Townsley succeeds General Barry as superintendent of the United States Military Academy at West Point.

September 2.—Storms and floods cause the death of more than forty persons in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio. . . . Socialists in Berlin hold sixty-nine mass-meetings in protest against the high cost of meat.

September 3.—The sixth International Congress for Testing Materials begins its sessions in New York City.

September 4.—Prof. E. A. Schaefer, president of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, expresses his belief in the possibility of forming life by chemical action. . . . The eighth International Congress of Applied Chemistry begins its sessions at Washington. . . . The national motorboat speed championship is won by Great Britain with the *Maple Leaf IV*, on Huntington

Bay, N. Y.; the thirty-mile course is traversed at the rate of more than forty-three miles an hour.

September 5.—The twenty-foot hydroplane *Tech Jr.* breaks all speed records on Huntington Bay, N. Y., running one mile at the rate of 58.3 statute miles an hour.

September 6.—President Taft addresses the convention of the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association, at New London. . . . Roland G. Garros establishes a new record for altitude in an aeroplane, 16,240 feet.

September 9.—Prof. Vilhjalmar Stefansson returns to Seattle, after four years exploration in the Arctic, and reports that he found on Victoria Island 2000 descendants of the Norsemen who migrated to America before the year 1000. . . . The international aeroplane race for the James Gordon Bennett trophy is won for France by Jules Vedrines, at Chicago, flying 125 miles at the rate of 105½ miles an hour. . . . The Government crop report indicates record harvests of corn and spring wheat.

September 11.—The twenty-third Eucharistic Congress meets at Vienna. . . . Twelve thousand veterans parade at Los Angeles in connection with the national encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic.

September 13.—The funeral ceremonies of the late Emperor Mutsuhito are begun at Tokio; General Nogi, supreme military councillor of Japan, and his wife, commit suicide as a tribute to the late Emperor, in accordance with an ancient custom. . . . The wage dispute between the South-eastern railroads and their conductors and trainmen is referred for arbitration to Commissioner of Labor Neill and Judge Knapp of the Commerce Court.

September 14.—Howard W. Gill, of Baltimore, is killed at the Chicago aviation meet by colliding in his machine with another aviator.

September 15.—Ten boys, recruits at the United States naval training school in Chicago, are drowned during a storm on Lake Michigan.

OBITUARY

August 15.—Brig.-Gen. Edward Mortimer Hayes, U. S. A., retired, 69. . . . Charles W. Stone, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania, and ex-Congressman, 69. Edmund M. Wheelwright, the noted Boston architect, 57.

August 16.—Dr. Isaac Hull Platt, of Philadelphia, a prominent believer in the Baconian theory, 59. . . . William Stockney Lamson, a pioneer inventor of cash carriers, 66.

August 18.—Herbert M. Heath, author of *Maine's direct-primary law*, 59. . . . Miss Marguerite Saxton, formerly a well-known Shakespearean actress, 63. . . . Nathaniel D. Jones, an old-time Boston actor, 74.

August 19.—Simon Mandel, a prominent Chicago merchant, 75.

August 20.—General William Booth, founder and commander-in-chief of the Salvation Army, 83 (see page 427). . . . Johann Martin Schleyer, inventor of Volapuk, the international language, 73. . . . Major-Gen. Joseph Hayes, a noted Civil War commander, 76.

August 21.—Ex-Congressman Thomas H. Dale, of Pennsylvania, 66. . . . Sir William Japp Sinclair, an eminent English surgeon, 66.

August 23.—Brig.-Gen. Edwin Vose Sumner, U. S. A., retired, 77. . . . Philip Burrill Low, formerly member of Congress from New York, 76.

August 24.—Dr. William E. Hatcher, of Virginia, a widely known Baptist clergyman, 78. . . . Alexis Suvorin, the noted Russian editor, 78.

August 26.—David Blaustein, for many years director of the Hebrew Educational Alliance of New York City, 48.

August 27.—Dr. James E. Newcomb, of New York, a noted specialist in diseases of the throat, nose, and chest, 55. . . . Col. Edward Cunningham, known as the "sugar king" of Texas, 77.

August 29.—Louis Potter, the sculptor, 38.

August 30.—Rt. Rev. Charles Chapman Grafton, Bishop of Fond du Lac, 82. . . . Justice Charles A. Blair, of the Michigan Supreme Court, 58. . . . Prof. Theodor Gompers, an eminent Austrian philologist, 69. . . . Solomon Luna, believed to be the largest sheep-raiser in the world, 54. . . . Alfred Stedman Hartwell, Chief Justice of the Hawaii Supreme Court, 76.

September 1.—Hamilton King, United States Minister to Siam, 60. . . . Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, the negro composer, 37.

September 2.—Caroline White, formerly a well-known English authoress, 101.

September 3.—Captain John Calvin Martin, of New York, a prominent coal operator and philanthropist, 67.

September 4.—Dr. W. J. McGee, the noted anthropologist and geologist in the Government service, 59.

September 5.—Lieut.-Gen. Arthur MacArthur, U. S. A., retired, noted for his services in the Philippines, 67. . . . Dr. Charles Delano Cook, of New York, a leader in the dental profession, 86. . . . Mrs. Lillian Duncanson, a pioneer equal suffragist of Chicago.

September 7.—Brig.-Gen. Almond B. Wells, U. S. A., retired, 70. . . . Col. A. Loudon Snowden, formerly Minister to Spain, Greece, and the Balkan States, 75. . . . Major Benjamin Morgan Harrod, of New Orleans, a noted engineer and former member of the Isthmian Canal Commission, 75.

September 9.—Alexander Watkins Terrell, formerly United States Minister to Turkey, 84. . . . Emil Bohusch Frida, the noted Czech poet, 69. . . . John Hope, inventor of the pantograph machine used in copper-plate engraving, 92.

September 11.—Cardinal Peter Hector Coullie, Archbishop of Lyons, 83. . . . General William W. Gordon, of Georgia, a Confederate veteran and brigadier-general of volunteers in the Spanish war, 78.

September 12.—Edward A. Calahan, inventor of stock-tickers and other telegraphic instruments, 74. . . . Rev. Matthew Russell, a distinguished Irish Jesuit, 78.

September 13.—Gen. Count Mare-suke Nogi, the noted Japanese commander, 63 (see page 426). . . . Dr. K. A. Martin Kirschner, formerly Lord Mayor of Berlin, 70. . . . Ex-Congressman Jacob A. Beidler, of Cleveland, 59.

THE CAMPAIGN IN CARTOONS



THE "OPEN SEASON" FOR MOOSE

From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland)



THE VOTER BOMBARDED

Cannon to right of him, cannon to left of him, cannon in front of him, volleyed and thundered

From the *Journal* (Sioux City)



THE HUNTERS

The "Special Privilege" Hunters gleefully anticipating the capture of the "Bull Moose."

From the *North American* (Philadelphia)



THE G. O. P. SYRUP IS "THINNER"

(The Republican majority in Vermont was considerably smaller than usual in the recent State election)

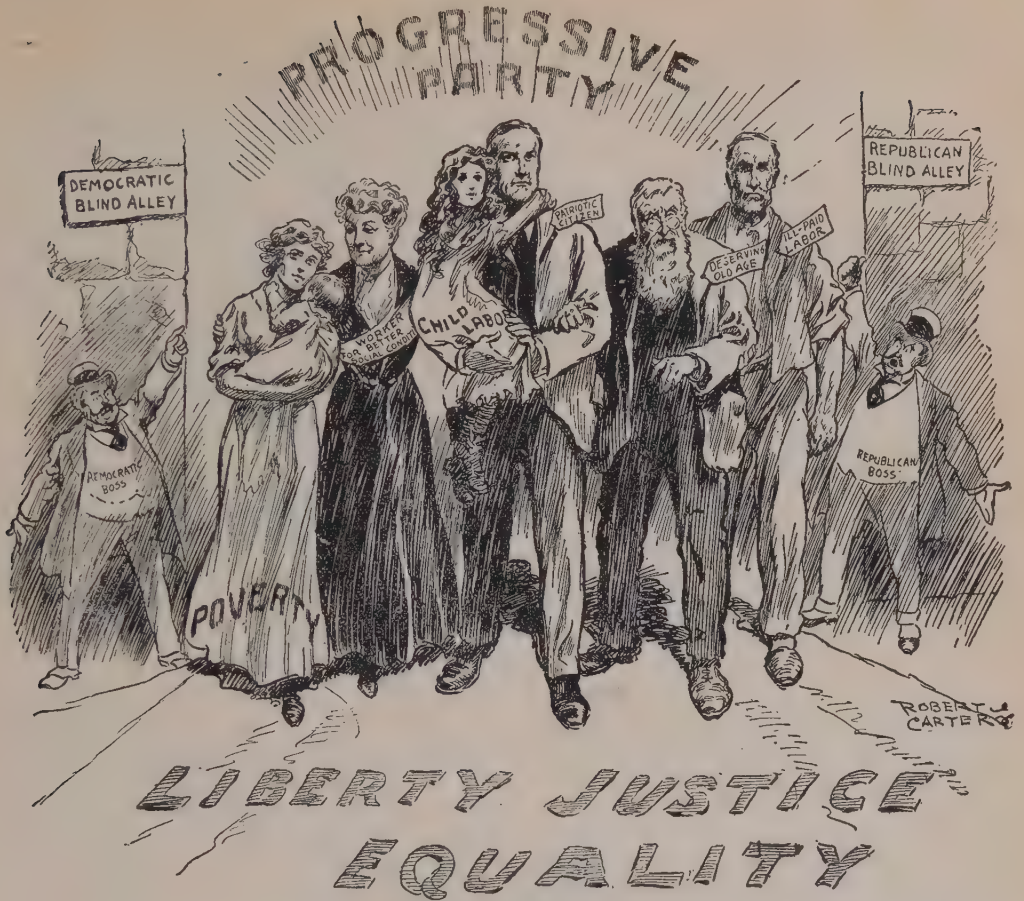
From the *Daily News* (Chicago)



AFTER TWO LONG YEARS!

(Maine returned to the Republican party in the State election last week)

From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus)



LIBERTY JUSTICE EQUALITY

THE "OPEN ROAD"

"I suppose you know the force that is behind the new party that has recently been formed—the so-called Progressive party. It is a force of discontent with the regular parties of the United States. It is the feeling that men have gone into blind alleys and come out often enough, and that they propose to find an open road for themselves."—WOODROW WILSON
From the *Journal* (Boston)



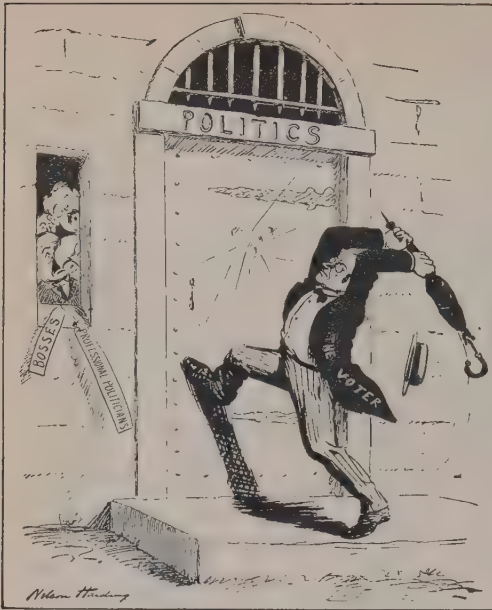
THOSE ANNOYING CHILDREN

(Governor Wilson's writings are being quoted against him)
From the *Evening Star* (Washington)



A LESSON FOR MR. MURPHY OF NEW YORK

THE SCHOOLMASTER (Wilson): "When one party nominates an exceptionally strong candidate, what course should a rival party pursue?" From the *Sun* (Baltimore)



THE VOTER: "LEMME IN"
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn)



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THE ELEPHANT: "IF I WASN'T IN SUCH A NERVOUS,
RUNDOWN CONDITION MYSELF, I WOULDN'T BE
SCARED, EITHER"

From *Harper's Weekly* (New York)



BETTER BE CAREFUL, MR. "INTERESTS"
From the *Daily News* (Chicago)



MOONSTRUCK!

(A Republican view of the Demo-
cratic tariff position)
From the *Press* (New York)



TEASING

(The "Senate Investigating Committee" lady is doing the "Campaign Contributions" wash. Hiding behind her skirts is a puling urchin labeled "Taft forces," who is being challenged to a fight by the truculent Teddy. In other words, Mr. Roosevelt is eager to thresh the whole thing out in a thorough investigation)

From the Post (Pittsburgh)



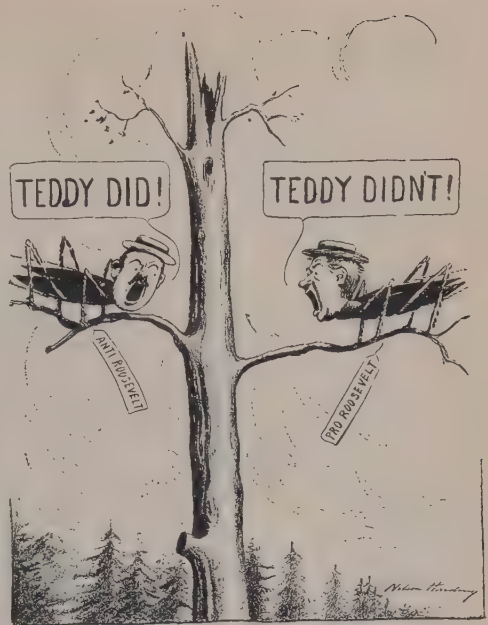
PENROSE SHOOTING HIS BOLT

From the North American (Philadelphia)



OPEN SEASON FOR COONS

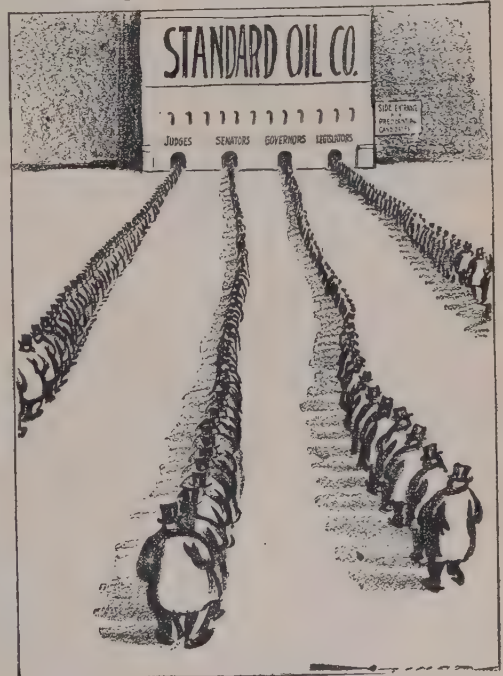
From the North American (Philadelphia)



KATYDIDS

From the Eagle (Brooklyn)

The cartoons on this page refer to the famous Standard Oil letters to Senator Penrose published in *Hearst's Magazine*. Mr. Penrose's explanations, the resulting Congressional investigation, and Colonel Roosevelt's long letter made a sensational episode of the campaign.



PAY DAY

From the Post-Dispatch (St. Louis)

NOGI, A SYMBOL OF OLD JAPAN

IN that strange commingling of the old and the new, the medieval and the modern, which made the funeral ceremonies of the late Emperor Mutsuhito of Japan so impressive last month, there was one act that

with China, the Russo-Japanese conflict found him among the most sternly tried and proven of Japan's warriors. His supreme achievement was the siege and capture of Port Arthur.

Nogi never took credit to himself for the greatness of his exploits. He was the embodiment of that impersonality of devotion which made the warriors of Japan so terrible in battle, and which paid tribute to the virtues of the Emperor of their glorious achievements. He was a poet of a high order, a poet of the kind that Whitman describes when he says "his heart was a poem." In his splendid tribute appearing in the *New York Times*, Richard Barry, the war correspondent, who knew Nogi personally, says:

Nogi was a classic figure. Plutarch should have had him. He belonged with Cato and Brutus, with Socrates and Lycurgus. Of all the human beings I have ever known he rises in my memory as the one superb, complete person. He was at once soldier and poet, statesman and artist. Always he was the gentleman—wondrously gentle, and a man to the bone.

This death he has died should not sadden. I rejoice with him that he concluded his life so harmoniously in accord with his stoic traditions. According to his standards, to the heritage that lay upon him, to the ideals that bound him through sixty-four gloriously true years, it was right.

Such a death was his kismet. His two sons, his only children, had been killed in battle, almost under his eyes, one of them actually under his command. Thus his line had been exterminated. To a Japanese that in itself is fatalistic. The gods had called the blood from earth, and there but remained the propitious moment for him, also, to respond to the call. The moment arrived with the death of his Emperor. Thus was concluded the period of his usefulness in this sphere, and he offered the last full measure of his devotion. Let us forget that it is not our measure of devotion. It was his—one more cryptic than ours—and he filled it. . . . With the death of this extraordinary man—poet and soldier—the old Japan passes. He was the arch-type of the old high order of chivalric thinking, of unshrinking living, and of stoical dying. Other great men may come, but such a great man as this we are not likely to see again.



GEN. COUNT NOGI, WHO GAVE UP HIS LIFE AS A TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF THE LATE EMPEROR MUTSUHITO

stands out in tragic dignity as the splendid symbol of almost all those qualifications that have made the Japanese people great. In order that the soul of his Imperial Majesty Mutsuhito might not go unattended to eternal bliss, General Count Nogi, hero of Port Arthur, the best type of old Japan in modern years, committed suicide. His wife immediately followed his example.

Mare-suke Nogi, Samurai of the Choshu clans, had grown to manhood before his nation had awakened. By birth destined to the profession of arms, trained like a Spartan in hardihood and valor, simple and direct of manner, and of unblemished reputation, veteran of the Satsuma rebellion and the war

THE FOUNDER OF THE SALVATION ARMY, AND HIS SUCCESSOR

ONE day in 1861 all England was talking about the sudden appearance of the fiery young apostle of a new religious creed. William Booth's methods were declared to be an outrage upon good taste and pious respectability. He was called a madman and a quack. That was more than fifty years ago. On August 20, 1912, the whole world noted and mourned the death of "General" William Booth, preacher, practical philanthropist, scholar, head of the Salvation Army, with outposts all over the world and probably the most aggressive religious organization of our time.

The death of "General" Booth, undoubtedly the greatest religious revivalist of his day, closed one of the most remarkable careers of recent times. It was aptly said of him that he had the missionary fervor of a Wesley and the organizing power of a Kitchener. He was a born leader of men, that sort of leader that Carlyle describes as "one who has made fortunes out of the waste material of human life."

William Booth was born in Nottingham in 1829, the son of a builder. At thirteen he left the Church of England and joined the Wesleyans. Two years later he was "converted," or, as he put it, "was reconciled to God, saved and preserved to all eternity from the penalties of sin." He at once set out on his lifework of saving the bodies and souls of other men. In 1855, while a Wesleyan minister, he married Miss Catharine Mumford, who later became one of the chief founders and organizers of the Salvation Army. The Rev. William Booth soon became one of the strongest evangelistic forces in the church. He toured the entire British Isles, and in 1865 settled in the East End of London and formed the Christian Mission, which thirteen years later developed into the Salvation Army.

From "a sect professing crude doctrines taught by strange methods" the Salvation Army grew into a "world-wide spiritual and commercial enterprise"—to quote from the tribute in the *London Times*. To-day it is established in fifty-six countries and colonies. It numbers nearly nine thousand circles, corps, and societies, and more than twenty-one thousand officers and employees. It is, par

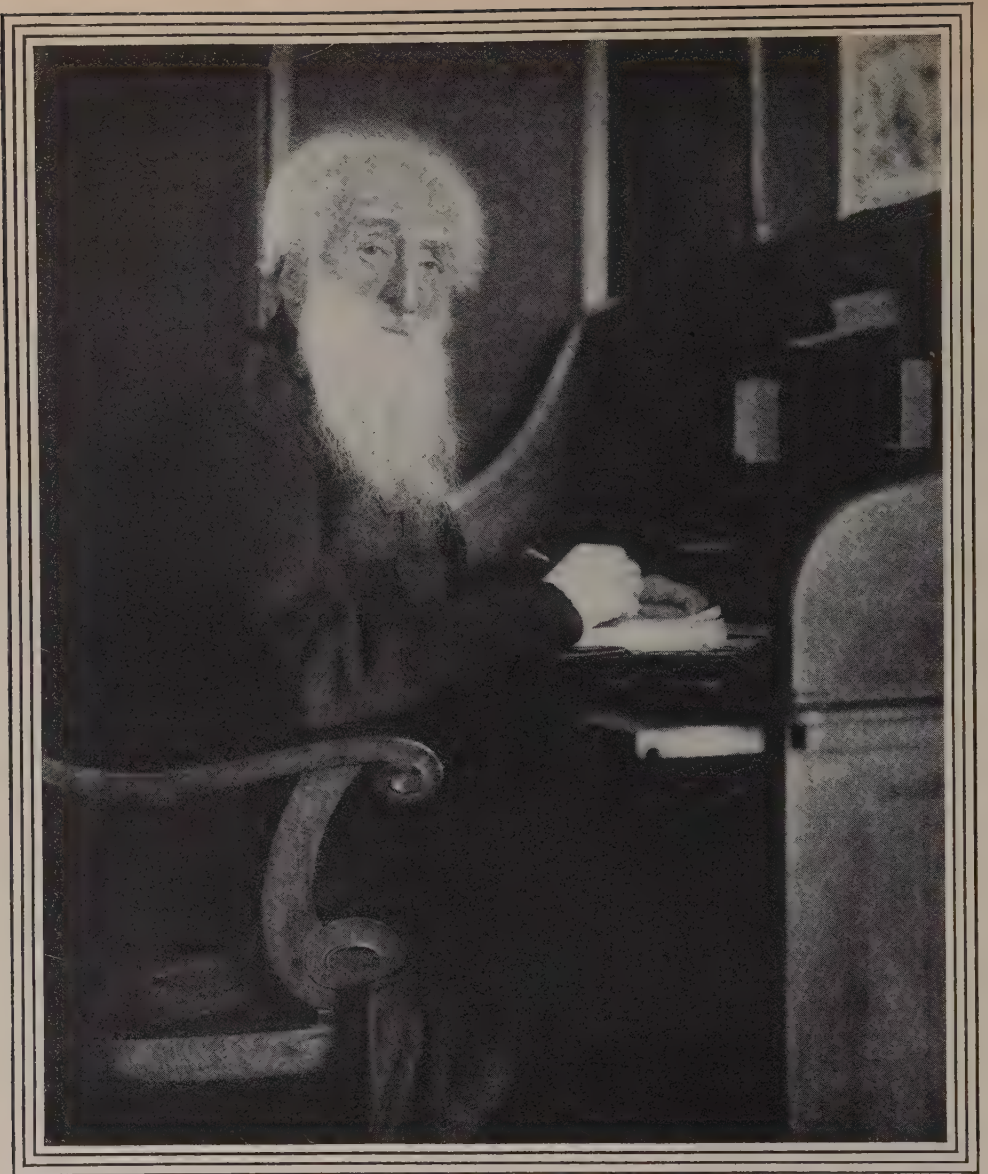
excellence, the great "institutional church." Besides its purely spiritual work it supports prison-gate and rescue work homes, homes for boys and girls, farm colonies, homes for sailors, soldiers, and emigrants, maternity homes, nursing schools, Samaritan brigades, hospital and benevolent visitation work, police-court work, Indian schools, and other large social enterprises. It has printing and banking works of its own, publishes its own journals and music, has an insurance society, and in some countries it trains its own architects and supervises the erection of its own buildings. Its reform work has been due to the inspiration of William Booth and his wife. The General's personality was the mainspring of the organization.

It was not enough for converts to profess penitence. The gospel of work was insisted on as the "way out" of "Darkest London." It was characteristic of General Booth that in formulating his radical, dramatic schemes he should have enlisted the vigorous pen of the late William T. Stead. In 1890 General Booth's book, "In Darkest England and the Way Out," on which Mr. Stead had collaborated, was published. It proposed to do away with pauperism and vice in England by the establishment of a series of colonies abroad, the institution of different kinds of rescue work among men and women in London, and the foundation of banks and free legal advice bureaus for the poor. A large part of the scheme was carried out successfully.

William Booth, throughout his entire life, displayed unceasing energy, rare good humor, and unflinching devotion. At the age of more than fourscore he was "a man worth looking at."

"His tall, spare form, with a tousel of white hair sticking up from the brow and beard whiter still; his huge, hooked nose; the Semitic head craned forward; the ascetic, eager face, keen yet kindly; the blazing eyes and long arms, still lithe, made up the image of some prophet or lawgiver of old."

When criticism has done its worst to Salvation Army methods and the career of its founder, it is impossible, says the *London Spectator* editorially, "to deny nobility to a leader who never despaired of a soul, however degraded, and who brought within the range



GENERAL WILLIAM BOOTH, FOUNDER AND FIRST COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE SALVATION ARMY, WHO DIED ON AUGUST 20

of spiritual influences thousands of persons to whom no other form of religion could have appealed."

While General Booth was the traveling ambassador, the symbol and inspiration of the Salvation Army work, it was not his hand that created the machinery and kept it moving smoothly. Seated very quietly at his desk in London was Bramwell Booth, the General's eldest son, with an executive ability which would have made him the highly paid president of many a business corporation. He was the general manager of the enterprise, "whose supreme anxiety was to extend and consoli-

date the work of the army, to smooth away difficulties, to practise economy himself and to encourage it in others." Young Booth had early leanings toward a medical career, but, to the great satisfaction of both his parents, he gave his youthful enthusiasm to Salvation Army work. He showed remarkable aptitude for organizing the detail work of the enterprise, and soon became chief of staff.

Twenty-two years ago General Booth designated his successor as the army's head, and sealed the name up in an envelope, not to be opened until his death. On the day of William Booth's funeral, at which all Englishmen paid

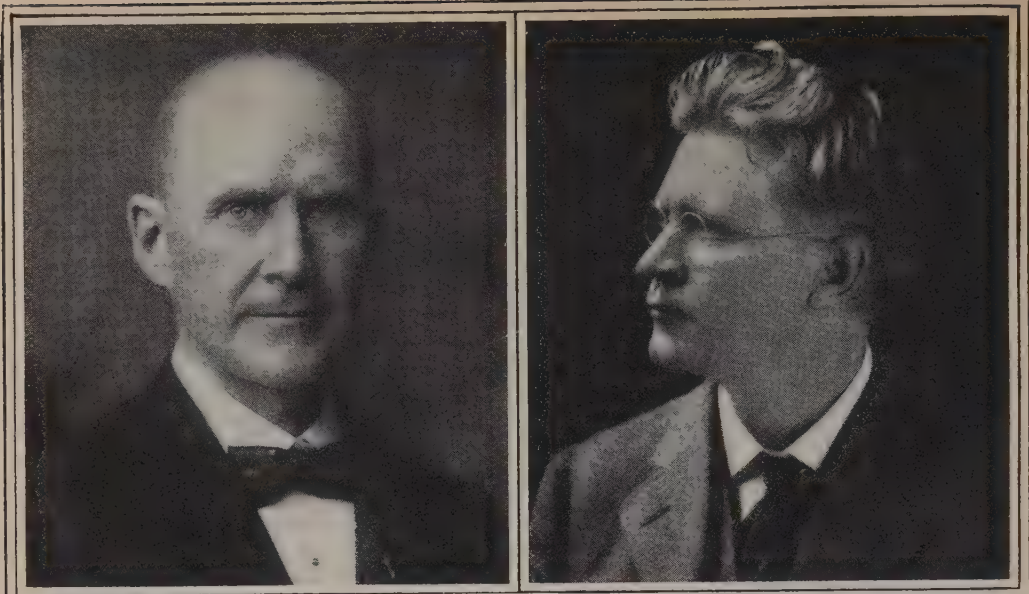


GENERAL BOOTH II.—BRAMWELL BOOTH AND HIS WIFE

their tribute of respect, the envelope was opened and the name of the new chief acclaimed.

Bramwell Booth is fifty-six years of age. Personally he is noted for his keen sympathy with humanity in distress, his firm but gentle dealings with his under officers, and particularly his chivalrous treatment of women. It is said that the exceptionally high standard of ethics with regard to marriage which has always been maintained by the Salvation Army is due largely to the personal ideals and efforts of the new commander. In commending the work of General Booth II. and his fitness for his high office, to social reformers

generally, the London *Daily Express* emphasizes Bramwell Booth's dictum, that "the improvement of the individual is the only way of causing a radical improvement in society." The supreme utility of the Salvation Army, it says, is that "it shouts, shrilly if you will, but with magnificent sincerity, that the spark of the divine lies hidden and smoldering in the soul of the wastrel. A great nation demands character in the mass of its citizens. Much of the so-called ameliorative legislation of our time kills character, and such institutions as the Salvation Army were never more necessary."



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MR. EUGENE V. DEBS, OF INDIANA

MR. EMIL SEIDEL, OF WISCONSIN

THE NOMINEES OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY FOR THE PRESIDENCY AND VICE-PRESIDENCY

THE MINOR PARTIES IN THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

TO the intelligent observer in Europe, and to many persons here who are not actively interested in our political situation, it may seem as though the relative claims of the Republican party, the Democrats, and the new Progressive organization are the only ones which are being presented to the voters of the country, or about which they are concerned.

And yet, one voter out of every eighteen— if he follows precedent and the law of average—will cast his vote next November for a Presidential candidate not on any one of those tickets. Eight hundred thousand persons "threw their votes away" in 1908, by voting for one or another of five candidates who had not the slightest chance of being elected. This represents a larger number of voters than appeared at the polls that year in the seven Southern States of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Surely the creeds of these men are worthy of careful consideration.

Not in twenty years, however, has there been so small a number of minor political organizations which have seen fit to enter the contest for the Presidency. Besides the candidacies of Mr. Taft, Governor Wilson, and

Colonel Roosevelt, there are those of Mr. Debs, the Socialist, Mr. Chafin, the Prohibitionist, and Mr. Reimer, representing the Socialist Labor group.

The People's party,—the only minor party within the last fifty years which ever carried a State for its Presidential nominee,—is without a national ticket for the first time since 1892. In that year, General Weaver polled more than a million votes and carried five Western States. The Populist strength has gradually diminished, however, and four years ago there were less than 30,000 voters in the party ranks.

Mr. Hearst's Independence party, which had made its appearance in but one national campaign,—that of 1908,—has also decided to remain out of the running this year.

It is rather interesting to note that the Presidential candidates of both these parties in the last campaign, Mr. Thomas E. Watson and Mr. Thomas L. Hisgen, have openly espoused the cause of Colonel Roosevelt and the Progressives. This becomes even more significant when one remembers that these organizations have usually been considered as appealing more to Democrats than to Republicans.

The greatest of the minor political organizations, in point of votes cast, is the Socialist party, although it is the youngest of those still in the field. Formed in 1900 as an offshoot of the Socialist Labor party, it is now in the midst of its fourth campaign; and it has grown in strength with each quadrennial appeal to the people. Its nominee for the Presidency—this year as in previous years—is Mr. Eugene Victor Debs, of Indiana, a fluent speaker and an indefatigable campaigner. Mr. Debs is fifty-seven years of age. In his thirteen years as Presidential candidate and lecturer he has probably been seen and heard by nearly every one of those who will cast their votes for him. The nominee for the Vice-Presidency is Emil Seidel, who was recently mayor of Milwaukee. Last spring, in his contest for reelection, he received 30,000 votes; but the Republicans and Democrats of Milwaukee had united upon a fusion candidate purposely to defeat Mr. Seidel, and they succeeded. The slogan of the party once more is "A million Socialist votes," although there were less than half that number in 1908. Considerable cause for elation is found by the members of this organization in the results of municipal elections throughout certain sections of the country two years ago, and in the doubling of the Socialist vote in the State election in Vermont last month.

The Socialist Labor party is the older of the Socialist organizations, having been formed in 1883. It reached the zenith of its career in 1900, with less than 40,000 votes.



THE SOCIALIST CHAMPION ENTERING THE LISTS
From the *Coming Nation* (Girard, Kansas)



Arthur E. Reimer August Gillhaus
SOCIALIST-LABOR NOMINEES FOR THE PRESIDENCY
AND VICE-PRESIDENCY

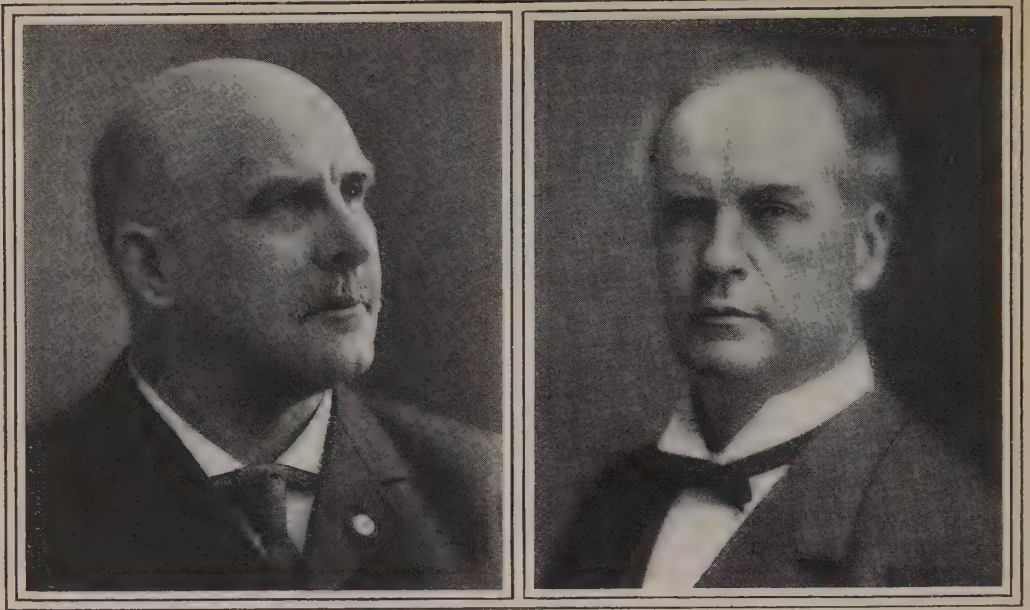
Eight years later its strength had dwindled to about one-third that number. Its candidates this year are Arthur E. Reimer, for President, and August Gillhaus, for Vice-President. The Socialist Labor party demands the abolition of the wage system and the establishment of "industrial self-government of the workers, for the workers, by the workers."

The Prohibitionists have seen many of their proposals for reform adopted in different States, even though their candidates for office do not seem to be supported to any great extent at the polls. The saloon has been abolished in a number of States in recent years, and no little credit for this result is due to the ceaseless agitation which has been carried on by the national Prohibition party. Woman suffrage, now obtaining in six States, has for many years been advocated by the Prohibitionists, as well as by the Socialists. The direct election of United States Senators has also been urged by them for some time. In fact, aside from the planks advocating a prohibition of the manufacture and sale of liquor, the platform of the Prohibitionists might easily be mistaken for that of the Progressives.

Mr. Eugene W. Chafin and Dr. Aaron S. Watkins, the nominees of this party, were before the country in the last campaign. They are eloquent and earnest speakers, and four years ago they polled a quarter of a million votes. Mr. Chafin was for many

Year	Socialist	Socialist Labor	People's	Prohibition	Independence
1892	.....	21,164	1,041,028	264,133	.....
1896	.....	36,274	245,728	132,007	.....
1900	87,814	39,739	50,373	208,914	.....
1904	402,283	31,249	117,183	258,536	.....
1908	420,793	13,825	29,100	253,840	82,872

THE VOTE CAST BY THE MINOR PARTIES DURING
THE LAST TWENTY YEARS



MR. EUGENE W. CHAFIN

DR. AARON S. WATKINS

PROHIBITION NOMINEES FOR THE PRESIDENCY AND VICE-PRESIDENCY

years a successful lawyer in Wisconsin and Illinois, but of late he has given most of his time to the lecture platform. He was graduated from the University of Wisconsin in the class with Senator La Follette, and is the oldest of the six candidates for the Presidency, being in his sixty-first year. Dr. Watkins has been a lawyer, a Methodist Episcopal minister, professor of literature at

Ohio Northern University, and president of Asbury College, Kentucky.

The voters of these minor parties register an indorsement of theories and principles. With them it is not a question of the personal fitness of candidates, although oftentimes the men are in every way qualified to fulfill properly the duties of the offices for which they are nominated.



THE "WATER WAGON" IRRIGATING ITS OPPONENTS
From the News (Chicago)

THE WORK OF THE RECENT SESSION OF CONGRESS

BY JUDSON C. WELLIVER

THE long session of Congress which ended on August 26 was the first since the administration of Mr. Cleveland in which either of the three branches of the government had been different from the others in partisan affiliation. Mr. Taft's experience trying to drive in double harness a House of one party and a Senate of the other, was not unlike that of Mr. Cleveland. The nominally Republican Senate, under Mr. Taft, was hardly more loyal to the purposes and policies of the executive than was the nominally Democratic Senate with which Mr. Cleveland had to deal during the last two years of his second administration; Mr. Taft, like Mr. Cleveland, had on his hands for the latter half of his term a House overwhelmingly of the opposing political faith. That situation has always been productive of tribulation for the executive, and premonitory of a party revolution at the next Presidential election.

From the beginning of Republican ascendancy, the uniformity of this rule is worth recalling. In 1859 the Republicans captured the House; two years later, the country. They held all three divisions till 1874, when the Democrats carried the House and two years later carried House, Senate, and Presidency; and though they were counted out of the capital prize, the country stood by them so well that both Senate and House were Democratic throughout the entire administration of Mr. Hayes.

Latter-day students of politics, in their efforts to command for Mr. Hayes recognition as an efficient and successful President, count it vastly to his credit that he got so much from a Congress of the opposite faith. The withdrawal of the troops from the South, completion of reconstruction, resumption of specie payments, and other achievements were effected in spite of the fact that the administration began in the midst of animosities that boded only ill.

Comparing Mr. Hayes' record with those of Grant, Arthur, Cleveland, Harrison, and Taft—the other modern Presidents who have had to deal with Congresses controlled in either branch by the opposition—Mr. Hayes certainly demands respectful consideration.

The one President who had Congress solidly opposed to him throughout, he so far rehabilitated his party that on his retirement it elected President and House, and lacked but one vote of tying the Senate.

Mr. Taft has demonstrated little of the faculty for getting on with either his own party or the opposition. In the first half of his administration, with Congress overwhelmingly Republican, he displayed positive genius for doing the things calculated to disrupt his party and strengthen the opposition. Nineteen hundred and ten inevitably brought the Democrats into possession of a big House majority. Elected on the issue of Mr. Taft's omissions and commissions, that House was the country's challenge to the party in power; a warning and an admonition. Mr. Taft might have stolen some of his opponents' thunder if he had been a more skillful politician; instead, he played into their hands. He might have kept his own counsel concerning the tariff, for instance, and by signing some of the revision bills that were put up to him, divided with the Democrats the credit for attempting some real revision. Instead, he allowed it to be known early that he would veto any tariff legislation that did not, in his opinion, give evidence of a desire to reflect the findings of the Tariff Board.

THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS,—WOOL AND SUGAR

In fact, the President not only vetoed bills revising schedules on which the Tariff Board had not been heard, but he vetoed the wool bill, passed after Congress had received and considered the board's report on wool. He vetoed this bill on the general ground that it was passed without reasonable consideration for the findings of the board. In taking this position he challenged both the Democratic House and the Republican Senate that had agreed upon the measure. It was not drastic in its reductions; it was supported by many Republicans who have quite as consistent protection records as Mr. Taft can boast. In vetoing it, the President assumed to charge that Congress had wilfully refused to consider the Tariff Board's advices. To

many members of his own party, this seemed quite an unnecessary and unwarranted imputation against the good faith of Congress; particularly, of a Republican Senate that only two years before had been in complete command of Mr. Taft's confidence. Mr. Taft was thus placed in the position of having indorsed an upward revision of the wool schedule, in 1909, made by the Republican Senate, without information from a tariff board, and at a time when the country demanded downward revision; then of turning squarely about, and vetoing a downward revision, passed by a Republican Senate, armed with the Tariff Board's elaborate report, and at a time when the demand for downward revision was vastly stronger than it had been in 1909! However sincere and courageous the motives inspiring it, the politics of such a maneuver can only be regarded as execrably bad.

In the affair of the wool revision, Mr. Taft's position was no more unfortunate than was that of the Democratic House in respect of the sugar revision measure. Here was another schedule that had been condemned by well-informed public opinion. The need of revision was admitted on all hands, for it had been shown beyond uncertainty that the Dingley and Payne measures, in addition to imposing excessive duties, were dishonest and tricky. Their jokers favored the refining combination, mulcted the public, and could not be justified by any argument that they raised revenue, for they did not.

Yet from the beginning the House appeared to seek a course by which it could seem to insist upon revision, while making sure that there should be none. That course, as finally laid by the artful political navigators, was to pass through the House a free-sugar measure which was perfectly certain to meet defeat in the Senate, and then, refusing to compromise in conference, to proclaim that a Republican Senate had prevented a vast saving in the public's sugar costs. That course was followed.

So the House passed its free-sugar measure and sent it to the Senate. That body made an entirely new measure. It removed the "refiner's differential" between raw and refined sugars, and took out the vicious "Dutch standard of color" clause. These twin jokers had for several decades constituted the real guaranty of the refiners' monopoly and power of extortion. In addition, the Senate made a moderate reduction of the duties. When it was done, the Senate bill was amply protective of the Louisiana and beet interests,

and would probably have raised as much revenue as the present law; some of the statisticians were confident it would raise a little more. It would have admitted the light-brown unrefined centrifugals on the basis of their comparative sugar content, instead of completely barring them, as the present differential-Dutch standard combination of jokers practically does. It would have safeguarded the consumer against extortion, because whenever the refiner attempted to impose an unfair price, the consumer would be able to get the best grades of centrifugals in open market; the competition of unrefined sugar would check excesses on the part of the refiners.

This Senate bill was supported by *all save two of the Democratic Senators* voting on it; it was, therefore, just as good Democratic doctrine, on sugar, as was the House free-sugar measure. The Democratic House was for free sugar or no revision; the Democratic side of the Senate was for this moderate change, and quite prepared to reject the House program if necessary!

Leader Underwood headed the House conferencees; Senator Penrose led the Senate's; and from the beginning it was perfectly understood that there would be no agreement. There never was a chance for agreement. Political Washington, the side of Washington that accurately guesses, weeks or months in advance, what is going to happen, had predicted just that event from the beginning. Practically every man who in the Democratic caucus and in the House voted for the free-sugar, or no-revision program, knew that would be the outcome.

Those two schedules, sugar and wool, were the ones that had most right to demand reforms. The President vetoed revision of one, and the woolen trust profited; the House just as literally vetoed revision of the other, and the sugar trust benefited!

These two instances are completely illustrative of the whole course of tariff legislation at this session. At the very beginning, it was frankly understood among responsible Democrats that the lines of the play must say revision, but the "business" must stand pat. It was natural that the old-line Republicans should place as many obstacles as possible. The little group of progressives, some Democrats, some Republicans, pleaded in vain for straightforward, frank attention to the task in hand, and for earnest effort in behalf of the consumer. But the majority of Republicans wanted to prevent all revision because they were constitutionally opposed; the majority

of Democrats wanted to prevent it, because they wanted to "save up the tariff issue" in all its force for the fall campaign.

The sugar schedule produces at present about \$50,000,000 a year of revenue. In order to make up what should be lost by admitting it free, the Ways and Means Committee proposed an income excise tax; that is, an extension to private incomes from business, of the provisions of the corporation excise-tax of 1909. In effect, it would be a tax on incomes, provided they were earned in business, profession, etc. This measure, estimated to raise from \$50,000,000 a year upward, got through both houses in different forms, and died in conference. There was no need for the additional revenue it would raise, if there were to be no sugar legislation; so the two measures died together.

REPUBLICANS, DEMOCRATS, AND THE COTTON TARIFF

This incident has shown how free sugar was first-rate Democracy in the House, while substantial protection of sugar was not unorthodox Democracy in the Senate. Now another case will present another anomaly of the same sort. It deals with the Cotton Tariff Revision bill, which was finally agreed upon by both houses and then vetoed by the President.

The Ways and Means Committee prepared a cotton bill, carrying considerable reductions. When it came before the House, Mr. Hill of Connecticut, Republican, offered as a substitute the Republican bill, drawn, he explained, in conformity with the recommendations of the Tariff Commission after its study of this schedule. The Republicans supported and the Democrats voted down the Hill substitute, notwithstanding that it was commonly conceded that, *ad valorem*, the Hill bill actually provided lower average duties than the Ways and Means bill. The Ways and Means bill was then passed, by Democratic votes, and went to the Senate.

Here, Senator La Follette offered as a substitute the very same Hill measure that the House Republicans had supported, and it was voted down by the Senate Republicans. That is, the measure that had been a badge of true Republicanism in the House, was voted down by the Republicans of the Senate!

PRESIDENTIAL VETOES

Determined efforts were made to pass the vetoed tariff bills over the President's opposition; some of them mustered the necessary

two-thirds in the House, by dint of unexpectedly large Progressive Republican support; but none could count two-thirds in the Senate. The vetoed measures included a revision of the metal schedule, along with wool and cotton. At the close of the long, futile and discouraging effort to get some revision, it was accurately observed that "for four years Congress has been trying to revise the tariff downward; the net results are the Payne-Aldrich bill's upward revision, and the free-paper-from-Canada provisions of the reciprocity measure!"

Another veto by President Taft killed the effort to abolish the Court of Commerce, established two years ago. The court has rendered a series of highly unpopular decisions, which were seized upon as justifying the opinion that it was a menace to the whole system of interstate commerce regulation. The law establishing it gave it sole jurisdiction of appeals from the Interstate Commission. Both houses passed the measure for its repeal, as a section of the Legislative appropriation bill. In that appropriation bill was also included a provision limiting civil-service employees of the government to seven years' tenure of their positions. The President in his veto message indicated his opposition to both these provisions. Thereupon the House struck out the seven-year tenure clause, but left in the abolition of the Commerce Court, and repassed the bill. Then the President vetoed it again because of the Commerce Court abolition. There was a determined effort to pass this over the veto, but, as with the tariff measures, it failed.

One veto by Mr. Taft entitled him to credit from all friends of conservation. It was given in the case of the Coosa River (Ala.) Dam bill, on the ground that a very valuable water-power privilege was being given away without necessary restrictions on the term, rates that might be charged, etc. This veto was in line with the policy adopted by President Roosevelt, and to which Mr. Taft has consistently adhered, as to legislation giving away water-power privileges.

THE PARCELS POST

The recent session accomplished, despite political and other handicaps, an unusual amount of legislation, much of it very important. That accomplishment was largely due to the insistence of public opinion and the disposition of Congress, pending a Presidential campaign, to defer to national demands. Much of the most important new legislation

was written into appropriation bills,—a procedure much criticized, but often necessary if the legislation is to be passed at all.

The parcels-post legislation was written into the Post Office appropriation bill. Though one of the important accomplishments of the session, it is recognized as yet experimental. On rural and city delivery routes, a rate of 5 cents for the first pound and 1 cent for each additional pound is fixed; the rates increasing with distance, through eight zones, from 50 to 1800 and more miles. For the latter distance, the rate is 12 cents for each pound. The maximum weight is 11 pounds.

Weights, zone distance, and rates may be modified by the Postmaster General, with the consent and under supervision of the Interstate Commerce Commission, as experience may show is desirable. Any article is mailable if not likely to do harm in the mails, if not over 11 pounds in weight, and not exceeding 72 inches in combined length and girth.

A powerful sentiment has developed in Congress in favor of the parcels-express program; that is, the condemnation and taking over of the express companies' properties, franchises, etc., and articulating together the entire express and postal service as a single government facility. It was too big and revolutionary an undertaking for the present, however; if the system now being established shall be measurably successful, the postal express will doubtless be lost sight of for an indefinite time.

PANAMA CANAL LEGISLATION

Legislation dealing with transportation was extensive, varied, and highly important. The Panama Canal measure carried through several riders of the greatest significance. It provides primarily for administration of the canal and government of the zone, under a governor with very large authority to name subordinates. The President may fix tolls and alter them at his discretion. The Senate adopted a provision permitting toll-free transportation of all American business, foreign or domestic. This was greeted with an uproar of protest, at home and abroad, on the ground that it violated the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty's guaranty of equal treatment to all nations; and finally the free-toll provision was restricted to our coastwise shipping. Even against this, Great Britain has protested and announced her purpose of appealing to The Hague Arbitration Tribunal. It is

generally maintained that while Britain would have had a good case as against discrimination in favor of our foreign shipping, she cannot maintain a protest against free tolls for coastwise shipping. Our coast trade had been a monopoly for many years before the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty was negotiated, foreigners being excluded from it; therefore, it is contended, the grant of free tolls now is merely an incident of domestic policy.

A highly important provision written into this bill gives the Interstate Commerce Commission general authority over relations of rail and water carriers, even to the extent of denying use of the canal to ship lines financially affiliated with railroads, if the affiliation is deemed injurious to competition and commercial freedom. The provision extends, however, to all relationships between rail and water carriers, including the Great Lakes. It gives the Interstate Commission an authority it has long needed to make its regulatory work effective.

Yet another very important clause written into the Canal bill permits free registry of foreign-built ships under the American flag, and tariff-free admittance of ship-building materials. The general aim of all this legislation was to assure that shipping *via* the canal should be independent of and competitive with the railroads; and beyond that, to encourage American building and ownership of shipping. If these measures do not presently produce an expansion of the merchant marine, the next step will be a determined fight to repeal the present shipping laws, whose limitations on the manning and operation of American vessels are widely believed to have restricted the general expansion of our shipping.

INTERSTATE TRANSPORTATION

Some other measures relating to regulation of transportation made important progress, without becoming law. The bill authorizing the Interstate Commerce Commission to make a general and uniform classification of freight passed the Senate, but so late in the session that it failed of consideration in the House. Until such legislation passes, the railroads will continue, as in the past, able largely to negative the commission's control over rates, by the simple expedient of changing classifications.

The bill to regulate interstate commerce in liquors also failed. It provided that when liquor is transported in interstate commerce, into "dry" territory, the local authorities

shall have power to control its sale, under the State laws. For years bills to accomplish this purpose have been regularly smothered in committees; the same thing happened this season. Early in the session it became commonly understood that House leaders had given out word that such legislation must not pass, at least till after election. It was asphyxiated, through the acquiescence of the House Judiciary Committee.

LABOR LEGISLATION

Another measure which suffered a like fate was the Workmen's Compensation bill. It represents the results of a painstaking study by a commission, and undertakes to adopt the German system of compensation for accidents in industry. Its purpose is to impose such costs as a charge against the industry in which the accidents happen; to make the determination of amount of damages, and their collection, as nearly automatic as possible; to reduce the expenses of litigation, and to benefit, ultimately, the injured employee or his heirs, the employer, and the community as a whole. The Senate passed a bill which represented modifications of the commission's plan; most of the railroads favored it, as did the great bulk of organized labor. Nevertheless, there was opposition, charged to a minority of labor interests and to "ambulance-chasing lawyers," and the measure failed to get out of the House committee to which it was referred. It is expected to pass next session.

Despite the failure of this measure to become law, the late session was most productive of laws for the benefit of labor; and the Democratic House is entitled to the major share of credit for things accomplished. One of the most important measures, which, however, did not become law, is the Contempt-of-Court bill, which passed the House. In brief, this measure provides that one accused of contempt of court shall have a jury trial, if the act charged against him constituted a crime, and unless it is committed in the presence of the court or so near thereto as to obstruct the administration of justice. It is generally satisfactory to organized labor, and is one of the measures against which the old régime in the House always packed the Judiciary Committee. This time, after it had passed the House, it was stopped by a hostile Judiciary Committee in the Senate. Its prospects are not bright for escaping from that committee at the short session, for the Senate Judiciary is one of the most con-

servative committees on all such subjects, in either branch of Congress.

A labor measure that has become law, extends the old eight-hour act governing government work. It makes clear that the eight-hour day must apply not only in government establishments, but must be a condition of all work done on government contracts, thus clearing up points on which the old law was weak or obscure. It passed almost unanimously, but under pressure of Democratic insistence.

A measure strongly advocated by labor's representatives was passed, known as the Hughes-Borah bill, providing for a commission of nine members to investigate general industrial conditions. It was practically a direct outgrowth of the McNamara dynamiting outrages in Los Angeles and elsewhere. Both organized labor and the employing interests, as well as Congress, are to be represented on the commission, which is expected to make a lengthy and useful inquiry into general questions involving the relations of employers and employees, conditions in industries, wages, arbitration, mediation, and many other questions.

The Children's Bureau bill is hailed as a very significant opening of a line of humanitarian work heretofore hardly entered by the national government. The measure provides for a permanent bureau, which shall investigate problems of child life; education, employment, wages, hours of work, sanitary and moral conditions, etc. Miss Julia Lathrop has been appointed by President Taft as head of the bureau, and the choice has been universally approved.

Legislation for the benefit of American seamen, to relieve them from conditions that have been described as practical serfdom, passed the House and is likely to go through the Senate later. The bill for the creation of a Department of Labor, represented in the Presidential family by a cabinet officer, also passed the House.

THE BRAZILIAN "COFFEE TRUST"

In the line of trust regulation, one important bill has been initiated which seems likely to become law before the end of the short session. It is aimed at the "coffee trust," that combination of the Brazilian federal government, the Brazilian state of São Paulo, and some of the powers of international finance, which have valorized the Brazilian coffee crop and undertaken to control the world's market. The government

has been trying to reach this combination. The anti-trust sections of the old Wilson tariff act, never repealed, provide that a monopoly to raise prices is illegal, and that goods controlled by such a combination cannot be transported in interstate or foreign commerce. If so transported, they may be confiscated.

Attempts to apply this provision to the coffee owned by the combine, developed that, while the coffee is brought into the country subject to this act, it becomes exempt as soon as it is sold to the broker or wholesaler; and in practice, it is sold—at least nominally—before it gets in. Thereafter it is not the property of the combination, and cannot be confiscated. Mr. Norris, of Nebraska, has proposed to amend this by making the goods subject to seizure as soon as they get into the country, and are sold. The old law did not permit the seizure of goods from a foreign country until they should get into interstate commerce; the Norris measure would remove this exemption. The bill passed the House, and is promised action in the Senate next session. If passed, it would seem that it will reach the coffee trust and any other combination of international character.

OTHER IMPORTANT MEASURES

After many years of fighting and exasperating delays, the recent session passed the joint resolution submitting to the States a constitutional amendment providing for direct election of Senators. It will be laid before the legislatures of a large majority of States the coming winter. That it will be ratified at this time is hardly to be hoped. The income-tax amendment has been pending nearly four years, and has not yet mustered the necessary two-thirds of State indorsements.

The Tariff Board, created by the Payne-Aldrich Tariff act as the concession of a crumb to the general demand for a scientific method of dealing with tariff schedules, was abolished by a provision in an appropriation bill.

A joint commission of Senate and House members was provided, to study the country-roads problem, to determine whether the federal government should participate in building such roads, and to experiment with methods of road improvement. An appropriation of \$500,000 was made by Congress for use in this work.

Arbitration treaties with England and France were submitted by President Taft, and adopted after the Senate had so amended them that they had lost their original force.

The House adopted resolutions impeaching Justice Archbald of the Court of Commerce, on charges of using his judicial position improperly, in order to profit in business transactions. The articles of impeachment were laid before the Senate, which organized as a court and proceeded with the preliminaries of the trial. It will probably be concluded in the early part of the next session; possibly before the holiday recess.

The long fight against William Lorimer's right to his seat as a Senator from Illinois was ended with his exclusion by almost a two-thirds vote. The year previous, the Senate had declined to take his toga from him; and the change of front was purely a concession to aroused and indignant public opinion. The effort to exclude Senator Isaac Stephenson of Wisconsin, on the ground that he had corruptly spent a vast sum in securing his nomination and election, failed.

At the opening of the Congress session much was promised by way of economy in government expenses. Yet when all was done and the figures made up at the close, it was announced that the session's appropriations totaled \$1,019,636,143.66, against \$1,026,682,881.72 for the previous year. The reduction of \$7,046,000, it was pointed out, just about represented the cost of the one battleship, which was lopped off because the Democrats of the House positively declined to appropriate for two, as has been the policy in recent years.

However, the Democratic House is entitled to a statement of the fact that the appropriation total would have been much less had not the Senate vastly increased the figures fixed by the House. On the other hand, many of the cuts made by the House would only have deferred expenditures till a later time. The Democratic leadership in the House tried hard to stand on the policy of allowing for no new battleship construction, but the caucus finally forced a compromise on one new ship, to be the biggest and most powerful of its class in the world. Aside from battleships, however, this Congress treated the navy excellently; it made more provision for auxiliary vessels, such as are greatly needed, than any other session.



THE DIRECT PRIMARY: PROMISE AND PERFORMANCE

BY ARTHUR WALLACE DUNN

POPULAR primary elections as a method of giving citizens a direct choice of men to be nominated by their political parties have become a fixture in our political system. They have come to stay as have the Australian ballot, the punishment of crimes against the ballot box, and laws to limit campaign expenditures, as well as to give publicity to contributions and expenditures for political purposes. It should be the aim of the friends of the primary system to improve it. In most States amendments have been made to primary laws where they have been found defective, and in States dominated by progressive ideas many of the defects have been remedied. No doubt further changes will be made in the laws when found necessary.

Not only will the primary laws be improved, but they will be extended. States in which the direct primary is now unknown will have the complete system within a few years. States which have direct primaries for local officers will extend them to the selection of all officers and the election of delegates to Presidential conventions. In fact, it is generally believed that the old machine method of selecting delegates to national conventions has had its day, and it is predicted that in the future such delegates will be chosen by primaries and Presidential preference votes will afford the people an opportunity almost directly to nominate their candidates for President.

One reason why the primary laws in some States are inadequate is because they were framed by men who were unfriendly to the principle of direct nominations. It often happens that when the demand of the people for reform legislation becomes insistent the opponents of such legislation take hold of the proposed measures and skilfully frame them so that they become inadequate and unpopular. The primary law in New York is an example of this method of legislation. In some cases where laws have been so manipulated by unfriendly hands and have become unpopular on that account their repeal has been demanded. But this will not happen in regard to primary laws. They will be amended and improved, but not re-

pealed, because the people believe that only through the direct primary can they secure the nomination of men they desire as candidates of the party to which they belong.

HOW PRIMARIES HAVE BEEN MANIPULATED

One vigorous complaint made against the direct primary is that it destroys party organization; that no method can be devised by which party lines can be maintained; that nothing can prevent opposition party men voting at a primary election because they cannot be identified. And as a result of this condition it is possible for the men of an opposition party in the minority, in a State or district, to force the nomination of an unpopular man upon the majority and thus secure the election of a popular man in the minority party. This has happened, and is no doubt a valid objection, so far as it goes, to the direct primary system. But it does not happen as often as the selection of an unpopular "dummy" candidate by a boss-controlled convention in order to have the opposition nominee elected. Where party ties are not strong, and party loyalty sits lightly, there is sure to be more or less mixing of political lines in the primaries, but not to any such extent as charged.

THE SECOND-CHOICE PLAN

Another complaint about the primary is that there can be and has been manipulation by which an unfit man is selected simply by multiplying the number of candidates. For instance, in a Western State the railroads were anxious to secure the nomination of a particular man for railroad commissioner. In the primary their man was a candidate. Then two other anti-railroad men were induced to run, each believing he had a good chance to win. These two divided the vote of the anti-railroad people in the State and the railroad man was nominated by a small plurality. Friends of the direct primary system have recognized that nominations by plurality lead to such results and in several States the law has been corrected or is in a

fair way to be changed. The best method thus far devised is the second-choice plan.

Wisconsin is one of the pioneers in adopting the second-choice plan. It was not a part of the first primary law adopted in that State and was not proposed when the law was passed because it seemed somewhat cumbersome to explain to the people. In order to get the primary law through it was necessary for the Progressives to consent to submit it to a referendum vote as in the case of a constitutional amendment. Therefore the first law was drawn in as simple terms as possible. Later, when it was found that the plurality nomination of candidates worked disadvantageously, the second-choice plan was proposed and adopted. Wisconsin has since passed a strong corrupt practices act so that in the future no man of great wealth can expend large sums of money (as Senator Stephenson did in 1908) to control a primary or an election.

The distinctive features of the new Minnesota primary law, as described by State Senator J. E. Haycraft, its author, are the second-choice provision, the elimination process in connection with the same, and the non-partisan feature. By a law passed in 1901, all county, legislative, Congressional, and inferior judicial officers, as well as certain city officials, were to be nominated by primaries. The new primary law, which was enacted at the special session of the legislature, called for that purpose in 1912, extends to all State officers, United States Senators, and justices of the State Supreme Court. By the terms of this law the justices of the Supreme Court, all judges of district, municipal, and probate courts, county superintendents of schools, and all city officials in cities of the first and second classes, *i. e.*, all cities containing 50,000 inhabitants or more, are to become candidates without party designation, be voted for upon a separate non-partisan ballot and in all particulars be nominated and elected in a compulsory non-partisan manner. Thus at one stroke the legislature has taken the entire judiciary, educational officers, and all city officials of the large cities of that State, including St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Duluth, absolutely out of politics. In that respect Minnesota takes a position in advance of any other State of the Union.

MINNESOTA'S METHOD FOR GETTING MAJORITY CANDIDATES

Five States have primary laws containing second-choice provisions, namely: Idaho, Washington, North Dakota, Wisconsin, and

Minnesota. The manner of voting the ballot is very similar in all of these States. The manner of counting the second-choice votes is quite dissimilar. In the three States first named, the second-choice votes are added to the first-choice votes, and the candidate having the highest number of votes after this addition is the nominee, whether he has a plurality or majority of the votes. The Minnesota and Wisconsin plan is one of elimination and strives to obtain, approximately at least, majority nominees. The elimination is upon the theory of the elimination made by delegates in a convention, when the delegates drop their favorite who has received the smallest number of votes among the candidates and express their second choice by voting for one of the remaining candidates, repeating this action until some candidate has a majority of the convention.

The Minnesota primary law provides that if any candidate receives a majority he shall be declared the nominee and the second-choice votes shall not be taken into consideration at all. If no candidate receives a majority the elimination process is invoked. This is done by dropping the candidate who has the smallest number of first-choice votes to his credit and adding the second-choice votes cast by his supporters to the first-choice votes of the remaining candidates for whom they were cast. If no candidate then has a majority, the process is repeated until some candidate has a majority or until only two candidates remain. The one having the greater number of votes to his credit shall be declared nominated. Provision is made for tally sheets by which the number of first-and-second-choice votes cast and the candidates for whom such votes were cast can be readily ascertained. The elimination process does not apply except when there are more than two candidates and except where no candidate has a majority.

It is claimed for this law that it produces majority nominees—absolutely in most instances, and approximately in the remainder, whereas all primary laws not containing the elimination feature permit plurality or minority nominees; that it places the nomination in the majority faction of the party and prohibits a minority faction from making the nomination, a result frequently occurring in primary elections. It is contended that this law, by thus providing for majority nominees and nominations by majority factions, has successfully removed the most objectionable feature of the primary election system and

the feature most subject to just and proper criticism.

For obvious reasons the second-choice provision is not made applicable to non-partisan officers. The names of the two highest candidates on the non-partisan primary ballot are placed upon the general election ballot as the nominees, thereby giving the voter his second-choice vote at the general election.

One of the strongest denunciations of the primary system I ever heard was uttered by an ex-Congressman of Minnesota, who asserted that the primary law afforded the greatest opportunity for "bleeding" candidates by grafters, heelers, certain newspapers, and others, who took advantage of a candidate before a primary to make him pay well for his nomination. But that can no longer happen in Minnesota. That State has a corrupt practices act which denies to the candidate the right to give anything of value to a voter. He cannot treat the voter to a drink or a cigar, nor can he pay anything for newspaper support. And so it is shown that a State which really desires a good primary can correct mistakes and provide against the abuses which are sure to follow every movement for reform in political methods, and secure to the people actual control of their affairs.

SOUTHERN PRIMARIES

In the Southern States primaries have been in operation for many years, and in most of them the primary is the only real political contest, as there is but one political party in that section. In all States where there is a large negro population only one party exists and the contests for State and local offices are within that party and determined at primary elections. Seldom is there any contest after the primary and the regular elections are a matter of form. These primary elections determine the selection of United States Senators as well as State officers.

In most cases primaries are under the law and governed by officials of the States. In Tennessee the primary is voluntary. The Democrats operate under the primary plan and the Republicans under the old convention system. The voluntary primary is faulty and leads to dissensions which cannot be settled in the courts. In Louisiana the primary is under the law, but there is a provision that the governing body of a party may prescribe the qualification of voters in the primary, but such voters shall be legally

registered voters of the State. The Democratic party eliminates the negroes for the reason that in close contests different factions might bid for the negro vote, furnish money to pay their poll taxes, and register them as voters. By keeping the negroes out of their primaries the Democrats keep the contest wholly among the white population. The attempt on the part of a portion of the Republican State Committee of Louisiana to eliminate the negro as a voter, or prevent negroes from going as delegates to the national convention, caused the complications which sent three delegations to the national convention and brought about an amalgamation of the "Lily-White" and "Black-and-Tan" elements of one faction in the interest of one candidate. Louisiana does not have the second-choice plan, but has an equivalent in a second primary. The second primary, where no candidate receives a majority of the votes, prevails in a number of other Southern States, particularly in regard to the selection of United States Senators.

In Texas the primary for Senator is advisory, though the legislature always elects the man nominated. In that State the plurality for State officers nominates and the convention which follows is in the nature of a returning board and promulgates a platform. The Texas law provides that a party having less than 100,000 votes at the preceding election does not come under it and the Republican party adheres to the old convention plan on that account. The reason given is that it would be too expensive to hold primaries in all the counties for a party so hopelessly in the minority, as in many counties there are not a dozen votes and in others not enough Republicans to conduct a primary election.

OREGON'S SENATORIAL PRIMARY

The Oregon system of primaries for the selection of United States Senators has been adopted in a number of States. Under it there are primaries for the nomination of a candidate by each party, then a preference vote as between the candidates nominated, and the legislature elects the man having the highest vote. This is not mandatory upon the legislature, of course, but in practice this result is secured by pledging the members individually. A curious result sometimes follows. In Oregon a Republican legislature elected a Democrat who had received the largest vote and in Nevada a Democratic legislature elected a Republican. If the pro-

posed constitutional amendment providing for election of Senators by direct vote is ratified this kind of machinery will no longer be needed to bring about a choice by the people.

PRESIDENTIAL PREFERENCE PRIMARIES

It was brought out in the contested cases presented to the National Republican Convention at Chicago that many different methods of selecting delegates to national conventions prevail. In some States the old convention system was continued; in others county mass conventions elected delegates; in some Presidential preference primaries were held; in several instances the primary instructed the delegates, but the method of selecting delegates oftentimes allowed men to be chosen who were opposed to the choice of the people. This was the case in Illinois, where a number of delegates felt bound to support Colonel Roosevelt only in the balloting for candidates and voted against his interests in every preliminary contest.

THE UNIT RULE

In California all the delegates were chosen by the State at large, as Presidential Electors will be chosen in November, the call of the National Committee directing the election of delegates by Congressional districts having been ignored. This was the ground upon which two of the California delegates were unseated. State-wide primaries, ignoring Congressional district representation, must necessarily mean the unit rule. There is a prejudice against a whole State delegation being tied up under the unit rule, the claim being that it stifles the voice of a large section and that in a State like New York the large cities can control the entire delegation. If there should be a change in the basis of representation, State-wide primaries would naturally result and district representation would be abolished. Such a change is rather remote and meanwhile the demand for district representation is very strong.

"SOAP-BOX PRIMARIES" IN SOUTHERN STATES

A feature of primaries in certain States which seems to be open to objection is the provision which leaves to the county committee the power of determining whether or not a primary shall be held. It was brought out at the Republican National Convention in the Arizona and Washington contests that in

several counties the committees decided to hold neither primaries nor conventions, but selected the delegates themselves, having that authority under the law. In other counties primaries were ordered. The confusion and disagreement which resulted caused contests from both these States.

Much has been said about "soap-box primaries." The term as applied to Northern States where the effort has been to secure good primary laws, was not apt. But "soap-box primaries" were extensively held in Southern States for the purpose of electing delegates to the Republican National Convention. The contests showed that in many cases the primaries to elect delegates in a county to the State and Congressional district conventions were simply mass meetings, held in small halls which could not accommodate the crowds, in public squares of towns, and even in the streets. In these mass meetings the crowds were asked to divide or separate themselves into Taft and Roosevelt groups. Tellers, appointed by the person who was chairman of the committee, would go down the lines and attempt to count the men in the different groups. No one could tell who were voters, or whether the same men were counted once or twice. In some cases it was claimed that men from adjoining States, if near the border, participated in these mass conventions or county conventions. Out of such "soap-box primaries" grew many of the contests which were presented to the national convention. These mass meetings could not be representative. It was inevitable that the city in which such meetings were held would furnish the bulk of the attendance, while remote sections of the county would have little voice in the selection of delegates.

It is not yet plain how the "soap-box primary," or its equivalent—the packed convention,—can be avoided in Republican politics in Southern States. This is particularly true if the present basis of representation is maintained and States which cast very few Republican votes are permitted to enjoy representation equal to those where there is a large Republican majority. It has been demonstrated that the Republican party in enough Southern States to control a Republican nomination consists almost wholly of office-holders and a few adherents which they gather about them. At least that is the only Republican party recognized in national conventions. There is, of course, an element in opposition to these office-holders, but its members neither know the

game, nor are they permitted to play it so as to make any showing which will be recognized by the national organization, especially when the party of the office-holders is necessary to make the nomination of a federal candidate possible. There is little hope that the basis of representation will be changed. No attempt has been made to mention more than a few States where primary laws are in force and these simply by way of illustration. Typical Northern and Southern States have been chosen in order to show what has been done in the North and South. It may be observed that these Northern States are in the Northwest where many of the present progressive policies originated. Northern States in the East are less advanced in the matter of primary legislation, but their laws will doubtless be improved. No doubt it would be well if there could be as much uniformity as possible in primary regulations. That will come about as each State seeks to secure the best and copies the best from other States. When the primary laws have been longer in force, and have been perfected as far as possible, they will not be difficult to understand and administer.

THE VOTER'S OPPORTUNITIES UNDER THE OLD SYSTEM

The intent of the direct primary is to give each member of a party an opportunity to vote directly for the man he desires to have nominated for office. Before the days of the direct primary what was the method as to State officers? The State committee called a convention, apportioning delegates to each county on a basis of the vote cast for the party candidate at the last election. The county committee called a convention to elect delegates to the State convention, apportioning delegates in each precinct, district, or township upon the same basis of votes cast as used by the State committee. Caucuses were directed to be held in the precincts, districts, or townships to elect the delegates to the county convention. That was the only place where the voter had an opportunity to express his preference. He could go to the caucus and vote for delegates to the county convention, who in turn would elect delegates to the State and district conventions. In case of the nomination of a President the election of delegates went one step farther, as the State and Congressional district conventions elected delegates to the national convention.

What chance was there for the individual voter of a party or a vast majority of a party

to express a preference for any man or set of men for whom they desired to vote in the general election? By instructions, it has been said, this might be accomplished. But before the instructions could filter through all the various channels they would be lost or disregarded. More than that, the election of these delegates to State conventions was complicated with nominations for county officers, for members of the legislature, and for delegates to Congressional district conventions. "The good old days," for which politicians sigh, were indeed "good"—for the politicians and manipulators. But they have gone never to return.

CHOOSING UNITED STATES SENATORS

The primary for the selection of United States Senators was designed for the purpose of preventing rich men from buying seats in the Senate and from securing control of State officials. The early advocates of the primary believed that it would accomplish that result. They knew it was not difficult to corrupt a legislature or a convention, but they did not believe it was possible to corrupt an electorate, hence it was thought that money and privilege would in the future be unable to control elections of Senators and nominations for State officers. Unfortunately in the past the primary in many States has worked directly in opposition to that intention and rich men only could become successful candidates and carry on campaigns which primaries made necessary.

The whole country has at times been amazed and shocked at the manner in which members of State legislatures have been openly purchased to vote for rich men for United States Senators. Investigations in several cases have revealed an amount of corruption that was almost beyond belief. To correct these evils the system of Senatorial primaries was established in many States. There was another object in view: to secure practically the election of Senators by direct vote of the people, which is not possible without amending the federal Constitution. The early Senatorial primaries were quite successful and comparatively inexpensive. In several States such is still the fact because deservedly popular men are chosen. In other cases sentiment has prevailed, as in Alabama and Virginia. The late Senators Morgan and Pettus, although in extreme old age, were elected without opposition or making a contest. The late Senator Daniel was

chosen time after time in Virginia with the expenditure of only inconsequential amounts, while other Senatorial elections cost many thousands of dollars in that State. Previous to the enactment of the campaign publicity law Senatorial primaries in many States were so expensive that only very rich men could afford to be candidates. With two or more rich men in the field the expenditure of money became a public scandal.

HEAVY EXPENDITURES

In one of the inland States in 1910 two men were aspirants before a Senatorial preference primary. One of these men told me he had expended more than \$85,000 and said that he had made it cost his opponent more than \$100,000. The campaign was not then over and I learned that afterward the same man placed \$10,000 in one county to influence the result. Neither was elected to the Senate because the opposition party elected a majority of the legislature. In a Southern State one man had to make two campaigns because there were three candidates and none of them received a majority in the first primary. Each of those primaries cost the man \$30,000, or \$60,000 for a term in the United States Senate. In another Southern State a Senator paid out \$10,000 to get his machinery in motion and "scare off" other men who were thinking of entering the race. This man was finally reelected without opposition.

It is interesting to know how such large amounts are expended without actually buying votes. A great deal of money can be wasted at a campaign headquarters and much more spent legitimately in printing, advertising, and postage. Large sums can be expended for speakers and public meetings. Much can be placed with newspapers in different parts of a State to pay for purely advertising matter with favorable editorial comment. All this comes under the head of legitimate expenses. There are also payments to be made for workers at the polls and "getting out the vote." Oftentimes all available vehicles in a precinct are hired to carry voters to the polls. Then, men who lose a day from their regular employment are often reimbursed for their time. It is a fair question whether that kind of expenditure is not bribery.

There is still another cause of lavish expenditure. During Senatorial campaigns in many States it has been the custom for organizations of all kinds and character to

"strike" the candidates. These organizations would give a supper, concert, excursion, chowder party, social, or anything else for which tickets could be sold, and send block of tickets to the rival candidates with a letter explaining that the affair was for a worthy cause and hoping that the tickets would be purchased. It might be that a village band wanted new instruments, a church a new steeple, the parsonage a new coat of paint, the lodge room a new carpet, the Sunday-school new books, the hospital a new ward, the orphans' home new improvements, or any of a hundred wants were good enough to warrant sending the candidates from five to ten dollars' worth of tickets.

And what could a man do under such circumstances? He wanted votes. His rich rival was almost sure to comply with the requests and the candidate who did not was likely to be called a "mean man" and considered unfit for office. A Senator who went through a primary in a large State a few years ago told me that more than \$10,000 had been extorted from him in this way during the campaign. Another Senator told me that he threw all such communications into the waste basket. He was not reelected.

Then, of course, there are the real "grafters" in politics who make their appearance every time there is an election. They are big and little politicians and make money out of politics. They get as many rich men into the field as possible and start the campaign at the earliest possible moment, for the longer it lasts the more money they get. They begin early and "strike" the candidates for money to "fix" a certain county or precinct, a boarding-house of laborers, a manufacturing plant, or even to gather in a few "floaters." The candidate, who is not anxious to spend money in this way is told by his managers that his rich rival will pour out money like water and that he (the candidate) "can't afford to take any chances." Possibly these grafters are working both candidates by a system known to themselves. At all events they take advantage of the primaries to extort money just as in the old days they secured money from candidates before legislatures and conventions.

To a certain extent this kind of graft has been eliminated by the campaign publicity act, which limits the expenditures of a candidate for the Senate to \$10,000 and compels him to file an itemized statement of his expenses. As the amount that can be expended covers primaries and elections the Sena-

torial candidate can meet all requests for petty graft and extortion by citing the law and explaining that his legitimate expenses may cause him to press the limit closely. He also knows that his rival, on account of the law, cannot indulge in lavish expenditures. That law is good as far as it goes, and shows that the tendency of the times is to reform the faults of the primaries rather than to repeal the primary laws. Beyond question it is absurd for any person to be compelled to pay even \$10,000 for an election to the Senate, but no doubt there are instances when such expenditures are justified. In one State, at least, the Senatorial aspirant pays a fee of \$3000 to the State in order to become a candidate and have his name printed on the primary ballot. A very poor man could not afford to become a candidate under such conditions.

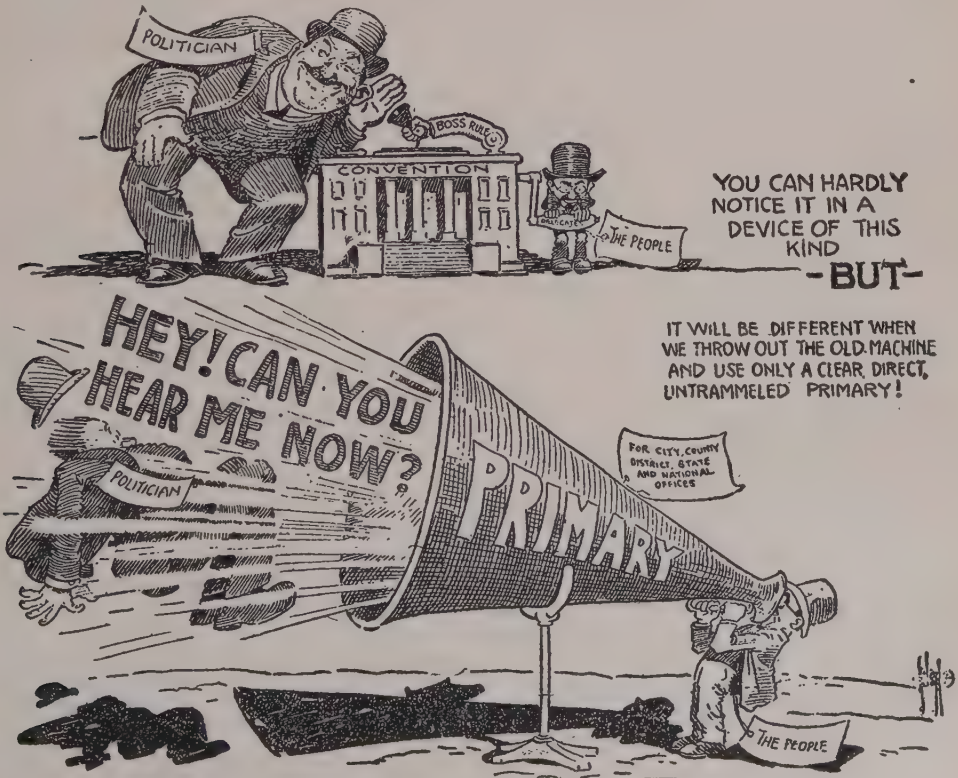
Already several States have rigid corrupt practices acts and no doubt other States will follow the example and limit the expenditures in primaries for State and county offices. When that is done and such other corrections are made in primary laws as may be found necessary, it is altogether likely

that even the opponents of the system will accept it as the Australian ballot has been accepted.

PRIMARY REFORM AS MUCH NEEDED AS BALLOT REFORM

When the Australian ballot was first suggested in this country it was denounced with as much vigor as was the primary and by the same element and the same newspapers.

In many cases the old precinct caucus and delegate system worked very well, but only in country districts where every man was known to his fellow voter. But even then majorities were cheated by manipulation and fraudulent methods. In city districts this kind of a game was carried on boldly, making boss control absolute. The voter was not a free agent any more than he was before the Australian ballot caused a reform in elections. The primary has given the individual his opportunity. He is not going to give it up. Instead of denouncing the primary because of its faults, the good citizen should give attention to correcting such faults, and making the primary as nearly perfect as possible, for it is here to stay.



THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE
From the *Dispatch* (Columbus, O.)

PANAMA AND THE PARALLELS OF LATITUDE

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GREAT WATERWAY AS A FOCUS
OF TRADE ROUTES

BY CHARLES WHITING WILLIAMS

TEN years from now it is pretty certain that the Señora de Fernandez would not have been compelled to go more than half way round the world in order to reach her home in Lima, Peru, after her sojourn in Iquitos, also in Peru and only 635 miles from the parental roof. When she became so ill that an operation was necessary, her husband was unable to accompany her because his gunboat had added to its usual troubles with rubber smugglers a near-war with Ecuador and Brazil, all fiercely interested in their lowland boundaries the moment that rubber had become a magic word for giving white men courage to enter the fever-laden jungles of the Upper Amazon. Without any companion, therefore, she must go to the operating table that can be reached with the least change. The direct way—over the Andes—to Lima is, of course, unthinkable except upon the condor's wings. By the route next shortest—over which she had come—the home trip would require at least four changes—one at Para at the river's mouth; another, at least, and probably two, in Venezuela and the West Indies; again at Colon on the Isthmus, and then finally at Panama for the boat to Callao—unthinkable for an invalid.

FROM THE UPPER AMAZON TO LIVERPOOL

But the rubber depot of the Upper Amazon basin does connect directly with skilled surgeons at one place. From Liverpool come on regular schedule freight boats of ocean-going register. These find no embarrassment as they enter that monster of rivers and, propelled by their twin screws and your or your neighbor's demand for a new set of tires, continue on and on toward the Pacific till, 2300 miles upstream, they reach Iquitos. Even there they disdain to anchor, but calmly warp themselves into their assignment at the dock! As if an ocean liner should some day merely toot a formal salute to Miss Liberty and coolly sail past New York on up the Hud-

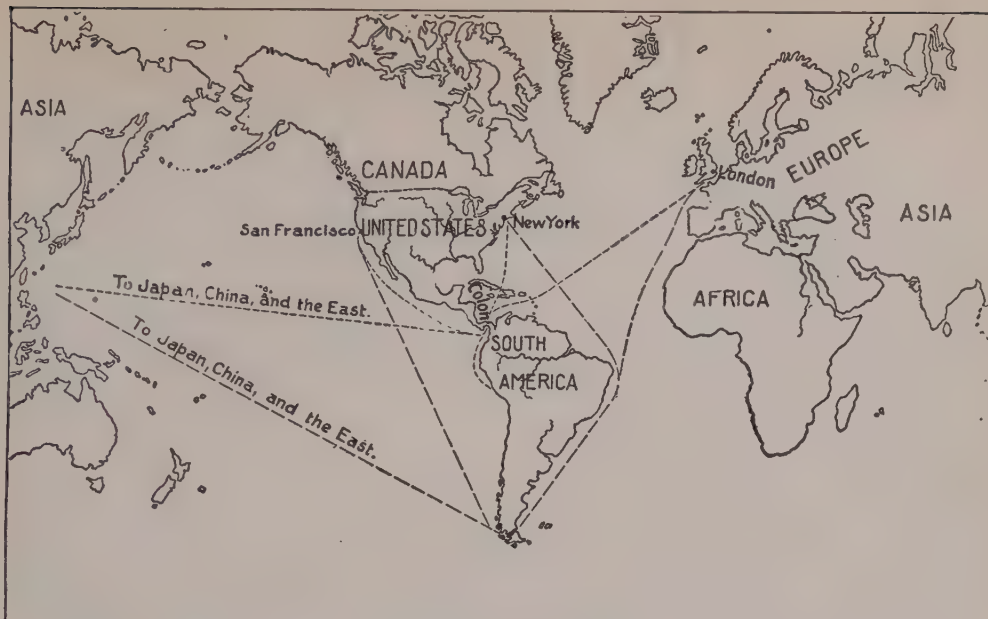
son (if your imagining is good) until it should come alongside at Denver, Colorado!

On such a boat the brave little Madam was put—sick almost unto death and without another woman on board. After a weary 7000 miles, or thereabouts, she was met by the ambulance and taken to one of the great Liverpool hospitals—and to health. A few weeks later saw the continuation of her homeward journey—a matter of 3200 miles to New York, 2000 more to Colon, fifty more along the Canal to Panama, thence 1500 to Callao, with, finally, nine more (by trolley) to Lima and home! Nearly 14,000 miles of water and fifty-nine of land in order to go from an Atlantic to a Pacific port of the same country! Truly trade and transportation routes be arbitrary masters!

THE SHORT CUT FROM NORTH TO SOUTH

Her experience tells much of South America's transportation and other problems and makes plain at least one of the uses of the new continental short cut so soon to become available. This short cut has, to be sure, been dug with American dollars; nevertheless, it seems not yet to have stimulated American imagination. While the whole commercial world is making its plans holding in mind the new waterway as the greatest changer of the trade-routes of the nations since 1492, we who have debated it, planned it, made appropriations and undergone tribulations for it, continue, for the most part, to see in it little more than a way of beating our own railways to San Francisco!

Is not one of the fundamental reasons for this our marked predilection for the parallel lines of the map? East and west, west and east—with those same transcontinental railroads—surge the ceaseless tides of our national commerce. The westward moving star has indeed been the star of our empire—up to date. But with the nations girding themselves to compete for their proper share



THE PANAMA CUT-OFF

of the globe-girdling commerce afforded by twentieth-century wants and twentieth-century transportation, we shall do well to beware these east and west monitors. The apron strings of nations, they are dangerous if allowed to tie to a single zone the activities and the imagination of a people which aspires to become an adult member of the world-family of powers and at least a junior partner of the modern international trading company. For the problem now being presented by our enlarged and re-enlarged factories is the problem of salesmanship. That, as every correspondence school student knows, is the problem of service—in turn a problem of knowing and respecting the customer and his needs.

THE PROVINCIALISM OF THE PARALLELS

March round the world on a parallel and the races of men will vary less than after a three-days' drop down a lateral. For it is they that do the heavy work in ringing in the changes of climate which call for those adaptations that make the races of the earth unlike. In the day when Hague tribunals and world parliaments are on so many tongues, therefore, the parallels are little short of deadly because they not only render difficult the flow of international respect and understanding, but also distinctly tend toward the growth of disdain for all those peoples not blessed with a similar degree of distance from

the equator. Less provincial—and hence widely and seriously to be reckoned with—are those two models of the busy and the cosmopolitan spirit that are to be found in every quarter of the globe, the first of which the whole world fears, while to the second one-fifth of the earth's inhabitants own allegiance—the Mosquito and the Englishman.

OUR FAULTY GEOGRAPHY

English energy and breadth of interest sends the freighters up to Iquitos. But American provincialism would pretty surely have prevented recourse to an American surgeon for the reason that we should hardly have imagined a person of the refinement and delicacy of Mrs. Fernandez in the Amazon basin or have taken the trouble to let her know of us. "Do you wear these clothes at home or did you buy them for coming here into civilization?" was asked recently of a cultured Chilean student at one of our great universities. For such a question geographies constructed by persons who had never ventured *down* the map are to blame. Does not your recollection of the South America pictured in your school days consist almost exclusively of a Barnumesque collection of condors, constrictors and cannibals? All these, to be sure, can be encountered if one is willing to pay the heavy price in time and money. Nevertheless the Chilean stu-

dent could have boasted in his own capital city a boulevard of twice the breadth and thrice the beauty of Pennsylvania Avenue in ours.

SAVING TWO THOUSAND MILES FROM PERU TO BROADWAY

The same geography will make it difficult at first to understand why the Fernandez family on their shopping tour to New York in, say, 1920, will probably go through Lima and the canal rather than down the Amazon and up the Atlantic. But a scrutiny of the map will show that when the boat heads down stream at Iquitos it must go 2300 miles directly eastward from Sandy Hook before it can turn the corner and begin to cover more than that distance back into the west again. On the other hand, the new Ucayali Railway now being surveyed on a concession granted to a Philadelphian will bring its Pullman cars to the Amazon a few hundred miles above Iquitos for carrying passengers to the summit of the Andes at Cerro de Pasco (15,000 feet). From there they will coast down a road already in use straight into Lima and Callao; whence the boat will take them directly north without change to the East River and to Broadway—a saving of something like 2000 miles.

EQUATORIAL SUMMER RESORTS

It is doubtless our faith in parallels that has caused us to ascribe to the whole of Peru the torrid heat that will make Iquitos hard on white men even after the completion of its proposed sewage system (to cost \$1,000,000). With well-laundered white ducks and industrious fan, the much-traveled Northerner sails south from Panama in dread of a nearer acquaintance with the equator. Almost at "the line" he steps one morning into his bath—to recoil in the horror of a broken illusion. The water is icy cold!—and the realm of the Southern Cross is entered in flannels if not in furs. The Canal Zone itself might become our greatest national summer resort were it not that Point Parina turns off into the mid-Pacific that enormous current of Antarctic water whose refrigerating efficiency is demonstrated by its delivery of a temperature of 60 degrees to the southern shore of one of the Turtle (Galapagos) Islands, while the northern, a short distance away, continues to enjoy its 80 degrees. It goes almost without saying that up as far as the point, almost at the equator, the Pacific shore, washed by such a stream, knows nothing worthy of the

name of heat. It is also worth mentioning in passing that both Pacific and Atlantic shores can commend themselves as summer resorts, reminding us that their position across the equator brings them their winter while we are trying to be cheerful in our heat—a fact which the writer hopes he is not alone in having forgotten. In view of the west shore's chilly current and the immense distance from the equator of a very large part of the long continent, it hardly seems intelligent or kindly for us to continue to attribute to all the inhabitants of that enormous land the temperamental characteristics associated with tropical conditions.

THE MOUNTAIN BARRIER

Safe and well at home, Mrs. Fernandez is now able to communicate daily with her husband by means of the new wireless stations just established in Lima and Iquitos. Without the slightest difficulty the staccato flashes of dot and dash hurdle the 17,000 feet of Andean altitude—that same altitude which multiplied by more than twenty the distance between her and her family last summer. But it is just that lofty partition and ridge-pole of the South American house which so acutely demand the additional hallway of the Panama Canal. There is at present only one place at which a pathway across the continent has been opened for the locomotive. That has been usable less than two years and is now often closed by snow for weeks at a time. Except for this colossal barrier, Peru and the West Coast would not now bear the name of the "Back Door of the Continent."

But the isolation suggested in the title offers to the United States one of the most important of the new opportunities available the moment the locks at Miraflores and Gatun are ready. Even then we shall have to hold in mind another of the results of those same mountains—the necessity of double-durable packing by reason of the absence of good harbors, caused by the abruptness of the rise of the great range almost sheer out of the sea. A coast-line which must confess to several important harbors from which a boat must *flee* in a storm is not greatly bothered by the clatter of American hardware as a flimsy crate is lowered into the waiting lighter (*lancha*). Though they cost enormously in the deep water, new piers are constantly being added in preparation for the day when the 10,000 miles to Europe will be cut to 6000 and when the map's lane between the 70th and 80th meridians will

present an unobstructed water channel between Pacific South America and Atlantic North America.

ABSENCE OF THE AMERICAN FLAG

It must be said for the mountains that it is their treasures which still bring, as they have brought since Pizarro, the ships of all the world to their feet. Some inconvenience can be borne when a single member of the Andean association of giants has contributed to the world's wealth a total of three billions of dollars in silver! But neither their present wealth nor the improvement of their landing places will, apparently, be of *immediate* concern to the ship-captain in charge of an American vessel. At present on the West Coast "there ain't no such animal." On her 14,000 mile detour of the mountains the Señora de Fernandez might have sailed beneath the American flag between Liverpool and New York and from there to Colon—5000 miles in all. Few of her friends in Peru or her enemies in Chile ever saw in their ports the Stars and Stripes above any other than a friendly warship's funnel. Almost as few of her acquaintances on the East Coast.

They can sail from Buenos Aires practically any day in the year on big and luxurious steamers to Europe. To come to these United States they must wait from a fortnight to a month and then be content with small and mediocre vessels. Nor do these fly our flag. The nine miles of that marvelous city's docks are so crowded with the shipping of all the world that nine additional miles are now being planned. Yet at those docks there was seen in the good year of 1911 this number of American-owned steamers flying your flag and mine—*one!* And that is not all that must be said. The worst is that this one was the first that had been seen there *in eighteen years!*

NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICANS STILL FAR APART

Such a fact helps to the appreciation of the enormous distance in sympathy and understanding—that is, the lack of them—at present separating the Americans of the two continents. Of the Southern Americans it has been said that "They have copied our institutions, our laws, our political methods. They have made a study of our whole mode of existence, as they call it, on purpose to reproduce it among themselves. . . . Their inclination to follow us stands unmatched in history." That studying and that copy-

ing were done some time ago. To-day most of them wonder why we think ourselves so important and why we are generally so overbearing,—also, occasionally, as in Panama, so grasping. "Of shipping you North Americans do little, no?" We seldom if ever see your flag. Manifestly, also, banking does not interest you. You have noticed the number of foreign banks in our business district? Yours, where are they?" So also in the papers—and some of them are hardly second to any in the world—one sees whole columns given to Britain, France, Spain, Italy, Portugal. In the insignificant stickful of type devoted to Los Estados Unidos one is expected to get into touch with that country through such dainty bits as these: "Forty detectives met here to-day (New York) to discuss ways and means for the lessening of the terrible ravages of the Black Hand," or, again, "A grievous accident occurred on the railway between Indianapolis and Indiana. Ten persons killed." There is, to be sure, a poetic justice in it. Our aversion to the uprightness of the map has made us believe them, for the most part, near-barbarians: their inability to find us either in their ports or in Europe indicates to them our provincialism and opens their ears to the tales of those who believe that our ideals for which they once admired us have been sacrificed in the fierceness of our pursuit of the dollar.

AMERICAN STEEL GOING TO THE WEST COAST

Poor setting that for the winning of our nearest neighbors to the recognition of us as a worthy and fundamentally an idealistic people. Poor setting that for the maintenance of a broad-viewed and humanitarian diplomacy which may later save us from unimaginable embarrassment at the hands of a European state which is ready to do its desperate utmost to get away from the deadly parallels to which England endeavors to confine it. Poor setting that for the selling of our wares. But the matter is not hopeless if we will but widen our international viewpoints and stand ready to give to other peoples the same consideration and respect which we are quite constantly demanding for ourselves. In that connection here is the experience of the United States Steel Corporation. Within the last few years its share of the steel business of the West Coast has grown from 5 per cent. to 80 per cent.!—simply the result of meeting a need carefully studied and sympathetically understood. For years the Coast has bought its iron and steel of Europe and

has had to send its order—and tie up its money—six months in advance. Now hardly more than two days after pen has been taken in hand to write the order, the consignment is put aboard the car or boat at depositories established by the company at such points as Lima and Valparaiso.

SIGNIFICANCE OF PANAMA

A world-traveled American has remarked that it would be a good investment if Uncle Sam should offer to pay the expenses of any citizen to see the Great Ditch before the water obscures its prodigiousness. A very foolish remark, it would seem. But after you have paced off the hugeness of the Culebra Cut and have hand-car-eered over the immensity of the Gatun Dam, you will wish for every other American the same opportunity to breathe there the proudest and most patriotic moments of his life. "America, my country" will never be sung flippantly after that. For "America, my country," has accomplished the world's greatest material achievement and accomplished it with dignity, uprightness, and honor.

But that achievement can not be properly appreciated unless one has sailed day after day and week after week toward the south, until at last the Horn is rounded. Only then can one catch a vision of the mightiness of the force which we have thrown into the world for the changing of its life. The parallel of the terrible Cape is bad enough, coming as it does within ten degrees of the Antarctic Circle and lying more than 1400 miles farther to the south than the end of Africa. But it is made a great deal worse by a strong current and a strong wind, both setting always toward the east. Of many a tragedy these have furnished the setting. Here is one that grazed a happy ending more closely than many of them.

"NEVER THE TWAIN SHALL MEET"

A Peruvian railroad ordered several thousand tons of rails from Europe. They were

put upon a sailing vessel which in due time, of course, had to tackle the Horn; for the Straits do not give a sailer fairway. After six weeks of battle with the winds and current, the captain found it necessary to return to Buenos Aires for a fresh stock of provisions. That required in itself the covering of about 2700 miles there and back. Another six weeks he fought—"afar off from the world, in the midst of a great solitude, the insignificance of man against the mightiness of God, with no reward that could possibly be greater than the gaining of a longitude." Again he had to retrace the long leagues back to "B. A.", finding the harbor there filled with sailing craft of every description, all in the same dilemma.

What should he do? What could he do? From Southern Pole to Northern, the mountains, with the help of wind and water, barred his progress as though they had indeed decided that "West is West and East is East and never the twain shall meet." Meanwhile the rails were wanted—badly wanted. Finally the desperate but courageous skipper started eastward—eastward for the port of Mollendo on the Pacific Coast of Peru! Around the world he sailed. A year later—eighteen months after his departure from Europe!—the railway officers sighted him and thanked Heaven. Then they began to wonder where he was trying to land and why he was disobeying the harbor rules. When they hurried aboard the wreck—for he had wrecked the boat before their very eyes—they found the captain and several of the crew insane!

Of Cape Horn the only logical result in a get-together century which hates distances is the Panama Canal. Of the canal the only logical result is that its builders break off their fetters and extend across the map's verticals and diagonals hands so friendly and so genuinely fraternal that none will care to doubt them—unless, to be sure, our only purpose has been simply to beat the railroads.





CELERY, ONIONS AND CUCUMBERS BESIDE CANAL ON AN EVERGLADES FARM

THE EVERGLADES OF FLORIDA

BY THOMAS E. WILL

TO-DAY the public interest focuses on the Everglades of Florida. This territory comprises a tract about half the size of Massachusetts. It lies south and southeast of Lake Okeechobee, in Southern Florida, and is a part of the Florida grant made to the United States by Spain in 1819.

So far as known, the tract always has been wet. Florida was admitted to the Union in 1845 and, in December of that year, its legislature, by resolution, instructed its Senators in Congress and requested its representative to press upon Congress the propriety and policy of forthwith appointing engineers to examine and survey the Everglades region.

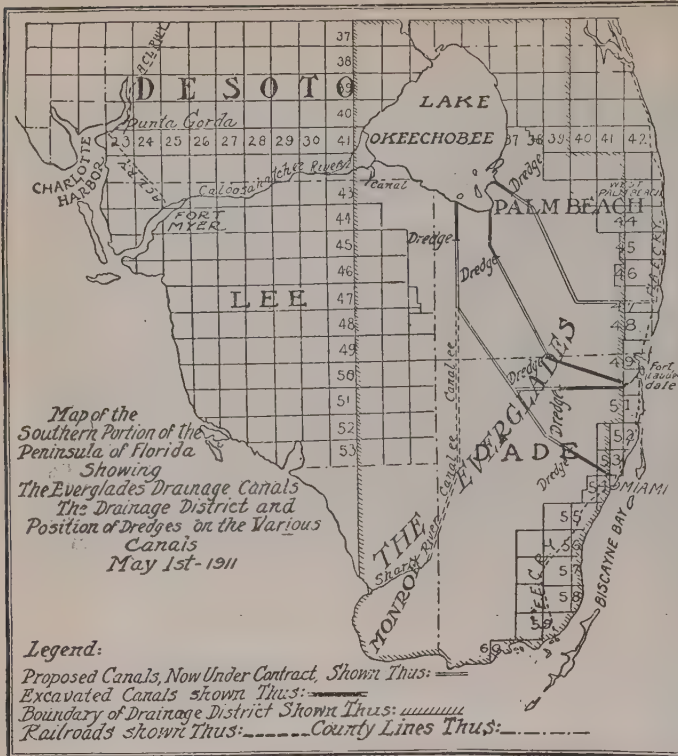
In 1847, Senator James D. Westcott, Jr., of Florida, requested the Secretary of the Treasury, the Hon. R. J. Walker, to have the lands examined. Shortly afterward, the Secretary of the Treasury appointed Mr. Buckingham Smith to make such investigation and report upon it. The result was the famous Buckingham Smith report of 1848, which was published as a Senate document. This report, recently republished by the United States Senate as a part of Senate Document 89, was very favorable to the Everglades and their reclamation.

In the same year the Legislature of Florida requested Congress to grant the Everglades to the State of Florida "on condition that the State will drain them and apply the proceeds of the sale thereof, after defraying the expense of draining, to purposes of education."

In the same year, also, Senator Westcott introduced a bill into the Senate to authorize the draining of the Everglades by the State of Florida, and to grant the land to the State for that purpose. This bill was not passed, but, in 1850, Congress passed a general swamp-lands act "to enable the State of Arkansas and other States to reclaim the 'Swamp Lands' within their limits." By this act the Everglades were granted by the United States to the State of Florida, with the following express provision: "That the proceeds of said lands, whether from sale or by direct appropriation in kind, shall be applied, exclusively, as far as necessary, to the purpose of reclaiming said lands by means of the levees and drains aforesaid."

Thirty-one years, however, passed before the State made a serious attempt to drain these lands.

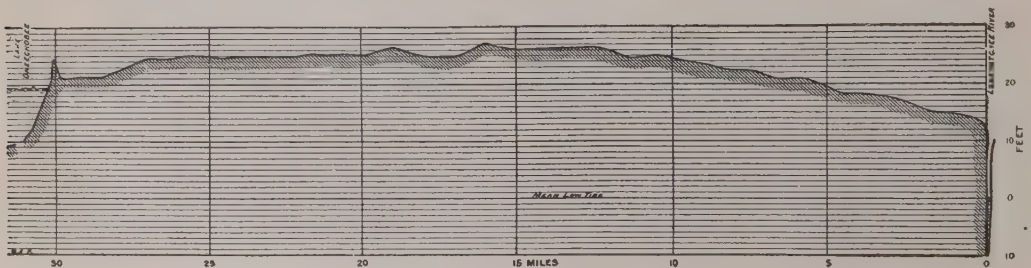
On February 26, 1881, the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund, having



charge of the State's wet lands, entered into a contract with Mr. Hamilton Disston, of Philadelphia, and others, in which it was agreed that Disston and his associates would drain and reclaim, at their own expense and charge, all the overflowed lands of the State of Florida lying south of Township 23 and east of Peace Creek belonging to the State of Florida or the Internal Improvement Fund. Mr. Disston worked on this drainage task for about eight years, draining certain elevated lands in the Kissimmee territory and cultivating them.

WHY THE EVERGLADES NEED DRAINING

A word as to the topography of the Everglades and the reasons why they are wet:



Lake Okeechobee is the center of the problem. It may be compared to a great tank on top of a gently sloping house roof. On the lower edge of the roof is an elevated rim. Let the tank be filled with water. When more rain falls it will overflow, run down over the roof and be checked by the rim.

Lake Okeechobee, covering about a half-million acres, receives the waters from an area seven and a half times its own size. The lake has no outlet. It fills in the rainy season and then overflows, the water flowing over the great prairie. Before it reaches the ocean, however, it encounters the rock rim of coralline limestone. This retards the outflow of the water into the ocean. Through this rim the water has cut passages, but not enough to release the entire volume of water until

the next rainy season has arrived. Then the lake overflows again. Thus the prairie between lake and ocean is always more or less wet.

It seems the drainage work was first attempted by the Spaniards. Then came the Disston enterprise, and then, early in the present century, the latest effort.

THE STATE SYSTEM OF CANALS

Everglades drainage is in charge of the State of Florida, through its Internal Improvement Board. Its plan is to connect Lake Okeechobee with Gulf and Ocean by canals. These are to lower the lake level from its present height of twenty and four-tenths feet to sixteen feet. Thus a great



BANANAS ON EVERGLADES SOIL

drainage reservoir is to be created to receive the inflow from the north plus the rainfall, emit it gradually through the canals to gulf and ocean and thus prevent the overflow.

Under Governor W. S. Jennings (1901-1905) plans for this drainage work were laid. Under Governor N. B. Broward (1905-1909) the actual ditch-digging began. Governor Broward asked the United States Department of Agriculture for expert advice. J. O. Wright of the Drainage Division was sent to examine and report on the tract, which he did. He mapped out a system of canals which, with slight modifications, is now being installed. For the past two years, Mr. Wright has been in the employ of the State as its Chief Drainage Engineer. The dredging was first done by the State. Since July 1, 1910, it has been in the hands of the Furst-Clark Company of Baltimore.

Just how much canalizing will be necessary? Here the doctors have slightly disagreed. Broward's plan was that of "cut and try." Lay out and cut a system of canals. If these do the work, well and good. If more are needed, cut more. As for funds, no serious problem arises. The State drainage is financed from two sources: first, an annual

tax of five cents upon each acre benefited; second, the proceeds of the sale of State lands.

The present canals include the following:

1. On the west, one connecting Lake Okeechobee, through Lake Hicpochee, with the Caloosahatchee, thus discharging Glade waters into the Gulf of Mexico. This canal has been open and navigated for two and a half years.

2. On the southeast and east, a series emptying into the Atlantic. They are: (a) The North New River or Middle Canal. This connects the north branch of the New River, on which Ft. Lauderdale is situated, with Lake Okeechobee. This canal is cut through; (b) The Miami or South Canal. This is to connect Miami with Lake Okeechobee. About 60 per cent. of the distance has been cut and the canal will probably be open by the end of 1912; (c) The South New River Canal, running east and west, to connect canals (a) and (b). About 60 per cent. of this has been cut; (d) The Hillsboro Canal. This lies north of New River Canal, and will connect Hillsboro with the lake. About 80 per cent. of its length has been cut; (e) the Palm Beach Canal. This has recently been determined upon by the State. It will

connect Palm Beach with the lake. Work on it has not yet begun.

The plan further includes several smaller canals, and scores of miles of lateral ditches, good beginnings on which have been made.

On the main canals the dredging company is operating nine dredges, drill boats, and the like, night and day. It is bound by contract to have its work finished by July 1, 1913, and is understood to be well along with its schedule, 59.6 per cent. of the entire estimated yardage having been excavated on June 30, 1912.

LAKE WATER WILL BE RETAINED

The question is sometimes asked whether the drainage plan contemplates the emptying of the lake. The answer is an emphatic No. The lake is an invaluable asset. Water, in general, is an indispensable resource, and the water of Lake Okeechobee is, for several reasons, peculiarly valuable:

1. The lake is an inland sea, containing vast numbers of excellent fish. It is capable of bearing the vessels of future commerce. In addition, it will undoubtedly become the center of a far-famed pleasure resort which the Palm Beach of to-day faintly foreshadows.

2. The lake is an important factor in the modification of climate. As a protection against frost, its value is beyond estimate.

3. The lake is the great reservoir for the supply of water to the Glade region. This water is needed, first, for the canals. These have already become highways between ocean and gulf. What they will mean in future as means of transportation may be inferred from the part played by the canals of Holland and our own Erie Canal.

Again, the lake water is needed to supplement the rainfall. This, it is true, averages, in the Glade region, some fifty-seven inches per annum. Still, here as elsewhere, there are times when additional water is helpful, perhaps priceless. Laterals are being cut from the main canals into the land. Sub-laterals branch off from these. By means of locks in the canals, and gates in the laterals and ditches, the height and flow of this water can be controlled. It passes horizontally through the loose, porous soil as through salt or sand, and capillary attraction brings it up to the plant roots. From the standpoint of sub-irrigation, the Glade region, if made to order, could hardly have been improved upon. State legislation, providing for systematic control of the height of the water table, is advised by competent engineers.



A FIELD OF EGG PLANT, ORANGE RIDGE

FROSTS ARE RARE

Mention has been made of frost. The Everglades are, in this regard, peculiarly blest. They lie in a region more nearly free from frost than any other in the United States. The Weather Bureau's Bulletin V on "Frost Data of the United States" carries maps on which, right across the Everglades region, are inscribed the words, "Frost at rare intervals only." Cocoanuts, among the most sensitive of all trees to frost and cold, abound on the rim in the vicinity of Miami and Fort Lauderdale. Again, the excessive heats which might be expected in the far South are also conspicuous by their absence, the mercury at Miami having registered the maximum of 96 degrees of temperature but once since records have been kept in that vicinity.

HEALTHFULNESS OF THE
EVERGLADES

The healthfulness of the region is an object of remark. Lieutenant Christopher R. P. Rodgers, of the United States Navy, said in 1848, "After observing the climate of the Everglades at every season, I consider it one of the most healthy in the world." State Chemist R. E. Rose of Florida, speaking of the agricultural work in the 80's on the reclaimed lands of the Disston Company north of the lake, said, "During a period of over eleven years, the company never employed a physician nor lost an employee from death." Similar testimony abounds. Doctor O. M. Muncaster, late of Washington, D. C., who lived last season on Everglades land in the midst of a community conducting cropping operations, is reported to have been much more fully occupied with fishing in the canal than with the practice of his profession.

FAVORABLE LOCATION

The location of the Everglades territory is exceptional. A glance at the world map shows the peninsula of Florida jutting straight out into the ocean, to the southeast. The Everglades tract is but three degrees north of the Tropic of Cancer. This puts it on the

parallel running through or near the Nile Valley, the Persian Gulf, Benares, the Holy City of India, the Sandwich Islands, and the mouth of the Rio Grande—in a word, through the regions where human life first took root upon the planet. Again, the Panama Canal is soon to be an accomplished fact. It lies just south of Florida. Vessels between North and South America and Occident and Orient *via* the canal route will largely skirt the Everglades tract, touching last, on going south, at Miami, Queen City of the Ever-



FIRST CROP OF BEANS ON EVERGLADES SOD—
GROUND UNPLOUGHED

glade region, and first, again, at Miami on their return northward.

CONSERVING OUR NATION'S ENERGIES

And the real significance of Everglades reclamation? Not the profits of the land speculator, whether of to-day or to-morrow. Under present forms of land tenure, these, of course, are inescapable. To-day our public lands are gone; population, native born and immigrant, is swelling in turgid tide; and, as effect follows cause, land values mount like elevators in office-buildings.

Wherever, therefore, or under whatever auspices, good, new lands are opened to use, something or somebody—railroad, land company, landlord, Indian tribe, actual settler or, possibly, even the long-time tenant—is bound to pocket an "unearned increment." While private property in land prevails, this must follow as shadow follows substance;

and the public interest lies not in either helping or hindering the piling up of these gratuitous gains. It lies, instead, in the bringing together of the man and the land. Too long has the besom of industrial centralization swept our rural populations city-ward, to heap them, story upon story, in sky-scrapers, tenements, sweat-shops and factories.

THE FABLE OF ANTAEUS

The progressive divorcement of man from land is a mighty factor in the forcing upward, to famine levels, of the prices of food. Further, the strain upon human nature is intensifying, till the breaking point is at hand. The city, once deemed an unmixed blessing, is becoming, for many, a menace and a curse. The fiber, physical, intellectual and moral, of our civilization is already yielding, as the fiber of Roman civilization yielded 1500 years ago. The lesson of Antaeus—the mythical Samson—is again pertinent and instructive. Separated from his mother, the earth, he became, like his Hebrew prototype shorn of his

locks, a weakling, a victim of whatever enemy might lift hand to slay him. But brought again into contact with the soil whence, as from a battery of electric generators, flowed his energies, he became irresistible.

To-day the puissant Orient is rousing itself from the slumber of ages, stretching its giant thews and sinews, rubbing its blinking eyes, and casting glances upon upstart, newly-rich, stripping nations which, but yesterday, proposed to dismember it and divide its fragments, as Roman soldiers once parted among themselves the garments of One greater than they. The time may be near when the Occident—whether for war, which Heaven forbid! or industrial competition, or world-scale coöperation—will require all its resources of intelligence and strength. At such a time, we may well ponder the lesson of Antaeus; and welcome, from whatever source, the opportunity to bring our people once more into normal, vital relations with the land from which flow our supplies of power, and insure to our nation its place on the map and in the history of the world.



HARVESTING SUGAR CANE, ST. CLOUD PLANTATION



ONE OF THE TRAIN LOADS OF APPLES THAT THE "IRRIGATION COUNTRY" IS SENDING TO MARKET

(From the famous Hagerman orchard near Roswell, New Mexico. Roswell has the benefit of the great Texas and Gulf Coast apple market)

HOW IRRIGATION IS "MAKING GOOD"

BY AGNES C. LAUT

ASK a farmer of the Southwest if irrigation is making good, and the chances are his contempt for your ignorance will be so great that he will not bother answering you.

The Easterner knows that securities of all kinds—including irrigation bonds—were hard hit by the panic of 1907, and harder hit by the failure of a great banking house in Chicago which made a specialty of handling irrigation bonds. He may or may not know that the failure of that house was in no wise its own fault, but solely owing to the market being hurt by the speculative "wildcatter." He undoubtedly knows that the Eastern banks passed word down the line to their clients to look into *all* irrigation projects carefully before buying either bonds or lands; and he may have heard of the land-boom campaign waged for the benefit of widows, orphans, stenographers, and city clerks, with a view to selling as irrigated land at top-notch prices lands high above the ditch line, where water will not run uphill, lands with beautiful pictures of orchard plots which never saw a tree. Our Easterner may also have heard the warning issued by one of the big railway companies—that if all the fruit lands alleged to be set out in trees were bearing, not all the cars of all the railroads in the United States could carry the fruit to market.

MORE WATER AND MORE PROFIT THAN BEFORE THE BOOM

Your Westerner has heard all this too. It's an old story—wherever there is a good gold mine, there is also a glittering gold brick; and irrigation is no exception to the rule. But he also knows that, spite of the panic of 1907 and the sudden slump in bonds,

more land has gone under irrigation in the West since the slump than before. Speculation and "wildcatting" were stopped by the slump. Genuine waters in genuine ditches were not. The Southwestern farmer is so busy cutting five crops of alfalfa per acre each season, worth from \$50 to \$60 an acre; so busy grubbing Bermuda onions that yield 60,000 pounds to the acre, worth two cents a pound—which was what Fabian Garcia produced at Mesilla Park Experimental Station; so busy trucking \$8000 net off nineteen acres in vegetables—which was the record of a Chinaman down at Deming, New Mexico, that he hasn't time to expend very much sympathy on the scatteration of a lot of "wildcats" or on the howls of the victims. He is too busy turning the water on in *his* ditch to read the Eastern announcement that the "ditch business is busted." As far as speculation is concerned, it is; but more water is flowing in the irrigation ditch to-day, more profit is coming from the irrigation farm, than before the collapse of the land and bond boom.

Since the collapse of the boom the largest irrigation area known to the world has been launched in California, covering an area of from 5,000,000 to 7,000,000 acres. Arizona promises to be a second citrus grove. New Mexico already has 750,000 acres under the ditch, has plans and water sufficient for 4,000,000 acres more, and within ten years will have under irrigation an area equal to the States of Delaware and Rhode Island.

SOUTHWESTERN IRRIGATION 1500 YEARS OLD

All this does not sound as if irrigation were "done for" in the Southwest, does it? In

fact, irrigation is no new thing to the intermountain States. It existed long before there were bonding and banking and flotation companies; long before the Spaniard had come to America; long before the present races of Indians in the Southwest inhabited their present abode. In southern Arizona, in northwest New Mexico, along the base of the cliff caves of the Frijoles, you can still trace the ancient ditch line that marked the water courses of irrigation as early as 400 A. D.,—perhaps earlier. Oddly enough, modern engineers utilize these very ditch lines, and in many cases cannot improve on the surveying done by these prehistoric folk. An art as old as 400 A. D. isn't eminently likely to go absolutely to pieces because Wall Street has had cold chills and "wildcat" promoters have hied them to climes unknown.

THE DRY BELT ON ITS OWN RESOURCES

In fact, the collapse of the boom has worked direct good in two ways. The Southwestern States have enacted drastic provisions against "wildcatting," or what the New Mexico Territorial Engineer, in his report of 1910, calls "projects for speculative purposes throwing clouds on true titles." Henceforth, your irrigation promoter of the Southwest must file with the local authorities a bond, to be forfeited if he fails to carry out his project. As this bond is a proportionate percentage of the estimated cost, capitalizations that are inflated only to sell to the public have been effectually stopped.

The second good effect of the collapse has been to throw the West back solely on its own resources. The West doesn't dicker any longer with the promoter who files for water he has never seen and then sits tight on his rights and asks a fabulous price for that same

stream of the man who lives along its banks. When 300,000 people a year are coming into the dry belt water has to be had, and irrigation projects are now going ahead in three different ways:

(1) The first way is the method that prevailed before the Spaniard came to America. You can see the ditch line of that method along the Rio Grande as you travel in the train. Each man becomes his own irrigation company. He digs the ditch and turns the water on; and if any "water hog" has sat down on that stream with a prior filing, that little provision of the new law in New Mexico, that he must deposit bonds for cash forfeit if he fails to begin construction, makes your "water hog" mighty glad to get up off that water and leave development to the man next.

(2) The second procedure is also the method of the early prehistoric irrigators. When the job is too big and expensive for one man, the farmers band themselves together, bond their lands with a local bank for the cost of an irrigation project, and put in the reservoir themselves, or pay some company cash to do it. Under the old régime, this community ditch was known as the Acequia Madre, or mother ditch, and the mother ditch community plan is proving a good deal more satisfactory to the West than a wild raking of the East fore and aft for money through sale of bonds.

(3) The third method of promoting still bigger irrigation projects is through the Carey Act, which is beginning to bear very good results indeed.

ARTESIAN WELLS

Of all forms of individual irrigating, the most interesting and striking is that in the lower Pecos valley. We all know, or have



STACKING ALFALFA IN THE ROSWELL DISTRICT

forgotten that we once knew, that in hot countries the water table sinks from surface levels to depths varying from twelve feet to 1800 feet; but it took a genius at Roswell in 1896 to utilize that forgotten bit of lore by sinking an artesian well 180 feet at a cost of \$2 a foot, with the result that he struck such a gusher it almost blew his iron casings out. Since that time wells have been sunk 400, 1600, 1800 feet at a cost varying from a few dollars to \$4000. One single artesian "gusher" will irrigate 400 acres, and pretty well supplants the function of the promoter. Before the discovery of the artesian water supply this was Government land open to homestead. To-day improved land cannot be bought under \$250 an acre, and unimproved is held at from \$30 to \$50. In all, 50,000 acres are under the artesian well system and there is sufficient water to irrigate 100,000 acres more. In terms of Eastern distances, the artesian area would about cover Long Island, or reach from New York half-way to Albany.

West of the Rio Grande, not far from the Mexican border, the Membres River disappears in the sand for a distance of twelve miles. John Hund, from California, where subterranean flow is so frequently tapped, was the first genius to reach down for the water table here. He homesteaded 160 acres, bought 640 acres more, invested in a gasoline engine, began to pump, and netted \$25 an acre. It is in this region that a Chinaman who bought nineteen acres netted \$8000 in trucking. Soil and climate seem specially adapted to vegetables; and round Deming you can see 400-acre fields in frijoles beans, a single field of 400 acres in alfalfa, which yields five tons a season per acre, worth from \$10 to \$16 per ton. One acre of tomatoes has yielded \$400, of potatoes \$300, of celery \$1,000, of onions \$400.

But all irrigating when the farmer is his own promoter and his own company is not from artesian and subterranean flows. Everywhere along the Rio Grande, in small box-like canyons where mountain streams flow, on the upper Pecos, you will find the individual irrigator. The Hagerman place, on the lower Pecos, which comprised many thousand acres, 2000 of which were orchard, before it was broken in smaller tracts, had and has yet a pumping plant and canal system of its own; and mention has been



IRRIGATION WITH THE FLOWING WELL-WATER SUPPLY IN THE PECOS VALLEY NEAR ROSWELL

made of a \$100,000 crop from 450 acres of apples. Far up the sources of the Pecos, where I had gone to see the snow peaks, I came on a 160-acre ranch where the owner has put in a ditch of his own and yearly takes 5000 bales of eighty pounds each of hay, which he sells at from \$20 to \$25 a ton. This can only be done, of course, with alfalfa of four cuttings a year. Owing to the very steep declivity of many of the streams in the intermountain States, the building of the individual ditch is a very easy matter—a matter of running a plow furrow along the upper edge of the farm. Not all irrigators are so fortunate in this respect, however. Sometimes the "fall" is very slight.

INDIVIDUAL IRRIGATORS

These are not things which *may* be done. They are things that *have* been done. Do you wonder now that the Westerner smiles with contempt when you suggest that a slump in bonds may prevent irrigation making good?

COMMUNITY DITCHES

When you come to consider the community ditches of the Southwest, their number is literally legion, and, like the individual ditch, they antedate the coming of the Spaniard. Wherever one farm flanks another back from



LOADING ALFALFA AT ARTESIA IN THE PECOS VALLEY

(For shipment to Honolulu. Artesia, population 2000, shipped 1100 cars of alfalfa in 1910. Average price, \$13 a ton)

Thousands of acres of such land lie round Albuquerque. On the Rio Grande, from Bernalillo to Belen, for fifty miles are eight such community ditches—all more than fifty years old, producing from three to five crops a year.

When the community irrigation is under American management higher prices prevail. At Hope, near Artesia, the people united to put in a brush and adobe dam in a gulch on the mountainside. Under this system of irrigation, \$1000 an acre was netted from German prunes, \$300 for apples. Now the Hope

the water the community-ditch plan exists. Sometimes it is the simple plan which the Spaniard adopted from the Indian. Once a year the community elects its Acequia Commissioners or Assessor and its Mayor and \$40 an acre. Domo, or water boss, who estimates yearly cost of cleaning and repairs. Each landowner can pay the assessment in labor or cash, but the cost never exceeds \$1.80 an acre. This is the system almost universally in use among the Mexicans, and the fact that the irrigated lands can still be bought for \$30 and \$40 an acre is ascribable more to their methods of farming than the fault of the land. You can still see farms in New Mexico where the burros and the goats are turned onto the thrashing floor to trample out the wheat as in Oriental lands. Your Mexican farmer is a bit apt, when he turns on the water, to go for a gossip with a neighbor. Naturally the water floods. When the heat dries it out, an alkali scum surfaces the land. This doesn't help crops; and Americans are coming in, buying the alkali land at \$30 and \$40 by the thousands of acres, washing off the alkali, instituting better methods, and reselling at from \$100 to \$200 an acre.

people are putting in a cement and concrete dam, good as any venture with the United States reclamation behind it, and naturally you can't buy that land for \$30

How many such community irrigation projects there are in the Southwest I cannot say. I have in my notebook record of eight large ones serving communities of from 1000 to 5000 people.



VIEW IN A FORTY-ACRE APPLE ORCHARD ADJACENT TO ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO

(Without spraying or smudging, this orchard yielded \$175 an acre net in 1910. It is under one of the old Mexican community ditches)

Of course, countless company projects exist as well, and where the irrigation canals have been put in land which the companies operating on Red River, at Las Cruces, at Fort Sumner, in San Juan, bought at \$5 an acre they resold at from \$60 to \$80 and \$400, according as the land yielded in crop.

In San Juan County a section very similar to the great apple belt of Grand Junction, Colorado, one community bonded the lands for \$150,000 and put in the water itself. Some of its orchards netted \$1200 an acre. At Portales the settlers were practising dry farming from 1905, when they came in. It worked well during rainy seasons, and there were good crops; but in 1907 and 1908 came panic and drought, and dry farming failed. One of the settlers persuaded the people to bond the lands for 7 per cent. at \$35 an acre. With the proceeds, \$350,000, he went to New York. A big company was induced to put in a pumping plant. The settlers are given ten years to pay the debt. That is, they pay the \$35 per acre in ten payments of \$3.50 a year; but since obtaining water their products have been from \$15 to \$30 an acre, and in ten years they will own the water plant.

GOVERNMENT PROJECTS

Mention has not been made of the reclamation irrigation projects in the Southwest, for the simple reason that the average skeptical Easterner has no fear of Government projects not making good. With the Government behind them they are bound to make good; but it may be stated here

that in all Government irrigation projects of the Southwest, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, land that was worth \$40 before the ditch came is now valued at \$150, \$400, \$1000 an acre, according as it is in alfalfa, apples, or citrus crop.

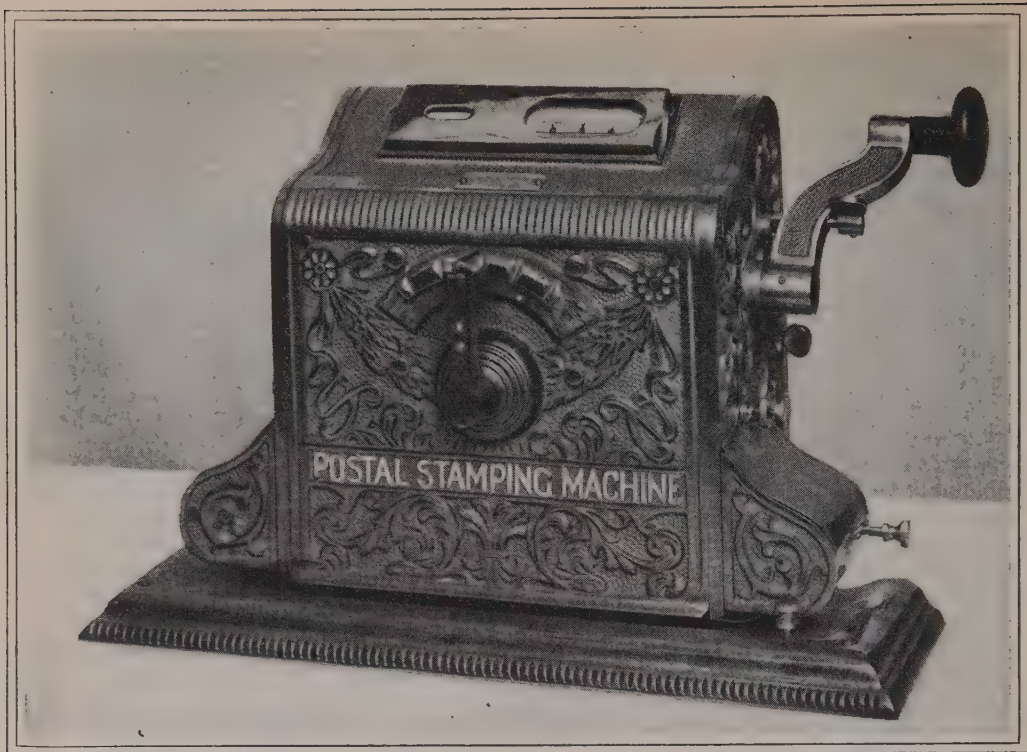
Under the Carey Act many irrigation projects are going ahead. The land is bought at 50 cents, 25 cents down, 25 cents at time of final proof. The water rights are bought from the company providing the ditch at from \$50 to \$60 an acre, paid in ten instalments. The land cannot be taken in larger than 160-acre blocks, and forty are deemed ample for the average homestead.

Under water forty acres will yield the farmer over 100 tons of alfalfa a year, which he will sell at a minimum of \$10 a ton. This will keep him till his fruit and stock come to a profitable basis; but in ten years, when his water is all paid for, he should net from \$2000 to \$3000 a year.

How much money should the beginner have for an irrigation farm? That depends solely and wholly on the beginner. Some begin with \$100,000 and come out with nothing; and their name is legion. Others begin with nothing and come out with \$100,000. But the Government engineers and the Territorial engineers all give the same amount—\$1500 for the house, \$500 for stock, \$500 to tide over the first year. As a matter of fact, the first item can be substituted with a \$20 boarded tent; and that is typical of the expedients to which the settler must temporarily resort if he would be ultimately successful.



BALING ALFALFA, RIO GRANDE VALLEY, NEAR ALBUQUERQUE



THE STAMPING MACHINE ADOPTED BY THE NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT

THE STAMPING MACHINE VS. THE POSTAGE STAMP

BY W. B. G. WANKLYN

[The use of a stamping machine in place of the postage stamp was an innovation of the government of New Zealand, that laboratory of political and economic reforms. The writer of the following article, who is a life-long resident of the city of Christchurch, has studied the plan from its inception.—THE EDITOR.]

IT is to the credit of the New Zealand postal authorities that they are, unlike most government officials, always prepared to consider any means or inventions for saving time and labor, and the adoption of a local invention for postmarking letters was one of their first experiments.

Some seven or eight years ago, a struggling mechanic suggested to the postal authorities that an automatic stamping machine would be a great boon to the business people, besides being an economy to the department. There was nothing new in this, because, for the past half-century, the postal authorities of all countries have been on the lookout for some means of coping with the continuously increasing postal matter, and, while labor-saving machinery in the direction of mechanically postmarking letters in place of the old

hand stamp had been invented, there was no practical suggestion in the direction of economy in the large expense of printing stamps, with all the necessary labor of issuing, checking, taking over, and balancing them.

The first hand machine for this purpose was very successful, because in large offices one machine would just about do the work of five men. But this was not enough, and, eventually, the machine was improved to such an extent that, by connecting it with electric power, a still greater saving in labor was secured. Even this did not satisfy those interested, and a sorting-table was made with a deep groove which contained an endless belt and this was automatically connected with the postmarker. The result was that five or six operators can now inspect the mail matter coming in and drop the letters into

the groove from which they are delivered postmarked direct to the sorters at the rate of over 1000 per minute. The evolution of the automatic franking machine in New Zealand, is not unlike the experiments with the postmarker and the mechanic before mentioned was informed that if he could invent a machine that would automatically stamp letters, and there were sufficient safeguards against fraud, it would be given a trial.

The result was that a penny-in-the-slot machine was installed outside post offices and at pillar boxes, etc.

A few months' trial proved that, while it was a convenience, the accumulation of foreign coins, tokens, discs of lead, washers, etc., was fatal to its success and it was abandoned.

The next step was a coin-freed machine for use in offices.

On the insertion of a sovereign, the mechanism of the machine was unlocked, and impressions of pence and half-pence, to the value of £1 could be obtained, when the machine automatically locked itself pending the insertion of another sovereign.

This proved itself such a convenience to business people that the idea naturally occurred to increase the number and value of the impressions given, and the machine then reached its third stage.

The new machine, on the insertion of a sovereign, would give impressions of one half-penny, one, two, three, four, five, and six pence until the sovereign was exhausted, when the machine closed automatically. So perfect were these machines, that, if the dial showed that nineteen shillings and ten pence had been used, and the user wanted to get a six-penny impression, the machine would give the impression, lock itself, and debit the four pence to the next sovereign.

This machine was given a good trial and was mechanically perfect but the difficulty of control became apparent. The Department objected to its clerks handling so much cash when collecting, and there was a great danger of burglary. Commercially, it was not always satisfactory because it was found that occasionally the staff would have left the office, leaving a large quantity of postal matter, to find later that there were not sufficient impressions remaining in the machine, and the messenger or junior clerk had to find somebody with the wherewithal to recharge the machine.

These failures did not daunt either the inventor or the department and the outcome was the present machine, which has now been

in general use in the Dominion for the past six years.

Unlike its predecessors, no coin is required to operate it.

It gives impressions of half-penny, one, three, and six pence and one shilling, and as each impression is made its value is automatically recorded on a set of dials at the top of the machine, which are plainly visible. The first dial records the number of pence and half-pence until one shilling is reached, when a record is made on the second dial, which registers up to twenty shillings, the £1 being transferred to the third dial, which in turn passes the record on to the fourth dial as soon as impressions to the value of £20 have been obtained. This dial records every £20 used, until £400 is reached. The total is then taken up by a toothed wheel, which is visible under a small round glass near the dials. This wheel records up to £4000, when the machine automatically resets at zero.

This large sum is one of the safeguards against fraud. To issue enough impressions to bring the record round from a stated sum to that sum again would take 80,000 at one shilling, 160,000 at six pence, 320,000 at three pence, 960,000 at one penny, and 1,920,000 at half-penny. It would therefore take an operator about a week, working hard eight hours a day to issue the shilling impressions, while working at the same rate he would with half-penny impressions finish his task in just about six months. Of course, his labor would be in vain because the impressions are valueless.

The stamp book, of course, must be kept as a record, but its supervision as a prevention of speculation is done away with. No checking is necessary because only the amount showing on the dial after subtraction of the previous record is paid for, and a receipt is given by the postal official.

The advantages of the machine have been dealt with only from the users' point of view and those in authority will not unreasonably ask, What protection has the government against fraud?

In the first place, the machines are turned out from the workshop with only one means of opening, and that is by a patent lock, the key of which is handed to the postal authorities after the machine has been exhaustively tested. There are no screws that will give admission to the interior and therefore the mechanism cannot be tampered with. The dies are cut by hand, and it is just as difficult to copy them as to copy handwriting. Each die has a distinctive number and, as the

department only gives permission for the use of the machine, a record is kept of every user, and any doubtful impression can be immediately challenged. The ribbons are non-copying, and a carbon impression could be easily detected with the naked eye or by the very simple test of glycerine. Both the inventor and the postal officials have tried every means of defrauding the impression and the machine has arrived at its present state of perfection mainly by the criticisms and suggestions of the latter. However, the greatest safeguard was recognized in the fact that the impressions are not salable and the labor of committing a fraud would be valueless. Another safeguard is that the users are mostly commercial firms who would not be a party to fraud and if there was any doubt suspicion would soon be aroused by the ramifications of the returns which would be always before the departmental officers in their usual periods. From an economical point of view, the saving to the government is very considerable; it saves the cost of printing stamps and the labor and accountancy necessary in connection with issuing and checking.

In the government departments special stamps were printed marked "official" and all the routine of requisitions and vouchers, etc., had to be undertaken. With the machine, the records are taken at given periods, the only thing necessary being the passing of a debit note.

The safeguards in the machine itself are that the handle will not move unless the indicator of the value is in the slot, but once it is set in motion it records the amount and cannot be turned back.

The department will refund the amount of spoiled impressions, but only upon the production of the document, *i. e.*, the used envelope or telegraph form, and it must be unutilized. This is a proper safeguard for both parties. No refunds are made on impressions upon plain sheets of paper.

The best evidence of its success from the government point of view, is the concluding paragraph of a report from the Secretary of the Post and Telegraph Department on the machines, dated January 13, 1910, which is as follows:

The machine as now constructed embodies all the improvements which, in the opinion of the department, were necessary to perfect it.

The accompanying illustration gives a good idea of the general appearance of the machine. In front is the indicator handle; on top of the machine are the recording dials under glass;

on the right-hand side is the operating handle, with the trigger stop attached to it. Slightly at the back underneath the handle is the catch for locking the machine quickly when not in use. On either side of the machine in the curved boxes, the ribbon is situated with its forward and reverse mechanism. Upon a flag appearing through the slot of the dial on top of the machine, as shown on the left, warning is given that the ribbon requires reversing. Showing at the back of the right-hand side ribbon box, is the ribbon reverse handle. All that is necessary is to push in or pull out the handle, when the ribbon mechanism is thereby reversed. In front of the base plate a peg will be seen. As the dies descend on the center of the machine the normal position of this stop for single impressions is a corresponding hole slightly to the right of the indicator handle. If another impression is required alongside of the last, all that is necessary is to move the envelope one space further along, the requisite distances being marked on the base of the machine, release the handle catch, and turn the handle, as before. At the bottom is an opening in which the matter to be stamped is inserted. The indicator handle in front is then placed in the slot desired. One slot gives half-penny impressions, the next one penny, and so on. The handle release is then depressed and the handle pushed round until a complete circle has been made, when it is automatically locked. The value of the impression taken has been added to the total recorded by the dials at the top of the machine.

The machine at present is only manufactured for using impressions of the British coinage values, but all the parts for altering to the decimal coinage of any nation are prepared, and in fact a machine is now under construction to the order of the government of Ceylon for trial purposes.

The machine is leased in perpetuity to the user for £27 in cash at a rental of one penny per annum.

The Postmaster General retains the key and the machine cannot be transferred without his consent.

The dies are the property of the department and in the event of the user wishing to abandon his machine (an event that has not yet happened) the dies are removed, which makes the machine inoperative.

That there is a splendid future for automatic stamping machines there can be no shadow of doubt and there is practically no end to their usefulness.

THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS

THIS is the fifth of a series of seven articles now appearing in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS. Already published are "Big Business and the Citizen" (in two instalments), "The Borrower and the Money Trust," and "The Efficiency of Labor." To follow are "The Middleman" and "The Captain of Industry."

In the following article Mr. Gleason shows some of the difficulties of the investor in his relation to both high and low finance, and emphasizes the fact that the question is more than a matter of dollars. Much of the prevalent discontent is the result of unwise investments, since the number affected is large enough to create prejudice against all business. The cure for the evils is publicity of the essential facts of organization and management of all corporations the securities of which are placed upon the market.

THE INVESTOR'S VIEWPOINT

BY ARTHUR H. GLEASON

THERE was a time when the man who owned the shop was the man who ran the shop. He was on duty behind the counter; he paid his helpers with his own money; he did his business among neighbors in the one community. His business was local, centralized, and public. If he cheated, there was no one on whom he could shift the blame. There were no stockholders hundreds of miles away who absorbed dividends without knowledge of the methods by which the product was made or sold, and without knowledge of the product itself and whom he might cheat. In those days an investor knew to the last penny where his capital was invested. If he did not use it himself, he loaned it to a neighbor where he could keep an eye on it.

The increasing size and complexity of business has made this close relationship between the investor and his money impossible. No longer are horseshoes made by the village blacksmith, furniture by the local cabinet-maker, vehicles by the local wheelwright, pails by the local cooper. Steam or electric railroads have replaced the stage lines. Great establishments employing hundreds or even thousands of operatives have succeeded the little workshops of former days, and the goods on the shelves of any country store come from a dozen or more different States.

Some of these industries, as, for example, the manufacture of automobiles, have sprung up in a night. The greater part, however, represents a gradual growth. A man fore-

seeing the possibilities that improved methods of transportation meant to him by bringing raw material to his door and distributing his product, or recognizing the value of a new invention or discovery, built an addition to his shop and increased his output. The confidence he inspired in his community made his neighbors willing to loan him money, and this borrowed capital together with his profits enabled him to enlarge his plant again and again; or, perhaps, a partnership was formed and the members and their sons all worked to develop the business.

How Opportunities for Investment Have Increased

These men grew old or grew tired, or else the succession failed. Perhaps the very success of the undertaking required different management, and that great invention, the corporation, replaced the other forms of organization. Sometimes those who had built up the business continued to have a voice in the management. In other cases they withdrew entirely.

Up to this time admission to a share of the profits of the enterprise depended upon relationship to the heads, or else upon ability to bring knowledge or skill of value to the business. Now a share is offered to all having the money necessary to pay the market price and the stock tends to become scattered. Who are the buyers?

In spite of the increasing cost of living, due

partly to the higher price of food and shelter and partly to a higher standard of life, the margin between income and cost of subsistence has, generally speaking, grown wider. This is only another way of saying that capital has increased faster than population. This capital has sought and is seeking opportunity for profitable investment. Every man or woman with a surplus, whether it be ten dollars or a hundred thousand, is a potential investor, and when opportunity for investment is denied at home these investors have not hesitated to send their capital far away. The men with a hundred thousand dollars or with a million are few. The small investors are actually more important, because there are so many of them, and they often meet with disaster.

Almost alone of modern types, the farmer has rarely been a long-distance investor. The farm itself is a sponge for lucrative investments. The farmer can profitably take over more land, buy better stock, or lend money to a near-by farmer. So he keeps his money for his own enterprises or those of his successful neighbor. He invests with knowledge inside his own community. A difference of two per cent. in the interest paid on money loans has not sufficed to draw money in any large amounts from southern to northern Wisconsin.

The investing spirit in men is altogether excellent. None of that eager desire to better themselves and lift their tired lives out of the rut of routine into new levels of released energy is to be discouraged. Careful investigation and wise advice only are needed to direct that mass of crystallized labor power and human energy into continuing national assets.

No interpretation which calls the hard-working, thrifty, ambitious common folk "fools," "suckers," "easy marks," is an adequate description of the human situation which makes them desire to better their standard of living and enrich their personality.

Six Elements of the Investing Spirit

(1) A belief in human nature and in the honesty of the average man.

(2) The individual response to "our national love of happy audacity."

The desire to invest and "take a chance" is an expression of a precious element in American character. It is that which makes a wearied newspaper man, after thirty years of grinding, with a family of six on his hands,

change his job, and become a successful librarian at fifty-five years of age. It is one with the unconquerable spirit of the pioneer, the explorer. It is the protest against routine.

The investor obeys the same impulse that sent Peary to the Pole, and got Wilbur Wright off the ground. To prevent the small investor from venturing would be killing a spiritual thing to save a few dollars; it would be destroying springs of energy which create money value for the sake of protecting an external acquisition. In the end it would destroy earning capacity for the sake of past savings.

(3) The protest of the exploited against the massed power of great wealth. The people are told that the public domain has been gobbled up by great syndicates. They see the water power, phosphate beds, and forests falling into comparatively few hands. They long to share in the national wealth, to which they believe they have a right.

(4) The desire of the lonely and humble to shine and be significant, to count as human beings. The city clerk and filing girl are as lonely as the farmer's wife, and alike they wish to enlarge their destiny. It is the wish to escape from routine and hack work, and ally oneself with a mystery, to become a part of that heroic new mining country or the untamable oil gusher. Romance is still alive in the land, and men and women wish to annex a fragment of its loveliness.

(5) A desire to share in the work of nation building. The work of the promoter, backed by the believers in him, his stockholders, is the work of making over raw conditions into finished conditions, of civilizing the frontier, of creating cities out of deserts.

Clearly it will not do to quench that spirit of loyalty and daring in the hearts of common folk. They are making a spiritual adventure. To cherish it and then to safeguard and guide it is the work of "investment editors," clean brokers, and public-spirited stock exchanges.

(6) The longing for comfort in old age. The investor wishes a measure of peace and plenty at the end of his life, when his natural force is abated. He wishes his own home, and enough food to nourish him, when he can no longer hunt work.

Where are These Investors?

Large-scale production and distribution combined with these elements have resulted in bringing to the corporations thousands of shareholders. These investors are scattered

over a wide area, for the printing press and the agent are ubiquitous. This widespread body of investors, some of them two thousand miles away from the central office and plant of the company in which their money is placed, can know little of the details of the business. Decisions are made, policy is determined, in the absence of the (say) 10,000 stockholders, distant from the management an average of (say) 300 miles. Control naturally gravitates into the hands of a few of the largest stockholders. They are supposed to be men of directive ability, or they would not be in a position to purchase great blocks of stock, and the magnitude of their holdings supplies a motive for applying that directive ability to this company. By means of proxies these few powerful men elect directors and officers.

These elected men are representatives of the large and widely scattered community of stockholders just as definitely and inescapably as the Congressman is the representative of his Congressional constituency. Ethically they are trustees. Generally this responsibility is recognized, as the stockholders of thousands of well-managed corporations can testify. Sometimes the directors forget their function as representatives of the best interests of all the voting shareholders, as trustees for each individual of the thousands of owners. Sometimes they think of themselves as sole owners.

When the directors forget that they are charged with a solemn trust injustice enters. Wrongful methods lead to hasty legislative remedies. Quiet, steady progress is impeded. Ill feeling is increased. Business lags, efficiency is lessened. Much of the trouble began when secrecy became the veil behind which the inner process and the central management proceeded to work their silent will.

Secrecy Again a Menace

Secrecy has grown and thrived because of the very nature of the modern corporation. The absent stockholders, the corporation, behind whose impersonality lurk active, keen minds seeking gain, the long-distance profits, the wide area of operations, carried on over a continent instead of in the one community,—all these new elements afford a field for secrecy, and hidden trails, of which the old-time merchant-proprietor, manager, clerk, and stockholder all in one person knew nothing, and for which the former situation offered no opportunity.

The organization of the modern corpora-

tion offers many opportunities for injustice when the officers lose their sense of perspective. The methods are many. Sometimes watered stock is issued. This represents no real physical value, but only capitalized hopes. Often it is issued as a bonus. A dividend which cannot be maintained is declared to enable the "insiders" to unload their stock on ignorant investors, who read of large dividends and believe that the stock represents present value. Such action means that the active interests inside the corporation issuing such stock have forgotten their trusteeship and used their positions for personal gain.

Other ways arise in which the stockholders are deceived. When two small opposing groups of large stockholders struggle for control, the small stockholder may be ground between the upper and the nether millstone. The company may be wrecked by the selfish struggle for control.

Other Methods by Which the Small Investor is Cheated

Though the company is prospering, sometimes earnings are concealed or an unfavorable and misleading report is issued. The small stockholder sees that his shares are not receiving dividends, reads the report, and believes the rumors he hears. He sells his stock cheaply, in order to realize a little ready money. One of the "inside" groups buys in the stock at a low figure, and when the announcement of the actual earnings is later made pockets the profits or else is able to sell the stock for a considerable increase over its purchase price.

Quarrels are sometimes started and fomented in order to lead to a temporary bankruptcy. Then a reorganization is made, the bondholders take control, or an assessment is demanded, and the small stockholder is frozen out. Under the terms of the reorganization the hold of the secret manipulators is strengthened.

Sometimes the inner group organizes a supply company to sell material or raw products to the parent company. The prices charged are so high that small margin is left for profit to the parent company, which is milked dry by this supply company. The exorbitant rates obtained by the supply company result in profit to the inner group who organized it for just this purpose. A similar trick takes the form of a construction company, which does the required contract work for the parent company at excessive rates. The profit passes over into the hands of the

inner group, and the stockholders at large are deprived of dividends.

Again, terminals or bridges are rented to the company by the inside ring and the high charges absorb what would otherwise be profits for the stockholders. A railroad may lease a few miles of track lying on the line of its through haul, and pay over such a large rental that profits on the main line are reduced materially. That leased company is actually owned by the handful of insiders who dominate the parent company.

Such are some of the devices by which the ordinary stockholders, without knowledge or influence, are deprived of return on their investment and the few are enriched. These practices are not peculiar to trusts. While the stocks of some of the great combinations are notoriously the playthings of a few men in the management, and the organization of others may be justly condemned, many are carefully and honestly managed. On the other hand, some of the worst juggling has occurred in competitive industries. But all these concerns, whatever be the trick of the inner ring, really have a product to sell. In spite of secret manipulation, they perform necessary work in the community. The management only is at fault.

The companies which have been the foot-balls of "high finance" have handled a real product. Even if the unprotected stockholder did not get his share of profits, he was backing a company which produced indispensable material. But there is another side to the problem of the investor less well understood, which we may call the problem of "low finance." Though low finance is little understood, its extent and power are sufficient to make it important.

Increasingly under the white light of publicity, big business is growing less predatory. It is falling into more satisfactory relationship to the community. A more sordid situation is found in low finance. Here the companies are organized primarily for the purpose of swindling. Generally they do not purpose to supply a product in response to a public demand for that product, but only to absorb whatever money is sent them. The dishonesty is not alone in method (as in the cases we have been considering), but in intent. (The few concerns where the promoter is an overenthusiastic visionary do not change the rule.) Into such concerns the small investor puts his savings. This small investor is such a person as a clerk, a clergyman, a physician, a teacher, a woman left alone in life with a limited income. Small

investors are important, because they are so numerous that their combined surplus totals up to many millions of dollars each year, and their experiences and their wrongs have a profound influence upon the public attitude toward business in general.

Away back in 1904 the investigator for the Chicago Board of Trade estimated that one hundred million dollars annually were contributed to "get-rich-quick" and "safe-investment" swindlers. Twenty million dollars of this money, he estimated, went for newspaper and periodical advertising; several millions for postage stamps. (One concern spent one hundred dollars a day for stamps for a period of several months.) A large sum went for blackmail, attorneys, agents, circulars, booklets, stenographers, clerks, telegraphing, and for furnishing suites of offices. The remainder was spent in the jovial life of the freebooter, the promoter being a careless spender of generous gestures. Recently the Post Office Department placed a year's losses by the American people at \$120,000,000, only a small part of our annual surplus, to be sure, but an enormous sum, nevertheless.

We have spoken of the praiseworthy elements in the investing spirit. Along with the good goes much that is foolish, which all the efforts of honest advisers have as yet been unable to check.

What is Misguided in the Investing Spirit

(1) A faith that you can substitute a blind leap in the dark for a thorough piece of preliminary investigation. (The chances are heavily against it.)

Persons who have worked hard, earned small wages, saved small sums, feel, and often rightly feel, that they have had less financial success than their lifetime of toil deserves. Disregarding the iron law that life is mainly a matter of 6 per cent., too often they clutch out after big, quick returns, and then pay the penalty. These simple-hearted clergymen and obscure school-ma'ams, in placing their savings in the hands of promoters promising a golden future, are defying a law which breaks the disobedient. The victims pay the penalty of demanding more of life than life allows.

(2) A belief that some legendary poor person once invested in a blind, wild gamble and emerged wealthy. (The mythical laboring man who locked up some Bell Telephone stock in its early troubled days and later found he was worth \$200,000 seems the only

instance on record of this. And the record is apocryphal.)

(3) The delusion that high rates of dividend are safe in business where you personally contribute neither initiative, management, nor oversight, and are unacquainted with the men in power. (Long-distance strangers are not going to make you the target for their benevolence. There is no reason why they should.)

Events of the last few years have proved that there is a class of criminal stock promoters as definite and continuing an element in society as the professional burglar and pick-pocket. They number several thousand men and a few women. Each one of them creates many schemes to defraud during his career. Their schemes deal with the sale of worthless stock in eight main divisions of enterprise.

The promoters, in floating their eight great kinds of schemes to defraud, use the same machinery as legitimate stock brokers and promoters. This machinery is intended by advertisement, agents, and the literature of letter and circular to work on a list of investors, and to delude them into purchase of stock by exaggerated and false claims of large, speedy profits. Certain newspapers and periodicals are permitting themselves to be the media for deceiving their readers.

What is the "Sucker List?"

Promoters employ many devices to obtain the names of persons with spare money for stock purchases. Favorite ways of acquiring investors' lists—"sucker lists"—are (1) by newspaper or periodical advertisements; (2) list brokers; (3) mailing agencies; (4) stockholders in other concerns; (5) dishonest

clerks in savings banks, stock-exchange houses, and get-rich-quick offices.

The Three Classes of Victims on "Sucker Lists" and Why they Remain Silent

A post-office inspector has thus classified the victims who have been swindled by means of the sucker list: (1) "The great body of humanity would rather suffer a small loss than admit that they have been swindled; (2) another class reason to themselves that, if they were so badly swindled in the original

transaction, the swindler will not give back the money, even if they make a fight to regain it; (3) there is the class made up of the ignorant and the poor who do not know how to get redress."

In 1904 a Chicago man outlined certain characteristics which ran through nearly all the literature of stock selling by mail order. Since his time additional methods have sprung into being, and now must take their place. In the center of the page are the revealing signs by which you shall know highly speculative stock.

The basis of the whole stock-selling campaign of promoters depends upon a twofold fact: (1)

Letters coming by the United States mail, are opened; (2) they are read.

As a proof note the experience of Hugh Chalmers, president of the Chalmers-Detroit Motor Company (a thoroughly reputable concern), who tells of sending out one thousand circular letters to a miscellaneous list of business men. They were all mailed under one-cent stamps, in envelopes bearing the name of the company. That the recipients opened and read the letters was abundantly proved. The letter asked for prices on the goods which the man handled. Out of the one thousand letters mailed, nearly nine hundred

Earmarks of Dangerous Stock

1. Guaranteeing extravagant dividends.
2. Guaranteeing value of stock.
3. Advancing value of stock by vote of directors.
4. Ridiculing conservative savings banks.
5. Offering stock far below par value which is claimed to be earning enormous dividends.
6. Paying promoters and agents liberal commissions for disposing of stock at far below par when it is claimed that such stock is paying liberal dividends.
7. Offering a limited number of shares to any one stockholder.
8. Criticizing Wall Street, the big interests, and trusts.
9. Working the "hurry—hurry" device—not only because the price of stock will soon rise, but also because the present allotment will quickly be exhausted.
10. Alleging the similarity of the stock now being offered to bygone investments which reaped hundredfold profits.
11. Following up the prospective investor with many letters, circulars, trade journals and other literature. (Sometimes several hundred distinct pieces of printing and writing are sent to one person. One concern mailed 722 separate bits to a single individual.)

persons replied by giving prices. The grab for something new is true, then, even of the busy business man in the larger cities. How much stronger is the working of this same instinct in the country and the smaller town.

Where the personal mail is light, and the only newspaper in sight is the one for which it subscribes, the average family is glad of an accession to the mails. The members like to glance over a circular with pictures in it, to read a letter which stirs a few thought waves.

A journalist once bought a total of \$20 worth of advertising space in three farm papers. Their combined circulation was at that time between 40,000 and 50,000 copies. He inserted this advertisement:

Farmers Directory. FREE mail matter, papers, magazines, catalogues, samples and circulars will be sent to farmers who are listed in the directory. For 10 cents your name and address inserted. Plenty of reading matter free.

For his tiny advertisement and small financial outlay farmers numbering between 500 and 600 sent in their names and dimes, eager to be circularized. That receptive state of mind is characteristic of the common people everywhere. The rural public is isolated, lonely, and wishes the social pleasures of printed matter, pictures, and the like frequently renewed. Each postal-card arrival is a surprise, a little mystery, a change from routine. It is this welcoming of mail matter, this accessibility of the remote, obscure citizen, this readiness to rip open and read whatever the mail tide washes in from the vast unknown outer world, which explain the permanence and the size and the variety of mail-order business.

Why Do People Heed the Voice of the Promoter?

Granted the stuff will be read, then the success of your selling scheme depends on the skill of your printed and typewritten matter. It must be constructed in harmony with the psychology of the reader, who is the prospective buyer. It must have "pulling" qualities. It is based (1) on the universal dissatisfaction with one's own home conditions, earning capacity, bank account, and future; (2) on the love of adventure and mystery; (3) on the desire for more money; and (4) on the "hurry—hurry" motive. Every appeal will emphasize the necessity of immediate response. It will contain an exciting clause—a prize or bonus for getting the subscription in at a certain date or a penalty for failure to get it in. For the

promoter knows that his worst foe is the lethargy of the public. Readers will listen lazily to his golden dreams, open his winsome letters, read them, believe them. But when it comes to rousing themselves sufficiently to sign a check or buy a money order, seal a letter, and mail an envelope, they are likely to settle back to the routine from which he stirred them. So promotion literature is one long gasp of "last chances."

The Prestige of the United States Mails is the Weapon of the Stock Seller

To many of the residents of the thousands of American post offices a letter is an event. When it comes on handsomely engraved paper, beautifully typewritten, with envelope bearing a Government stamp, enclosing a reply postal card referred to as "a Government postal card," couched in sympathetic and public-spirited language, when it is accompanied by large booklets and long tables of "statistics"—it is an event of importance. When it keeps coming, it is irresistible to thousands.

The responsibility for introducing a seller of stock to citizens is on the United States Government as soon as it is learned that such a person is using its mail for circularizing, or is advertising in large newspapers which use the mails.

There is one hope of ending the swindles. Millions of money are lost by those who can least afford to lose; millions of citizens are embittered against "investment" by experience with the kind of promotions that no honest, established investment dealer ever touches. These evils rest upon the abuse of the United States mails, and upon the fact that there is no law now on the books that compels a person selling stock to furnish purchasers with statements—sworn, itemized, exact.

Getting Rich by Advertisement

Because a young man of Johnstown, N. Y., read his favorite New York paper during November, 1909, and saw the lurid advertisement of the United Wireless Telegraph Company, he sent in \$80 to the selling agency of the company. In return he received two shares of that worthless stock. He has received no dividends, and he will not see his principal come home again. The only people getting real money from the United Wireless were the publishers of papers inserting the advertisements. Yet, if one thinks for a minute, the persons who actually paid for

those advertisements were the trustful readers of the paper, who, relying on its good faith, sent in their money to the flaming promotion. The ruddy-faced, smiling promoter, the late Col. Christopher Wilson, took a little of the cash that came in and continued buying space in newspapers.

To the average reader, an advertisement in his favorite newspaper comes with all the authority of the paper itself. He takes it in good faith, as if the investigating skill of the newspaper's management had searched out the hidden places of the display and had declared everything about it honorable. He believes the advertisement as accurate in its word pictures and statements of fact as the news columns, and as sincere as the editorial page.

He does not realize that an anonymous crook may slink into the paper's business office, pass over the advertisement without giving his own name, receive a ticket in return with the number of a secret letter box, and obtain daily the flood of mail resulting from the advertisement by presenting the ticket to the wise youth in charge of the newspaper's private post office. Of investigation there is not a shred. The advertisement may be full of rank exaggeration and fraudulent claims, but it goes to carry its message to a hundred thousand readers with all the power of print. The furtive crook, who writes the advertisement and hustles it to the business office, may carry in his face all the marks of unholy cleverness, but he is as welcome as a day in June.

Theodore Roosevelt is on record against "get-rich-quick" advertisements which reputable newspapers and periodicals carry. He recalls a recent raid made by the Post Office Department, in which the official estimates announced that the financial frauds closed up in the raid had taken from the public about eighty million dollars. He says:

The experts in the advertising world to whom I have spoken say that about one-third of the net receipts of these financial swindlers are spent in advertising in the newspapers. This would mean that, as to the swindlers put out of business by the Post Office Department through its recent action, one-third of the money, or twenty-five million dollars, which the swindlers had taken from unsophisticated people (and usually very poor people), had gone into the hands of newspaper publishers. A prominent authority in the Post Office Department stated recently that, as a fair estimate, he believed that between thirty and forty million dollars a year was paid in this country to newspapers of great circulation for advertising financial swindles of the worst kind.

The worst actions of the big business corporations cannot cause more misery than can be caused

by a single great daily newspaper which habitually advertises swindles of this character.

The Agent with Stock to Sell

The agents of wild-cat stock go to and fro in the earth, and walk up and down in it. They penetrate the remotest regions and trudge the city streets. As you sit down to the evening meal, one of them is at your door with a shining face and a flashy proposition. In the quiet of a Sunday at home they knock and enter to open your life to a "splendid opportunity."

They stroll into your tenement if you are a laboring man; and they visit you and drive with you for a couple of days if you own a Newport villa. They give you dashing motor-car rides, stock you with cigars, stuff you with food, float you in drinks. Out of the merry social group of your college intimates, one or more arises, a full-blown agent, and turns a class reunion into a stock-selling campaign for Wireless. If you are religious, a clergyman friend, or perhaps your own well-beloved pastor, hands you out a last chance on a frantic gusher.

You are not safe from them in the inmost recesses of your Masonic lodge. They come in the name of your labor union, your socialist local, your professional or business affiliations. Your best friend has at least one "good thing," which is paying him a 10 per cent. commission for capitalizing your affection.

The agents are marvels of persuasion. One recently threw his spell over a thrifty artisan and won his savings of a lifetime, \$11,000. His victim sold his bank stock, paying excellent dividends, to go into this speculation. The agent represented it to be not only very big but perfectly safe, and among several striking things said: "I pledge my hope of salvation that this is a good thing."

That is a forceful and compelling remark to make to a man of simple mind and religious sincerity. The conquest of the artisan means personality. To alter a man's destiny, wreck his business, mortgage his future, and load him up with paper for his walls requires magnetism and eloquence. Such are the agents at work.

What Are the Results?

And now we have reviewed the process by which the dishonest promoter works his will. It is all done in the realm of vague statement, but large, loose claims—a secret core of fact entirely surrounded by picturesque

hopes. The results of this low finance, practised by these flamboyant and deceiving men, are misery and privation for many honest persons.

Another result which should be emphasized is a discontent with the organization of business and government. Much of the clamor against Wall Street is due to these commercial swindlers who are entirely outside of the legitimate business done in and about Wall Street. The victims are embittered against all business and ready to follow the agitator who lays all the woes of the world on the door of the "money power."

*Must Hazardous Investments, then, be
Forbidden?*

What is the remedy? Is it only to permit exploitation and advertisement of already established enterprises of proved worth? No. If the law jailed men for failure, it would throttle progress. Men must always be left free to work out inventions and combinations, and then to persuade other men to put money into those ideas.

In a settled society, such as that of several European nations, the percentage of untried lines in investment compared with that of tried lines is small. The appeals of successful established companies are many and their securities are issued in small denominations. They absorb much of the available free capital of the wage-earners and the salaried workers. In such countries the various industries not only supply local needs, but they overflow into export trade. The United States is not yet able to supply its own demand for manufactured goods. So various new speculative enterprises must be permitted to arise. Almost endless experiment must be encouraged, so that gradually these widespread and various local demands will be met by new and vigorous companies, *but upon these companies must be thrown the test of publicity.*

Unofficial Agencies of Publicity

Two unofficial agencies are doing much to protect the investor. They are (1) the establishment by reputable magazines of financial departments similar to that maintained by the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, and (2) the rise of the investment banker.

The first class, by furnishing information not easy of access to the inexperienced investor, has performed a valuable service. The advice and warnings freely given have steered thousands away from specious propo-

sitions, and have performed the positive service of directing their capital into safe and profitable channels.

The investment banker is a development of the last ten years. Such a man has grown to consider advice as much a function of his house as selling. In others words, he has adopted in the selling of stocks and bonds, particularly the latter, some of the same principles which have been successful in other forms of merchandising; namely, investigation, recommendation, and a practical guarantee.

When a proposition is brought to the attention of such a firm, a cursory examination is made by one of the members, or some one in their confidence. If the report is favorable the matter is turned over to the engineering, the legal, and the statistical departments, which make exhaustive examinations. The first examines the physical condition of the property itself, makes an inventory, and considers the cost of reproduction and expansion; the second examines franchises, contracts, agreements, and the like—in short, the legal position of the property; while the statistical department gathers together all available figures on the costs and sales of the product, considers possible competition, and forecasts the future. Meanwhile either the accounting department of the banking house or else an independent firm of public accountants makes a report upon past earnings and the present condition of the business.

If all these reports are favorable and the terms are satisfactory the house undertakes to market the securities, and offers them to its customers at retail. Naturally its recommendation, based as it is upon investigation, carries weight, and some houses go so far as to guarantee the ready future marketability of the securities at their approximate cost. The integrity and intelligence of such a house, however, is the best guarantee of the securities sold by it.

Such a house also studies the varying interests of its customers, and at times advises the resale of securities previously purchased, and the purchase of others more in harmony with the financial position of the investor. The purpose of such a house is to secure satisfied customers who will buy again and again, and not simply to unload a particular batch of stocks or bonds.

These two unofficial agencies of publicity are, however, not enough. They reach thousands, but other tens of thousands either do not see or do not heed. While the amount

lost by the operations of high finance is much larger than that which flows into the pockets of the promoters of low finance, the social effect is less. The poor and the ignorant trust the swindlers and their trust is betrayed. Their faith in human nature is shaken, their belief in the soundness of our political and industrial organization is destroyed.

What the Test of Publicity Will Accomplish

There is a remedy, however, which will lessen abuses in the management of those concerns which have a real product to sell, though it will not interfere with their legitimate functions. This same remedy will cripple or destroy the swindlers whose purpose it is to give nothing in return for the hard-earned dollars received. Only the government, State and national, can apply the remedy, and the duty of applying it must be recognized. Those who, by the very nature of the case, cannot protect themselves must be protected by the strong arm of the law.

The law must force any company offering its stock to the public to give at the time of organization, and at stated intervals thereafter, formally and fully, answers to the following questions:

QUESTIONS FOR THE PROMOTER

1. Name and nature of the company.
2. Time, place and manner of organization.
3. Names and addresses of its directors and officers.
4. Amount of its authorized capital stock, par value of each share, amount, etc., of preferred stock, bonded indebtedness.
5. Actual business—extent of business.
6. Dividends—Statement of gross and net earnings.
7. If no dividends—then show whether company's outstanding stock was issued for cash or property.
8. Actual operations (gross earnings, investments, promotion expenses, interest payments on bonded or other indebtedness).
9. Company's assets (real estate, mines, titles to same; ore reserves, probable life of mine; inventory of plants, machinery, raw materials, goods manufactured, etc.).

10. Control of the company,—individual or corporation.

In one State, Kansas, a law has been adopted known as "An Act to Provide for the Regulation and Supervision of Investment Companies," popularly termed the "Blue Sky Law." This is not the place to advocate any particular piece of legislation. Suffice it to say that newly promoted companies in Kansas must make known many facts not unlike those demanded by these ten questions. Last June the Minnesota Bankers' Association resolved that their State would benefit from similar legislation. In New York the State Banking Department is anxious to be able to force companies selling real estate securities to make public certain vital facts quite similar to those suggested by Numbers 4 and 9 in the list.

But these are fragmentary efforts at publicity. Every State now possesses more or less complete corporation laws. In a few of the States questions relating to corporations have been thoroughly threshed out in the courts and the legislation has been thoroughly studied so that an investor can put a given question to an attorney and he can tell whether the corporation can do this or that. A few States have well-defined and clearly established systems of corporation law, but in many States this is not the case. And there are nearly fifty States, and there are as many sets of laws as there are States. Such publicity as exists at all is made far too confusing by its variety. Fifty different brands of publicity are almost worse than none at all.

But if the laws everywhere could be brought into harmony and have added to them the force necessary to open the facts outlined above, the investor would then know through the the possession of these facts something of his chances.

Investments of real value would be sharply differentiated from speculations, and from gambles. *The law cannot prevent men from taking chances, nor can it guarantee that investments will be profitable*, but it should, so far as possible, hamper the activity of swindlers and protect the citizens from fraud.



WHO SHOULD GO TO COLLEGE AND WHY

BY JOSEPH SCHAFER

(Professor of History in the University of Oregon)

I

LAST winter, while on a flying visit to that State university which is commonly described as "the leading institution of its kind in the world," I caught glimpses one day of a spectacle which promises to have a significant relation to the future of higher education. It was a battle royal between two wings of a numerous and learned faculty—some three or four hundred men,—the issue, a proposal to modify the college entrance conditions so as to let high-school graduates present four units of industrial or vocational work in the total of fourteen units required.

I learned that the subject had been discussed at three previous meetings which revealed a strong sentiment in favor of the proposal but failed to exhaust the resources of argument hurled against it by the defenders of the cultural tradition. It was expected that a vote would be reached that day and feeling was pretty tense. Men of similar views from departments as widely severed as history and agriculture sought one another for conference, while groups of "culturists" and "practicalists" could be seen forming and dissolving with almost kaleidoscopic effect.

At the appointed time the entire concourse followed their distinguished president into Faculty Hall, from which an hour later they emerged leaving behind them the record of a vote overwhelmingly favorable to the new departure. The institution now advertises that out of the fourteen units required for entrance, six of which are fixed and eight elective, not more than four units may be in vocational subjects, including agriculture, commercial work, domestic science or manual arts, or in any one of them, the university reserving the right to inspect and approve the work as done in the high schools.

HOW "PRACTICALISM" GAINS

We have in this provision an abandonment to the "practicalists" of approximately 30 per cent. of the preparatory work, 70 per

cent. remaining as it was, and the question, What does it all mean? is distinctly pertinent from several points of view; especially so inasmuch as other great institutions have already adopted the same principle, and the temper of the people everywhere is demanding a readjustment of college entrance requirements. It means—to state it mildly—that the back of college traditionalism has been broken. The willingness to accept in lieu of the ancient and modern languages, English, mathematics, science, and history, subjects like tree-pruning, cooking, typewriting, and carpentry is frankly revolutionary, and the more so since this new adjustment has about it no element of permanence. We can hardly assume that the once sacred character of the number "seven" will of itself serve to keep the ratio of the cultural to the practical subjects as "seven to three"; and there is no other guaranty. The ratio will stand just so long as no general popular impatience is manifested toward it, and no longer. For the college has at last surrendered almost unconditionally to the people the function of determining by their unhampered shaping of the high-school curricula what lines of work the college shall accept for entrance.

HIGH SCHOOLS FITTING FOR LIFE,—NOT MERELY FOR COLLEGE

The high school is no longer a fitting school for the college, with a rigid course of study, cultural in character, imposed from above. It is now a school fitting for life—an institution in which young persons can complete their formal training for participation in our intricate commercial and industrial civilization. A few of these go on to college and to the professional schools, but the number is in growing disproportion to those who pursue the various high school courses as ends in themselves. In fact, from a school of preparation for college, the high school is fast becoming an institution for continuing the training begun in the common school, adapting it as far as practicable to the varying modern conditions, under the general aim of efficiency.

EACH HIGH SCHOOL MUST SERVE LOCAL INTERESTS

The high school is no longer and will not be of uniform character or tendency. Being free from college domination, it will tend rather to become the exponent of community interests, and minister to local needs. Wherever the culture spirit is strong enough to insist on conserving the finest fruits of civilization in literature, science, and history, these interests will be represented in the high school. But other interests—the home, commerce, the handicrafts—will be represented also. The school will be as complex as the civilization it serves. It will be virtually a collection of schools, or courses, in arts and science, home economics, commerce, and trades.

Possibly, in view of the deplorable "drift to the town," and the need of turning a population tide outward from congested centers, an agricultural school should be added to a city's educational equipment. In a rural community, with agriculture as the prevailing industry, the high school will necessarily be an agricultural school. All of the special schools will aim to build up in their pupils that range and degree of general intelligence which good citizenship implies. There will be courses in English, in history and civil government, or elementary sociology. They will also develop the principles of those sciences, like mechanics and chemistry, which underlie their specialties and to which they have, accordingly, a uniquely interesting approach. The emphasis, however, will be on practical applications of science rather than on scientific theory.

SHALL THE COLLEGES SHUT OUT THE "SPECIAL" STUDENT?

The question now arises, How long will the college be permitted to bar its doors to such graduates of these specialized schools as may desire to pursue higher work? If four units of the work done in, let us say, an agricultural high school is good enough to count toward matriculation, why is not the balance of the same school's work equally acceptable? Has anyone demonstrated that such work is good only in the "balanced ration," and if so does mixing with the other kind in the proportion of three parts and seven parts respectively produce the right balance? Why would not these proportions reversed do just as well? The work must be inherently good for educational purposes or great colleges would not run the risk involved in accepting

it, three parts in ten, at face value for entrance. And it should be possible to correct within the college itself any ill balance that might be thought to result from its acceptance in more generous amount. Since the colleges now offer many courses containing large blocks of non-cultural—at least culturally doubtful—subjects, a course could be framed which by a rigid insistence on the cultural would balance the most practical of high-school courses quite as well as the non-cultural college courses of to-day balance the cultural high-school courses.

The fact is, every argument for excluding from college graduates of the practical schools breaks down, and we may confidently look to see such great centers as the Middle Western universities swinging their doors wide to the graduates of agricultural high schools, manual-arts schools, domestic-economy schools, and trades schools. Naturally, none of them will admit such a possibility to-day, but it is difficult to see how the thing can be postponed longer than a few years, unless an entirely new basis for admission to college can be discovered and put in operation before the clamor for fuller recognition of practical work sets in.

II

This forecast, bizarre as it no doubt looks to the conservative educationist, not only fails to startle the evolutionary thinker, but fails to depict with adequate coloring the prospect now confronting institutions of higher learning. To-day the dictum is heard everywhere that "training is training," irrespective of the place where or circumstances under which it is secured. The vocationalizing of curricula, now progressing so merrily, points the moral by revealing the essential oneness of work in school and work out of school.

SCHOOL CREDITS FOR CARPENTRY, FARMING, AND COOKING

Practical courses are courses which assimilate to the activities of the community. If school studies are to be made truly vocational, then real life is the best laboratory in which to demonstrate their principles. That Western State superintendent was unconsciously prophesying who suggested—rather timidly, a couple of years ago—that a portion of the common-school curriculum ought to consist of home work in cooking, carpentry, and practical agriculture performed according to directions given in the school, demon-

strated by exhibits of results and certified by parents or guardians. The idea is perfectly logical. Some practical difficulties postpone its realization, but with the progressive socialization of communities through parent-teacher associations and the development of the "school-center" habit, these will be gradually overcome.

In vocational high schools the tendency will be, increasingly, to make the outside activities the main reliance for school laboratory purposes and since the laboratory practice is the most important phase of the work of such schools, the question of how or where it is done will become significant. Why should not the boy studying carpentry help to build houses and receive school credit, on the laboratory side, for the work done? And if the trade-school gives him credit for it, why should it not deserve credit elsewhere?

WISCONSIN HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENTS RUNNING CREAMERIES AND BUILDING SILOS

We recently found the students at one of the admirable county agricultural high schools in Wisconsin conducting a commercial creamery which worked up into butter the milk delivered at the school from the farms of the county. These students go out to the farms to inspect livestock, study modes of tillage for varying soils, and develop plans for drainage systems and other farm improvements. Requests from farmers for help are welcomed by the school as precious opportunities for practical training. Thus, if a silo is wanted in any part of the county, a student is sent out to make local tests of building material, to compute the cost of excavating and transporting it, and the amount of cement required. The materials being assembled, a group of students actually construct the silo, pouring the concrete into molds made at the school by the class in carpentry and loaned to the farmer without expense. In this way the boys secure the practice they require, and, quite incidentally, the farmer gets his silo at something like one-half the usual cost.

SUCH WORK MUST COUNT FOR COLLEGE ENTRANCE

The county agricultural schools in Wisconsin offer courses for both boys and girls which extend formally over two years of eight months each, but practically over twenty months—the boys learning farming, the girls homemaking, both during the session and in vacation time. They usually enter after completing the common-school course, but often earlier, the only entrance requirement

being the ability to profit by the courses offered. Suppose, now, that after graduation from the agricultural school one of these boys shall decide to apply for admission to college, how will he be received? Particularly, will his class work in the school and his laboratory work outside of the school be segregated into distinct groups, the first for acceptance and the second for rejection? I think not. So far as his total work reaches it will be accepted for college entrance when officially certificated by the high-school principal.

If the boy shall have secured in some regular way the required fourteen units of high-school work, he will be admitted with no question as to what portion of it was done within school walls and what portion without. I do not mean that this would be true to-day, but it will be true whenever the logic of the college entrance situation, sharpened by an authoritative popular demand, shall have cut away the pasteboard barrier set up to display the "7 to 3" ratio. Assuming the continued validity of the certification plan of admitting to college, the farmer boy must ultimately receive full credit for work done while enrolled as a pupil in the farmer's high school.

III

Meantime, what will be the fate of the farmer boy to whom Providence is in one respect a little less kind; who, when his classmates of the eighth grade go down to the agricultural school, has to repress longings for a similar privilege and plunge into the active work of the farm? His help is positively essential to the family welfare. The parents are intelligent, even cultured, persons who would gladly give him the chance which temporary necessity cuts off.

The boy makes the best of it. He is cheerful, bright, eager, and inquisitive. He attacks the problem of making the farm pay with whole-hearted enthusiasm, fired by the vision of a future educational opportunity. Attending with his father the occasional farmer's institutes, both of them catch the new ideal of farm life expounded by noted lecturers. Resolutely, yet sanely, they proceed to practicalize their modicum of science, adding to it daily by a patient and intelligent, rather than minute, study of agricultural literature,—books, reports, bulletins and journals. Their laboratory is at hand. The fields must be made to yield larger crops, a problem upon which the study of soils, their cultivation, and fertilization bears very directly. The swale can be reclaimed by tile

draining, the pasture improved by reseeding. "How Crops Grow" is a book whose essentials are mastered, its spirit infused into the soil and the results garnered in granary and haymow. They add "How Crops Feed," applying science in the care of the livestock, which meantime is subjected to rigorous selective tests supplied partly by experience and partly by works on breeding and stock-judging. The elements of carpentry, brick-laying, concrete-molding, iron-working, are learned under the stimulus of exigent need, theory being invoked at every point to shorten and perfect the process.

But this is by no means the full tale of our youth's intellectual interest. The spirit of culture pervades the home. There are books of general literature, of history, biography, travel, and science. A shelf row of sedate-looking volumes attests the family's addiction to a literary habit nurtured by the most cultural of American monthlies. In his reading, pursued with the ardor of a world-searching spirit, the boy has the inestimable advantage of parental guidance and sympathy. He receives from a neighborhood schoolmaster systematic instruction in German and more or less adequate assistance in geometry and in physics.

SHALL THE COLLEGE REFUSE THIS BOY ADMISSION?

After five years of such wholesome living, a nearly ideal education for a boy between the ages of fourteen and nineteen, he suddenly develops the ambition to enter one of the learned professions, in preparation for which he needs first of all an education which shall bring his finest powers to fruition. He has outgrown both the method and the spirit of a high school, whether cultural or agricultural, and has a stock of genuine knowledge, which—while not showing exactly the traditional lines of crystallization—is both larger in amount and more congruous to life than that possessed by the average high-school graduate. Yet, when he applies for admission to the college his prayer is refused because he can muster only eight units in the formal subject examinations which are the tests relied on to determine fitness for college work. He has no certificate of graduation, like his neighbor, from a secondary school, and he lacks something of being an adult, so that he cannot enter as a special student. The problem of making his requirements is not too difficult but too irksome: he would eagerly plunge forward at any pace the college might set, but he must start from where he

now is. This privilege being denied, he returns to the farm and merges his life, not unhappily, with the life of his home community.

IV

The contention of this paper is, first, that the college errs in declining to admit such a boy; second, and more important from the standpoint of educational reform, it errs again in admitting any other type of boy than the one here described. For the college is society's chief agent in selecting leaders, a function whose successful performance turns more on finding the right quality of mind to educate than upon any other point. No college ever made a mistake in reaching a hand to the young man of talent and character, whatever his formal deficiencies, provided only he could connect up with the work through which the college educated.

INTELLIGENCE THE FOUNDATION; STUDIES THE SCAFFOLDING

It is fallacious to argue, as college faculties are prone to do, that the preparatory studies are the *foundations* of the college education and that any deficiencies therein will make the superstructure insecure. Intelligence is the foundation, and likewise the edifice. All studies, higher as well as lower, are but scaffolding, and if in attempting work on a third story some additional supports are needed below, it may not prove fatal or even dangerous to set them as required. The amount of such repair work that students can safely be entrusted to do will vary with their power and earnestness as intellectual builders.

THE COLLEGES APPLY NO ADEQUATE TEST

The proposition that you must first find a boy fitted to receive the higher education before you can confer the gift of higher education on a boy appears axiomatic, and yet, in practice, the colleges all over America are denying its validity. With some honorable exceptions, they are receiving young men and graduating them in masses without applying an adequate test of fitness to the individual at any point in his college career. It is not applied at entrance, the natural place for it, because in most States the certification plan of admitting students, already a generation old, has practically superseded all direct personal dealings between the applicant and the college authorities. The plan of giving a formal examination on the subject matter of

each preparatory study has worked little better, for the fitting schools deliberately trained boys for these examinations, succeeding only too well with mediocre material.

In the olden primitive time, when there were few high schools, it used to be necessary for some college professor to receive each new recruit, quiz him about his early training, set him problems in algebra, listen to his reading and rendering of twenty lines of Virgil, and scan his list of the "ten greatest events" of universal history. But now, with parchment the sole nexus between the man and the college, such mutually embarrassing preliminaries disappear; the man deals with the registrar, on terms of full equality, conscious of the technical sufficiency of his "papers," while the professor may, if he will, add the matriculation days to his all too brief vacation.

The trouble with this process is that it is not sufficiently selective: it pours into the hopper an unsifted aggregate representing on the one hand genius and talent, on the other mediocrity and even puerility. The college indulges the fatuous hope that somehow four years of common exposure to lecture and quiz, coupled with an energetic shaking together in the college activities, will so far blur real distinctions as to justify the investiture of all, indifferently, with the insignia of scholarship. Why not? They are all of the same vintage, "class" of this or "class" of that year in the high schools of the State. They have come down armed with diplomas, and bringing transcripts of a high-school record which proves them free from the "condition" in Latin or in solid geometry so oppressive to the soul of a college dean.

This high-school record might indeed still reveal deficiencies, such as a lack of ability really to cope with any abstract subject of study, but it is usually scanned merely for quantity of work done, not for quality. In the class examinations, where numbers are large, there is too exclusive concern to determine whether the work of the particular course has been covered, and too little effort to gauge the student's growth in power and insight. When the professor has graded the papers, and turned in the records, his responsibility ends.

It should be noted here that many of the better colleges are trying honestly and even heroically to eliminate those who prove themselves wholly unable to profit by the college studies. Some institutions send home every year, mainly at the end of the first semester, a large proportion of the entering class, while others force their conspicuously weak students

into associated schools regarded as of a lower scholastic grade and conferring degrees other than Bachelor of Arts. But while such a policy serves to palliate it cannot cure the disease. It is like withdrawing the sick and ailing from an unseasoned regiment ordered to advance by forced marches against a distant active foe. Of those setting out, only the most resourceful will answer to roll-call in the heat of the campaign; the rest will inevitably burden the hospitals.

V

College men and others have described with abundant exaggeration the shortcomings of the colleges, and it is now clear that, for the most part, these can be treated as effects of one dominant cause (for which the college is not alone to blame)—a failure to select with proper care the men and women who shall pursue the college courses. This fact accounts for the low tone of scholarship prevailing in so many places, the loafing and roistering charged mainly against the very large institutions, the lack of a general spontaneous interest in literary matters or even in questions of the day, the craze for athletics, the over-emphasizing of the social and political phases of student life. It accounts, also, in large measure, for the undue splitting up, shredding, and vocationalizing of college studies; for the allied evil of "snap" courses; and for the endless machinery designed to keep uninterested, hopeless, or indolent students at work after some fashion.

There should be no surprise at these results of a matriculation system which, although justifiable in days when few but picked men attended the high schools, is now quite without validity, since the high schools, in some sections, receive a majority of the pupils completing the common-school course and graduate most of those who enter their classes. In this they are following the right policy, fulfilling their community function; but the college is losing sight of its chief function when it crowds the lecture rooms with men of indifferent or weak mentality.

Where abstruse principles of science, mathematics, philosophy, or history, the beauties of literary style or the subtle connections of logic have to be so handled as to win a kind of response from minds fitted best to deal with concrete things, college teaching is bound to want that virility upon which the best growth of the best minds depends. The time and energy of the conscientious instructor will be expended mainly on the weak

men of his classes while strong men who can master the subject matter, as presented, with little effort, suffer neglect. The class work affords insufficient stimulus for such minds, and some of them at least—those whose moral purpose is not yet out of the gristle—are likely to form the habit of underexertion so fatal to success in life. The rest, influenced by professors, libraries, and laboratories, will keep themselves at work and go out finally to become leaders in the intellectual pursuits; the other classes mentioned will have to achieve their success, if at all, on very different planes of activity.

These choice men are the standing justification of the college, even when it falls below its opportunity. On the other hand, the bane of the American college of to-day is the *average mind*,—not the mind of the *common man*, so-called, but the mind only meagerly endowed which is so *common* among all classes. Because our common school—which receives all except the hopelessly defective—graduates boys into the high school, the high school into the college, and this again into the professional school, the strange doctrine has got abroad that, given sufficient training, the average mind can attain to any desired intellectual eminence. As well assume that the average Pike's Peak tourist, who trains many days in a pleasant camp and then makes the ascent by easy stages, keeping within hailing distance of his physician, is ready for a pedestrian tour of the Mountain States, including visits to all peaks and glaciers! It would be a question if he is more fit than the man who allowed himself to be carried up in the car by way of the cog-road. On the other hand, that young man is nature's mountaineer who, muscular and resilient, but with no training, begins the climb by morning starlight and stands at evening on the summit.

WHAT TRAINING CAN DO FOR THE AVERAGE MIND

The average mind among the American people is worthy of all admiration. It is the citadel of morality, the abode of good sense and what is called good, practical judgment. It can be trusted implicitly as the principal repository of political power in a democracy which permits the free development and functioning of leadership. It can be taught to perform with high efficiency the duties pertaining to the usual vocations. But that it cannot hope to succeed in the strictly intellectual pursuits should require no argument. Through mistaken kindness or wrong policy, we have sent forth from college and profes-

sional school numbers of average minds to try the question out in real life, and everywhere it has been the same tragic story of failure. Either the professions have discarded them altogether, or they have sunk to positions which, while leaving them technically within the bounds of a profession, make them in reality servitors of its strong, responsible practitioners. The colleges are to blame for this condition, as we shall see presently, but so also are their deluded constituencies who, in the spirit of Simon Magus, would substitute skill for the gift of God.

Training can do much, but not everything. It can prepare a man to keep school, conduct religious services, draft legal documents, prescribe medicines for known ailments; but it cannot educate children, convict men of righteousness, help supreme courts to reach true decisions in doubtful causes, or diagnose elusive disorders of the body. Training will make the average man a passable reporter of village news, but not a great editor; a respectable land surveyor, but not a consulting engineer; it might make him a trustworthy compiler of statistics, but it can never make him a statesman.

VI

Much of our difficulty springs from a pervading haziness respecting the place of colleges in the economy of education. If the colleges—that is, those institutions which confer the Bachelor of Arts degree, or its equivalent, and whose work should obviously be keyed to the intellectual requirements of later professional life—were clear as regards their controlling function, courses of study and instructional methods would naturally relate themselves to that function. Then they would be in position to save much of the present waste by declining to matriculate men who are not qualified to receive their instruction.

GIVE UP THE CERTIFICATION PLAN!

The first step toward true reform will be the abandonment of the certification plan of admitting to college. This plan, as it works out under our system, makes college matriculation at once too easy and too difficult. It is too easy for those who are drawn up, cog by cog, through twelve years of school attendance marked by the performance of no really difficult intellectual feats but only an infinity of "small jobs." It is too difficult for those who, though abundantly able and eager, have

the misfortune to be obliged to walk part way instead of holding their seats in the educational car.

EXAMINATIONS TO TEST QUALITY, NOT QUANTITY, OF WORK

By substituting for the present plan an examination whose object, like that of the new Harvard examination, is not alone to test the candidate's acquirements in a minimum number of prerequisite studies, but especially to find out the *quality of his mind*, we would correct both these evils at one stroke. Such an examination should be mainly but not wholly oral; it should be conducted by a committee of say three persons who vary sufficiently in their points of view to make the test a fair one. This committee should secure in advance as complete a description of the candidate as possible from the school he has been attending or from other sources. Should this prove favorable on all points—his moral character, intellectual habits, the studies he has pursued and the degree of proficiency attained in them—a very short examination would suffice. More doubtful cases would require correspondingly minuter treatment, until, with the man who should present himself an entire stranger, with meager credentials, the process would become very searching.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR PREPARATION

The proposed system, if honestly administered, would not merely solve the problem of getting fit men for the college work; it would open a way of escape from the present illogical college entrance situation and would have other advantages of importance. Responsibility for preparation being shifted from the high schools to the individual aspirants for a college education, the high schools would be encouraged to shape their courses to suit the needs of the majority of their students. Of course they would assist to the extent of their facilities those fitting for college, but such assistance—the coaching of a few picked boys and girls in special subjects—would be incidental to their main activity, instead of as heretofore the characteristic feature of their work. These selected youth would take a swifter pace than the general classes, with the double advantage of a saving in time and a gain in the habit of severe application.

The college could prepare its men more adequately for the intellectual callings, since it would be free to shape both the courses and the instruction to the needs of strong men

instead of as now to the needs of average men. This is the crucial point. *Unless the college can meet the demand of the professions for a broad, deep, illuminating education characterized by the most rigorous mental training, it will eventually forfeit its place in the educational system.* Society can afford to make every reasonable provision for average minds bent on attaining their highest usefulness, or even their highest personal happiness; but the public interest requires that they employ to that end other agencies.

Lastly, this mode of admitting would unlock the door to talented youth who are now excluded from the benefits of a college education. The gift of genius has been distributed freely, among all classes, but not so the opportunity to develop it. Under this plan a laboring boy of brilliant intellect whose daily wage is a necessity to the home, could gradually prepare himself for college by private study, by correspondence study, or with the help often obtainable at evening schools.

TALENT SHOULD BE FOUND AND ENCOURAGED

I suspect we are likely to underestimate the number of naturally fit men, now barred out of college by the traditional requirements, who could readily enough prepare themselves to enter with quite as promising an equipment as that possessed by the regular high-school candidates. They are to be found in every walk of life. Some are on the farms, many are teaching rural schools, others are clerking in banks and commercial offices or working at the trades. These promising men should not merely be welcomed; they should be sought out. All colleges and especially those connected with State universities should bear torches in the search. It is a phase of conservation which transcends in importance the conservation of the forests, the water powers, and the coal. Why should there not be "State surveys" for this higher object, something after the plan proposed by Jefferson for the discovery of geniuses in Virginia?

Not all naturally brilliant youth will desire to enter the professions, and this is well, for they are needed in the other walks of life also and will ever be found in goodly numbers, as now, in business, in the trades, on the farms. Those preferring these occupations ought to prepare for them at the vocational schools or in other effectual ways. The college course would be open to them for the purpose, but they would be expected to pursue it under the severe intellectual regimen prescribed for those looking forward to the professions.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

ARE THE AMERICANS A LAWLESS OR LAW-NEGLECTING PEOPLE?

MOST persons, after reading the apparent arraignment of the nation by Mr. Victor S. Yarros in the *American Journal of Sociology* (Chicago), will, it is to be feared, feel compelled to answer the above query in the affirmative. All will agree with him when he says that the theme is a serious one and deserves careful study. Are the Americans, he asks, peculiar in any real palpable way with regard to their attitude toward law, regulation, social discipline? He sets out on his inquiry with the following representative utterances on the subject:

President Taft, addressing the Young Republican Club of New York a few months ago, said: "I believe that it is true that we do not hold the law as sacred as we should."

Senator Borah of Idaho, who preceded the President on the occasion, used these words: "We are even now, in our youth, the most lawless of any of the great civilized nations. There is no country of first importance where there is so little respect for law because it is law [as here]."

Prof. Franklin H. Giddings of Columbia University in an address stated that "in the last fifteen or twenty years a profound deterioration in private and public conduct" had taken place. On all sides "we see a desperate indifference to morals and manners."

A Chicago educator, in an indignant letter to the press, complained that "there is so much playing fast and loose with law in this country, so much corruption and disorder, so much legislative partiality, so much positive anarchy on every hand. Everybody in authority, from the individual policeman to the Supreme Court, takes it into his own hands to decide whether a law is to be enforced or not, and if so, how much. We are not a nation: we are a rabble."

If the facts are as alleged, "what is the matter with Americans? What causes and feeds their alleged lawlessness?" Mr. Yarros holds that "laws are not enforced in the United States as successfully, as easily, as thoroughly as in any advanced European country because 'like-mindedness' is largely absent." He gives some illustrations drawn from current attempts to deal with burning questions.

Take our Sunday laws. A State legislature composed almost entirely of Americans of, say, British descent, passes a statute providing for observance of Sunday after the Puritan manner. The com-

munity approves and supports the statute; it is enforced without disheartening difficulties. Decades elapse . . . heavy immigration from Teutonic, Latin, and Slavic countries changes the character of the citizenship; tens of thousands of "naturalized" Americans, and their sons and daughters, have a totally different conception of Sunday observance. They are respectable and virtuous citizens, but they systematically ignore or break a law which "does not appeal to them." What happens? Local officials, in spite of an oath to enforce all laws, suspend the Sunday law; the press is silent or even sympathetic; when prosecutions are attempted, juries disagree or acquit the offenders . . . elections, votes, platforms sanction the disregard of the law. The proper thing for the legislature to do is to take cognizance of the actual conditions and in the interest of law itself grant "local option" to cities in the matter of Sunday observance. But this is not done . . . The Sunday law remains on the statute-book, but in the large cities it is a dead letter. Respect for law is weakened in consequence.

Take municipal ordinances prohibiting the littering of streets or expectoration on sidewalks.

Educated and refined men and women favor them and respect them. . . . We forget that there are tens of thousands of citizens or residents in every large city who, in the striking words of a Slavic immigrant leader, live underneath America, not in America. What are health ordinances to the foreign colonies, to the recent arrivals, to the tenement-house population? These . . . do not even know that the ordinances exist. . . . What is the result? In whole sections the ordinances are habitually violated, consciously and unconsciously. A few sporadic arrests and spasmodic "crusades" remind us of the existence of the ordinances—on paper. Such occasional "enforcement" merely emphasizes the farcical nature of the proceedings. Yet how irrelevant and superficial it is to exclaim, apropos of such farcical proceedings, "How lawless Americans are as a nation!" The blunder is in enacting laws and ordinances which "have no chance."

In the case of the negro population the breakdown of law and justice is far more serious.

We lynch and burn men suspected of crime. . . . We have witnessed grave miscarriages of justice in the courts owing to the antipathy of juries toward the negro; we acquiesce in wholesale disfranchisement of black citizens under unfair and discriminatory State laws.

It must be remembered, however, that only half a century ago the negroes were slaves. Would any other people "show more self-restraint, less prejudice, more humanity than the American?"

Another potent cause of "lawlessness" cited by Mr. Yarros is the structure and form of our government.

Federalism is distinctly an experiment. . . . A union of "sovereign" States has great and splendid advantages. . . . But there is a less attractive side to the picture. In the field of morals state rights and state freedom yield evils as well as benefits. . . . What does "law" mean to the divorce colony of Reno? What does it mean to men and women who marry in one State, obtain a divorce in another, and form new alliances in a third? . . . Perjury, collusion, fraud, and hollow pretense are alarmingly prevalent in the sphere of divorce litigation.

Then, again, our "chaotic corporation laws put a premium on deception and fraud."

What one State will not do for corporations another will; there is apparently nothing some States will not authorize corporations to do for the sake of fees and annual taxes. . . . What is true of corporation law is true of railroad legislation, of anti-monopoly legislation, of pure-food legislation, etc. . . . Need we wonder that "respect for law" is weaker with us than with nations that have no conflicts of jurisdiction, no fantastic legal fictions?

Two other major causes of "lawlessness" are named by Mr. Yarros—the unique prerogative of the courts in regard to legislation, and the lack of respect for most of our legislators.

There is much discontent and impatient criticism of the courts. . . . The feeling is widespread

that there is too much "judicial legislation" in the guise of mere interpretation. . . . Judges have been charged by popular leaders and progressive legislators with "usurpation" and class bias. Such charges, such suspicions, and agitation are not conducive to respect for law and government.

Commendation for a legislature is the exception. . . . The average legislature is generally under fire. It is accused of inefficiency, of treachery, of corruption, of servility to special and predatory interests. . . . Many of our lawmakers are condemned as cheap policemen, tools of selfish bosses, representatives of privilege. "Too much politics" is one of our serious political troubles. We have too many elections, too many candidates, too many offices. . . . The men who live by politics thrive on politics. The disinterested citizen cannot compete with them.

Besides all this, "the law's delays and the law's technicalities and red tape are notorious; litigation is costly, and criminal justice slow and uncertain." It scarcely needs urging that "inefficiency, waste, farcical technicalities in the administration of law and justice undermine men's respect for constituted authority."

Summing up the whole matter, Mr. Yarros is of opinion that "in any court of reason and philosophical insight" a demurrer to the indictment of the American nation on the score of "lawlessness" must be fully sustained. Owing to the Indian problem, the slavery and the negro problem in its various phases and the heavy immigration, the question of law-enforcement is one of exceptional difficulty in the United States; and the country has before it a stupendous task, as well as a supreme duty, in promoting solidarity, like-mindedness, and unity among its citizens.

A NEW WAY OF BUILDING A POLITICAL PLATFORM

THIS is not the place for a discussion of party doctrine as enunciated in the various platforms offered by the political parties in this Presidential year, but the whole country has been interested in the distinctive tenets of the Progressive party as set forth by the August convention at Chicago, and the account of how this platform was made and who made it can hardly fail to interest the men and women of all parties. Such an account is given by Mr. Chester H. Rowell, who was a member of the Chicago Committee on Resolutions, in the *California Outlook* (Los Angeles and San Francisco) for August 17.

Taking things in the order of time rather than of importance, Mr. Rowell gives the history of the Progressive platform as follows: After the June convention of the Republican party at Chicago, the duty of preparing a preliminary platform draft for the Progressive party was assigned to a provisional committee consisting of ex-Forester Gifford Pinchot, Dean William D. Lewis of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, and Mr. Rowell. Afterward Dean Kirchwey, of Columbia University Law School, was added to the provisional committee, which met in Chicago, and enlisted the assistance of William Allen



Professor Samuel M. Lindsay

Hon. Wm. Dudley Foulke

Dr. Charles McCarthy

MEN WHO HELPED DRAFT THE NATIONAL PROGRESSIVE PLATFORM AT CHICAGO

White of Kansas, ex-Secretary of the Interior James R. Garfield, and Charles McCarthy, of the Wisconsin Legislative Reference Bureau, who has had much to do with the drafting of the constructive legislation that has made Wisconsin famous. This provisional committee worked day and night on a tentative draft until the meeting of the convention on August 5, when an official committee was appointed from the members of the convention.

This committee consisted of one delegate from each State of the Union, thus constituting a body one-half as large as the United States Senate. Immediately after its organization, the new committee held open sessions at which any person having suggestions was given opportunity to present them. It then held a meeting and called a roll of States for suggestions from its own members. Afterward a sub-committee was appointed consist-



Dean Kirchwey, of Columbia University Law School, New York

Dean Lewis, of the University of Pennsylvania Law School

TWO MEMBERS OF THE PLATFORM COMMITTEE OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

ing of members of the provisional committee already named, and several others, including Herbert Knox Smith, of Connecticut, who had only recently resigned his position at the head of the Bureau of Corporations, and Mr. George Record, of New Jersey while outside assistance was rendered by Miss Jane Addams, John Mitchell, and Professor Samuel McCune Lindsay, of Columbia University. On the full committee also were Miss Alice Carpenter, of Massachusetts, William Dudley Foulke, of Indiana, and Governor Carey, of Wyoming.

Mr. Rowell states that the woman-suffrage plank was written by Jane Addams, the labor plank by John Mitchell, the conservation and waterways plank by Gifford Pinchot, and the legal and constitutional planks by Dean Lewis, of Pennsylvania, and Dean Kirchwey, of New York, heads of two of the three principal law schools of the country, while the reso-

lution relating to social and industrial justice was worked out with the collaboration of Professor Lindsay, of Columbia. Such an array of names is indeed imposing, but one might easily infer that these experts in their various subjects merely foisted on the party their own individual views. Mr. Rowell denies that such was the fact. He says that the sub-committee worked an additional day and night on the material as presented, and then the entire platform was debated, paragraph by paragraph, and line by line, by the full committee of forty-eight.

Colonel Roosevelt's relation to the platform has been frequently misunderstood and misrepresented. The result of the work of the sub-committee, which was merely a provisional draft, was glanced over by Colonel Roosevelt and generally approved by him. After the full committee had completed its work, he went over it again carefully with a group of the members of the committee consisting of Dean Lewis, William Allen White, and Mr. Rowell. He made many suggestions, some of which were accepted, but not all.

WHAT MAKES VERMONT SIGNIFICANT IN PRESIDENTIAL YEARS

THE intense interest that is always manifested during Presidential years in Vermont State elections held early in September has become a regular characteristic of our quadrennial campaigns. The size of the Republican majority in the Green Mountain State serves as a barometer in the making of election forecasts, and it has long been customary for Republicans and Democrats alike to accept as a reliable indication the rising or falling of that majority above or below the normal standard. If the Republican majority falls below a certain number of thousands, the Democrats expect a victory for their party in November, while if the majority re-

mains normal, or rises above normal, the Republicans foretell their own success.

In the October number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, Mr. Edward Stanwood, an acknowledged authority on the subject of Presidential elections, comments on the fact that the result in Vermont has, in almost all cases, been a sure prognostication of the outcome in November. So far from being a superstition, Mr. Stanwood declares that this method of prediction is founded upon a philosophical principle that cannot be successfully disputed.

Mr. Bryan was as surely defeated in 1896, when Vermont gave Grout 38,000 majority, as he was when the polls closed in November. In order to maintain this proposition it is not necessary to suppose that a single voter anywhere in the country changed his political intention as a consequence of the Vermont election, or that any man, previously undecided, determined to "jump on the bandwagon." The real reason is that men in Indiana, in Idaho, and in Vermont, influenced by the same events, actuated by the same motives, and listening to the same arguments, act the same way. Some of them, of course, are drawn in one direction, others in the opposite direction, according to what manner of men they are, and what original opinions and tendencies they represent.

Grant that Vermont is, not, politically speaking, a typical American community, yet it does contain all sorts and conditions of men, although in different proportions from the distribution in many other communities. When, therefore, it appears that there has or has not been a perceptible political change, caused by a movement by one or more of the many classes of population from one party to the other, the country is supplied with a reasonably trustworthy view of the state of political sentiment in Indiana, Idaho, and elsewhere. Events, it is true, may occur between September and November that will affect and modify political action all over the country, and in Vermont as well; but they must be events, and not merely transitory waves of sentiment.



WAKE UP, GENTLEMEN!
From the *Inter Ocean* (Chicago).

AN AUSTRALIAN VIEW OF OUR THIRD-TERM SUPERSTITION

IT is useful sometimes to see ourselves as others see us. We have become used to criticisms from our British cousins across the Atlantic, but it is something new to have our defects pointed out by a citizen of the young commonwealth of Australia. This is the task undertaken by Mr. Grant Hervey, Sectional President of the Foreign Affairs Department of the Young Australian Movement, in the *New Age* (London); and it cannot be charged against him that he displays any lack of assurance in the discharge of his self-imposed office of candid friend. His article, entitled "The American Third-term Superstition—What would Lincoln do?" was written before the last Republican Convention; but he thinks its appearance after that event may serve a useful purpose by "reminding the Americans that they are a branch of the Anglo-Saxon family of nations, and that an interest in their Presidential campaign, not inferior, but in some ways superior to their own, is taken abroad." He goes on to say:

For it is one of the prime defects of the inhabitants of the United States that they are in some respects the most provincial-minded Anglo-Saxon people under the sun. A diligent perusal, for many months past, of all kinds of American magazines and newspapers, fails to provide any evidence which would show that the American people, as interpreted by their newspaper and magazine editors, even remotely understand the importance of their Presidential choice. They seem to regard the contest between Taft and Roosevelt, to say nothing of the personal rivalry between Woodrow Wilson, Underwood of Alabama, and Judson Harmon of Ohio, as a matter of purely American significance. The fervid Republican-Progressive who casts his ballot for Roosevelt in, say, Keokuk, Iowa, is only exceeded by the strenuous New Jersey Insurgent-Democrat in his disregard for the relation between the Presidential personality and the efficacy of America's participation in the affairs of the external world. This is where the inveterate provincialism of the American people works such harm with their better judgment. They weigh Taft, not against von Bethmann-Hollweg or even Asquith, but against Roosevelt and Senator La Follette. . . . The United States is the only first-class civilized nation that provides a political Procrustean bed, limited to an eight-years' tenure, for its ablest statesmen. There may be—doubtless there are—many ridiculous features about the governmental systems of European countries like England and Germany; but even in the land of Bismarck, with all its Conservative traditions, the principle obtains that a statesman may hold office so long as his services seem useful to the nation. In the formative years of American history, when the United States had only a relatively small part to play in the domain of Foreign Affairs, the rule

that no American should hold Presidential office for more than two terms may have served a salutary purpose. But America to-day is abreast of totally different world-conditions. The external universe that existed at the time of the American Civil War has totally disappeared. There was no United Germany then, still less a modern Japan. Yet the American people, taking them in the bulk, although they are engaged in digging the equivalent of a new Suez Canal, still think and act along the lines laid down by that prehistoric Virginian warrior, George Washington.

It has made "at least one intelligent Anglo-Saxon" very tired to wade through numberless columns of dissertations upon the views of "this extinct Mount Vernon oracle." George Washington is as dead as Queen Anne; and "it is a great pity that the American people, who are so sensible in most things, will not permit George Washington and his doctrines to remain peacefully in the grave."

But this great and vital fact remains impervious to all the provincial sentimentality of the American people—the fact that the time of Washington is not our time; that Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Hamilton, if they could emerge from the tomb, would be absolutely worthless to the American people as current political guides; and that, as a corollary, this nonsensical national attitude of obeisance towards Washington must be abandoned, and a more practical attitude adopted in America towards the problems of the present and of the coming time.

America, we are told, has "become smitten with the disease of provincialism in its most virulent form."

The nation is meeting new needs, but false pride compels it to drag its ridiculous cult of Washington worship after it. The new men—the Theodore Roosevelts of America—are cognizant of the new needs of the new time; but they are measured by the outworn standards of the eighteenth century. Washington, for purely private reasons, refused to serve a third term as President. . . . But to take that personal predilection on the part of the first President, and to transform it into a Draconian law for the strict observance of all future Presidents, surely represents the apotheosis of provincial inutility. . . . But however long it may be before the American nation gives over the Washington cult, the external world has a right to demand that the United States shall forthwith win free from the trammels of the Washington third-term superstition. This, of course, may seem an arrogant claim upon the part of a non-American observer. The American people, it may be sharply urged, have an exclusive right to prescribe their own Presidential conditions; and if they object to any man being President for a third term, that is their own affair.

Excusing himself for preaching to the American people on the ground—that ex-

President Roosevelt when in England lectured the British—"very rightly, it seems to us"—on their duty in Egypt, Mr. Hervey says:

One hopes, therefore, to be pardoned for making the suggestion that, in place of the Washington third-term superstition, the American people should address to themselves this question: What would Lincoln do? The great President who held the United States together at the crucial epoch was assassinated shortly after the commencement of his second term. If Lincoln had lived, and if the necessities of the Reconstruction period had demanded a continuation of Lincoln's Presidential sway, would the Illinois rail splitter have allowed the Washingtonian precedent to debar him from serving a third term? That is a question whose answer would cast an interesting light on Roosevelt's nomination. . . . But it ought to go on record that the peoples of these over-sea Commonwealths of the British Empire are vividly interested in Roosevelt's success. When Roosevelt sent the American Fleet to Australia, he revolutionized this country's attitude towards the United States. We want to see Roosevelt President again, that the Stars and Stripes may float level with our Australian Flag in the Pacific.

The Democratic candidate, Governor Woodrow Wilson is, like Governor Judson Harmon of Ohio, "still on the side of provincialism. They do not understand the tremendous part that America must play in world-politics in the near future."

It would be a tremendous disaster for the Anglo-Teutonic group of nations if . . . Wilson or Harmon were to be elected in 1912. Let the American people make no mistake about it—it is the world, and not merely the United States that demands Roosevelt in action. . . . The Republican party had its beginning with Lincoln. Now . . . there is a work of reconstruction to be carried through that calls for a man of the Lincoln calibre. And Roosevelt, with all his faults, is the only American leader who impresses the external world as being equal to the job. . . . Taft is the Balfour—allowing for minor discrepancies—of American politics. Neither can lead his party to victory. Therefore the party must look elsewhere for a captain.

Both England and America, Mr. Hervey thinks, would do well to make an end of provincialism and ponder earnestly the simple question: "What would Lincoln do?"

SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND METHODS

IT is a fact little known, that the Socialists are introducing among us a new type of political organization and new political methods very much in contrast with those to which, through long usage, we have become habituated, writes Prof. Robert F. Hoxie, of the University of Chicago, in the *Journal of Political Economy*, this contrast being most prominent in the matter of national conventions and the nomination of Presidential candidates. Thoughtful consideration of and an impartial judgment on this new departure of the Socialists compel one to say that it is evident that the old political organizations might with advantage take a leaf out of the book of the new party. For example:

The chief characteristic of the Socialist party organically is the direct control of the party membership and the consequent direct and individual responsibility of party representatives. This is exemplified in the election of the delegates to the national convention. Unlike the old parties, the Socialists hold no subordinate conventions for this purpose—either State, Congressional, district, or county. On the contrary, the representatives of each State are seated in the convention by the direct vote of the party membership in that State. Each voting member of the national convention therefore is an individual delegate at large from the State of his residence. By this method of election the local boss and the local machine are entirely eliminated. There is no preliminary wire-pulling,

no herding of local officeholders, no packing of local delegate bodies, no exchange of political promises and favors, no force, and no fraud. As a consequence, contests are few and the delegate to the national convention goes to that body ordinarily uninstructed, free from the tyranny of the unit rule, and beholden to no boss or machine.

This independence of the rule of the machine and the boss, enjoyed by the individual Socialist delegate, is equally characteristic of the convention as a whole. This is mainly due to the fact that "the Socialist convention, in marked contrast to those of the old parties, is altogether free from the dominating and manipulating influence of a national committee unresponsive to the immediate will of the party membership."

Another striking contrast exists between the old party national committees and their duties and the Socialist national committee with its limited functions. Some of the more important differences may be summarized as follows:

The old party national committees are elected for a term of four years. Consequently, at the time of performance of their most vital functions they represent the faction dominant four years previously. Their members are beyond party recall or control, inasmuch as the bodies which elected them had only temporary existence. It is evident that the natural purpose of such a com-

mittee is to continue in power the faction in control at the time of its appointment, and that, through its ability to determine the personnel of the temporary organization, and practically to name the temporary chairman, it is able to go very far toward the domination of the convention. This was amply demonstrated by the events of the last Republican convention.

The Socialist national committee is elected directly by the party membership for short terms; its members are subject to recall at any time by referendum vote of the party in the States which they represent; and their duties in connection with the national convention are defined by the party constitution: namely, (1) to issue the call; (2) to publish a roster of accredited delegates; (3) formulate rules and order of business; (4) through the chairman to call the convention to order; (5) to make reports and recommendations to it after it is organized. But it has no power to pass upon the credentials of delegates nor to interfere with the organization, temporary or permanent, of the convention itself.

Thus the old party committee is "an instrument so devised that it may easily stand above the party will, and hold the convention in the grip of the mortmain," while the Socialist committee is "to the convention merely a helpful device in the transaction of its business, and to the party membership a responsive servant."

The avoidance of factional and boss rule by the convention is further secured by the mode of apportionment of delegates and by the character of its organization.

The convention meets with the slate absolutely clean. There is no steering committee behind the scenes, no temporary chairman preappointed to execute the will of a faction. . . . The delegates are brought to order by the chairman of the national committee, the roll is called to ascertain the number of *uncontested* delegates, and these delegates proceed to perfect the organization. Nominations for temporary chairman and secretary are made from the floor and election is usually by show of hands. The *uncontested* delegates proceed at once to the nomination and election of the members of the regular committees, including the committee on contested seats. . . . The temporary chairman is continued as the executive of the permanent organization, but he is continued *for the day only*, and throughout the life of the convention a new chairman is elected at the beginning of each day's session.

Other features of the Socialist convention contrasting strongly with the old party conventions are:

No scheming and no leadership in the convention: certainly there are none of the ordinary evidences of these things in the establishment of headquarters, the holding of caucuses, the delivery of emotional appeals, and attempts to stampede the delegates by demonstrations and counterdemonstrations—things so characteristic of the old party tactics. *Nor is there ever an evidence of the*

existence of a steam roller. . . . Everything is dragged into the open, dictation by no man is tolerated, and any attempt at gavel rule is met and defeated by quick appeal.

Professor Hoxie notes, in passing, the results which would have followed the use of Socialist methods by the Republican party in connection with the Presidential nomination this year.

First, State representation in the convention in proportion to party membership would have greatly reduced Taft's strength by cutting down the relative number of Southern delegates. Second, Roosevelt delegates would probably have been seated without contest in those States where the party vote was in his favor. Third, it is likely that the majority of contests would have been decided in Roosevelt's favor, because he would then doubtless have had a majority of the uncontested delegates. Fourth, this being the case, the convention would in any event have been organized by the Roosevelt forces—they would have elected the temporary chairman and the convention committees. In short, Roosevelt's nomination would have been practically certain.

In one particular the Socialist convention constitutes a remarkable innovation in American politics: there sit in this body, but without vote, besides the voting delegates, the translator-secretaries of several affiliated foreign-speaking organizations, members of special committees appointed at previous conventions, and the executive secretary and the executive committee. Thus the convention has more the appearance of a congress than of a typical nominating body. Indeed, "the nomination of Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates is a matter of such minor importance that at the last convention nominating speeches were not allowed and the whole matter was disposed of during a portion of one afternoon session."

But the most significant feature of all, and one which is absolutely unique in American politics, is the research method of the convention and its committees, which are "not supposed to confine their work to an exegesis of Marx, but to secure the facts and interpret them scientifically." The Socialist party attitude is neither fixed nor dogmatic. The party program is being "slowly and painfully wrought out on the basis of an honest attempt to face the facts."

As suggested above, "the Socialists in this country are creating a political organization and political methods that are worth consideration," because of their merits as "possible contributions to a more wholesome, more democratic, and more progressive expression of the social will."

ENGLAND'S EX-PREMIER BALFOUR AS A MAN OF LETTERS



MR. BALFOUR SEVENTEEN YEARS AGO WHEN HE FINISHED "THE FOUNDATIONS OF BELIEF"

IF we remember rightly, it was Mr. Frederic Harrison who began a book review with the remark: "Premiers not uncommonly write sad stuff, and we should be thankful if the stuff be amusing." Assuming, for courtesy's sake, the correctness of the dictum of so high a literary authority as the critic cited, the inevitable "exception which proves the rule" is forthcoming in the person of the Right Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, British Prime Minister from 1902 to 1905. If what Mr. Balfour has written is not "amusing," it certainly cannot be correctly characterized as "sad stuff."

Dr. James Moffatt, in the *London Bookman*, writes of Mr. Balfour "from the point of view of literature, not of politics or philosophy." He finds it difficult to ascertain the ex-Minister's literary interests and quality from what he has published, owing to the fact that "his main interests lie, intellectually, in philosophy, from Bacon to Bergson." But, although literature occupies an incidental place in the interests of Mr. Balfour, he has now and then defined his position toward it as a branch of culture. He holds, for example, that it is "a supreme function of

literature to cheer us up," as the following passage, cited by Dr. Moffatt, shows:

I do not deny at all, of course, that things sad, sorrowful, tragic, even drab, may be and are susceptible of artistic treatment, . . . but for my own part I prefer more cheerful weather. . . . What I ask from literature mainly is that in a world which is full of sadness and difficulty, in which you go through a day's stress and come back from your work weary, you should find in literature something which represents life, which is true, in the highest sense of truth, to what is or is imagined to be true, but which does not cheer us.

On this Dr. Moffatt pertinently remarks:

This is a preference in which he [Mr. Balfour] has many stout allies. Sir Henry Taylor and Walt Whitman were poles apart in poetry, but they agreed that this was the chief end of verse. Schopenhauer was not a politician who needed refreshment for the intellect after a Commons debate, but he declared acidly that high culture leads us to seek entertainment almost entirely from books and not from human beings. Even Matthew Arnold held the same view—"The life of the people is such that in literature they require joy."

The pleasure-giving qualities of literature have always appealed to Mr. Balfour with curious force. In his address to the students of St. Andrews University he declared:

I am deliberately of opinion that it is the pleasures and not the spiritual or temporal profits of literature which most require to be preached in the ear of the ordinary reader. . . . Why should not reading be desultory sometimes? Is there any law against indulgence in a literary saunter?

Dr. Moffatt is inclined to think that Mr. Balfour's favorite period in English literature is the eighteenth century. His excursions for pleasure in the field of books "bring him into the curiously large company of those who haunt the age of Johnson, Swift, Walpole, and Addison." His interest in Berkeley is well known. The authors of the middle third of the nineteenth century have not much charm for him. He says: "I turn with pleasure from Thackeray and Dickens to Scott and Miss Austen, even from Tennyson and Browning to Keats, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Shelley." His style, says Dr. Moffatt, "shows distinct affinities with the prose of the great essayists in the eighteenth century." Huxley (who knew good English when he saw it) characterized it as "flowing like a smooth stream, sparkling with wit, and rippling with sarcasms enough to take away any reproach

of monotony." These qualities are not perhaps so prominent in his books on philosophy ("A Defense of Philosophic Doubt" and "The Foundations of Belief") as in his numerous pamphlets on subjects "ranging from music to matter, from politics to religion." Dr. Moffatt's judgment is that, "upon the whole, Mr. Balfour cannot be called a man of letters in the strict sense of the term. . . . He has rarely given himself to literary subjects, and when he has handled them it has been with a general or philosophic

air." It was, however, "in the true vein of a man of letters that he protested, at the recent dinner of the Royal Literary Fund, against the tendency to find sociological causes for literature."

Mr. Balfour's writings have been produced in the intervals of a busy life. Born in 1848, he has been a member of the British House of Commons ever since he was 26 years old. He has held most of the important offices of state, finally succeeding in the premiership his uncle, the late Marquis of Salisbury.

MODERN JAPAN AND HER DEBT TO THE LATE EMPEROR

AMONG the many articles relative to the recently deceased Emperor of Japan that have appeared in the periodical press few, if any, have exceeded in interest and importance a contribution to the *Correspondant* (Paris), entitled "Le Japon au Moment d'un Changement de Règne." The article is unsigned, but it has evidently been written by some one exceptionally well informed concerning his subject. Referring to the claim—

declared unassailable by Japanese historians—that Mutsuhito was the 121st of an unbroken line of rulers originating with Jimm Tennō in the year 680 B.C., the writer says: "It is highly probable that the ancestors of Mutsuhito were reigning when Tyre and Sidon were at the apogee of their greatness and while Carthage victoriously held its own against Rome." But of all this long list of emperors the late ruler will ever remain



EMPERESS SADAKO

EMPEROR YOSHIHITO

THE NEW JAPANESE MONARCHS IN CEREMONIAL DRESS



PRINCE HIROHITO, THE JAPANESE CROWN PRINCE

the most famous for his part in "the extraordinary transformation which in a comparatively few years has made of Nippon—that group of islands scarcely known, save for its geishas and through the comic operas—a great empire whose armies and navies have proved themselves equally formidable, and which ranks to-day among the greatest of the world powers."

In this transformative work the all-powerful factor was the personality of the Emperor. It is impossible, says the *Correspondant* writer, for Occidentals, even the most exalted royalists of old Europe, to form a correct idea of what the Emperor represents in the eyes of the Japanese. He is "the center of the nation, the sun of the Japanese universe, the keystone of the arch of the national edifice, and (to quote from the late W. T. Stead's "Japan by the Japanese"), God and man on the earth. He cites also Dr. Nitobe, a distinguished Japanese, as having said:

The love that we bear to the Emperor naturally carries with it love for the country over which he reigns. Our patriotism is sustained by two sentiments: our personal love for the sovereign and our common love for the soil which has given us birth and which guards the ashes of our fathers.

It is a noteworthy fact that, ultramodern though the "new Japan" may be, she remains

wholly Japanese in her attitude toward the imperial house. Europeans and Americans cannot realize the extent to which the traditional belief in the imperial virtues is rooted in the Japanese people, nor what a powerful source of strength in the national life it is. The *Correspondant* writer is at pains to illuminate Western readers on this point.

During the Russo-Japanese War, as also during the previous war with China, certain European journals were wont to joke when the successes of the Japanese arms were attributed to "the virtues of the Emperor." The Japanese people, however, took these affirmations literally. When Field Marshal Oyama, Generals Nogi and Kuroki, and Admiral Togo attributed their victories to "the imperial virtues," they did more than employ a mere formula: they gave expression to an unshakable popular belief. As a high Japanese official once said: "We feel that the ancestors of the Emperor, who are also ours, since the whole nation forms only one family, are at our side; that they watch over us and help us to conquer our enemies. This is what we mean when we speak of victories gained through 'the virtues of the Emperor.'"

The Emperor often influenced the policy of his ministers, for his activity and intelligence were undoubted; but his principal work was "that of being the chief of the state, the living symbol of the national life and of the sentiment of the country." His chief merit was that "he confided the affairs of the Empire to men of great valor, and maintained in office, in spite of the votes of the deputies, those in whom he had confidence."

After the victories over Russia and the occupation of Corea, the Emperor and his counselors were convinced that Japan could not remain in the conquered positions.

With that remarkable prevision which has not ceased to guide the policy of Japan since the day when European and American threats forced her, in spite of herself, to issue from her isolation, the conviction was realized that the supremacy of the Pacific was a condition indispensable to the security of the empire. It has been stated that the Emperor [Mutsuhito] was, with Marquis Ito, the first to see the necessity of the domination by Japan of the Pacific; but however this may be, it can with certainty be stated that to-day supremacy in that ocean has become a national ambition and one that has entered so deeply into the soul of the Japanese people that it will continue to dominate their policy. "The gods have ordained that the Rising Sun shall mount triumphant over the eastern ocean and shine supreme over its seas." This is the destiny, affirmed by her historians, that Japan is preparing herself to fulfil. . . . The Japanese have studied the history of Europe with a care which would surprise European statesmen. These studies were made under the special directions of the Emperor.

The *Correspondant* writer enters at considerable length into this question, with here

and there a palpable thrust at the United States. Thus he says: "The statesmen of the United States consider that it is to North America that the future supremacy [among the powers] should pass; but Japan does not so interpret the lessons of history." He then comes to the questions of the hour—the future of China and the Chinese loan, concerning which he writes with considerable warmth. He says, in substance:

The Emperor [Mutsuhito] died at the moment when Japan found herself face to face with a situation as grave as the war with Russia. Important secret influences are playing a part in the Chinese revolution unsuspected by the public. The "yellow peril" discovered by William II does not exist in the sense of which one hears; meanwhile a "white peril" exists for the yellow race, and it is of a nature more formidable than war. It is clear to Japanese statesmen that the outcome of the loan to China, under the conditions it is sought to force upon the borrower, will be that China will be practically placed in dependence upon the lenders, and that she will be virtually lost to Japan, who is indebted herself to the same powers to the extent of about 1,500,000,000 yen, for which she pays annually an interest charge of about 200,000,000 yen. Russian threats were as nothing compared with the present actual peril. Japan can resist by force of arms; she knows how to fight and has proved it. But against the bankers of Judeo-international finance—this is another matter.

The capital question for Japan to-day is, "What is to become of China and of the interests which Japan has created there since the conclusion of the campaign in Manchuria?" The United States and England supported Japan in her struggle against Russia because she was fighting their battles as well as her own; but when she had

conquered, these two friends became possessed of one and the same idea—that of preventing Japan from reaping the fruit of her victory. To-day China seems destined to be lost to Japanese influence: the great empire, fallen into the hands of European and American financiers, may become a powerful state, but she can never become what Japan had hoped she might be. This question of the Chinese loan is therefore regarded by Japan with the greatest anxiety. A struggle is beginning between the yellow millions of European and American gold and the millions of the yellow men of Japan; and in this conflict it is neither armies nor fleets that the latter dread. Irritation on the subject increases in Japan; and the West will act wisely in proceeding slowly and with extreme prudence. It is a policy as dangerous as little generous to press one's debtor to the point of exasperation.

The air of defiance characterizing these remarks is still more prominent in the writer's allusions to a probable *entente* between Russia and Japan, about which he has this to say:

On every side Japan finds herself face to face with difficulties far greater than those she has hitherto encountered; and the loss of the sovereign who for forty-five years had so brilliantly directed her destinies would be for her at such a moment a very great misfortune if the statesmen who were his collaborators, counselors, and guides were not at hand to aid and enlighten the new emperor, in the recognition of whose worth all are agreed. Russia seeks incessantly to resume her march toward the Far East. Considerations of every nature prompted her, before undertaking anew this pursuit of her old ambitions, to confer with Japan; and it is within the range of probability that an agreement will be concluded between the two powers relative to their mutual policy in China. Any other power will be very ill advised to interfere.

THE PROSPECTS FOR AERIAL WARFARE

A VAST field of operations is opened up by the proposed use of flying-machines in war. That they will revolutionize the old methods of warfare seems, when we consider their probable, or possible, scope, almost self-evident. Major Belleville gives an interesting treatment of this subject in the *Deutsche Revue* (Berlin).

With the great interest which the French have from remote times displayed in aerial navigation, the wide promise of the military uses to which it could be put has made the strongest appeal and found the most general and active support among them. France, consequently, surpasses all other countries to-day in the aerial craft industry as well as in the efficient manning of airships, and is increasing its strength in this direction, so that it may dominate the

"aerial ocean" in war. Says Major Belleville, in the article mentioned:

As long as flying-machines were mainly used as material for experiment a small number sufficed, but to form an effective arm of the military service, their number must be essentially multiplied, particularly in view of the fact that they are short-lived even in peace, and will, naturally, be far more so in war. A recent public subscription in France, having for its object the procuring of flying-machines for the army, amounted to three million francs, and the French Minister of War demanded and obtained twelve millions for the current year and contemplates a further demand of ten millions for the present and twenty-five millions for the ensuing years. It is hoped that, through the national funds, the country will have at its disposal at the close of the year twenty-seven field and five fort squadrons, consisting of 344 flying-machines, equipped with the requisite number of pilots, troops, and all the necessary technical arrangements.



AN AEROPLANE BEING TESTED BY OFFICERS OF THE FRENCH ARMY

Germany and all the other great powers are working on the same lines, and it is unquestionable, therefore, that in any future war battles in the air by opposing airships as well as attacks by them upon all other forms of military resistance and defense will play a great rôle. This introduces a new factor into warfare which demands military consideration, but is also of great general interest.

Airships have nothing in common in structure, use, and effect with any other engine of war, and resemble torpedo-boats only in so far as both operate mainly by explosive projectiles, firearms being, necessarily, subsidiary in either. The variety of construction, other peculiarities, notably their different mediums of transit, preclude here, too, any further comparisons or conclusions; the methods of use of this fourth arm must, therefore, be ascertained by theoretical considerations and practical experiments and experiences.

We assume that the main general characteristics of airships are familiar. As regards their operations, the chief point to be noted is that in war a vast field of activity is opened to them, both as regards the ascertainment of the condition of the enemy and the ability of inflicting direct injury upon the latter by explosives, the only limit being drawn by their equipment and carrying power. Aeroplanes, it may be assumed, can fly continuously 200 kilometers from their starting-point; dirigible balloons a greater distance, of course, but on account of their great diversity no definite estimate can be given. The Zeppelin machines are, in this respect, too, superior to all others. If they rise sufficiently high—aeroplanes 500 meters, dirigible balloons over 1200 meters—they

have little to fear from the enemy's artillery, the first because of their rapid flight and small size, but mainly on account of being indistinguishable from those of their enemies. The dirigible balloons are in a less favorable position, and must therefore fly higher; but as soon as they have passed the outposts they likewise cannot be attacked, as the firing would jeopardize the attacking troops in a wide range.

Far more danger is offered by the opposing airships, which will therefore have to be repulsed or annihilated in order to continue one's way. Here, too, the aeroplane has the advantage over the balloon of greater speed and ascension; the latter's crew, on the other hand, can attack that of the enemy with firearms with better hope of success.

Now, the question arises as to what flying-machines should and can do in the special phases of war. In the first place, in warfare on land.

The new feature here will be that in future it is not those troops alone that are near the enemy—marching, fighting, or camping—who will be exposed to attack, but those far in the rear, as well as the military trains, the rear lines of communication, supplies, etc., which have hitherto been protected by the army in front. This constant menace and activity by the enemy will grow excessively irksome. And when the antagonist is mobilizing his forces, airships can attack important military structures—barracks, arsenals, flying-machine sheds, railway stations and trains, bridges, etc.

No less important or numerous are the tasks which airships will have to tackle during and after a battle. They must, primarily, ascertain the

strength and disposition of the opponent's troops, the direction of their activity, and so on, and in case they occupy a defensive post, the lay of the land within and without. Besides this activity, to be kept up during the battle, they must give vigorous assistance by explosives hurled at the troops, to prevent their advance and reduce their fighting efficiency. They can, moreover, deliver a sudden command to remote divisions or bear news from the latter to the superior commanders.

The sphere of the air-ship is even more comprehensive and decisive in siege warfare. Here it will completely revolutionize, in attack and defense, the existing methods. On the one hand, the aggressor can ascertain with exactitude the condition of the fortified place; on the other, he will hardly succeed in surprising the enemy by an assault, as long as the latter is provided with a considerable aerial fleet.

Finally, as to the effect of flying-machines in a naval conflict. Here it is notably the dirigible balloons that are destined to play an important part, since their wide radius of activity permits them to ascertain the approach of the enemy's ships, their line of

action, strength, etc., while they can be attacking them; besides, with explosive projectiles.

The larger vessels will be a sufficiently large target, and it seems more than probable that a close blockade and a bombarding of ports and coast defenses will, consequently, be prevented. Whether and with what success air-ships will take part in battles upon the open sea depends upon the distance of the scene of action from land. Dirigible balloons cannot be transported even upon the largest war vessels, but the navy could make good use of aeroplanes so constructed that they can rise from and rest upon the water.

In aerial warfare, too, the writer concludes, attack is the best means of defense; it is urgently necessary, therefore, that the Germans also should create a powerful aerial fleet, efficient in commanders and in all its details, at least equal, but preferably superior, to that of any of their possible and probable enemies.

HENRI POINCARÉ AND HIS ACHIEVEMENTS

THE sudden and untimely death of Henri Poincaré, the illustrious mathematician and physicist, at the comparatively early age of fifty-eight, has evoked a great mass of eulogy and critical appreciation in the French press.

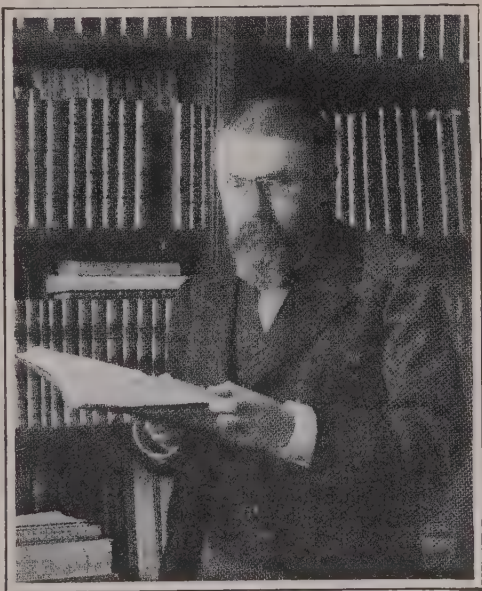
Though a member of the French Academy for more than a quarter of a century, the nature and quality of Poincaré's achievements are comparatively little known to American readers, even of the cultivated classes. This is largely due to the austere and recondite nature of his studies, which embraced the more ultimate reaches of mathematical physics and astronomy.

It has been well said of him that "in surveying his work one has the impression of a veritable scientific monument whose base reposes on the mathematical conquests of centuries, and whose summit glows in the luminous and infinite spaces of 'celestial mechanics.'"

The study of such mathematical problems as groups and functions, differential equations, and integration led him logically to applied analysis in arithmetic, algebra, and geometry. Thus prepared, he was ready to attack the most difficult questions in analytical and celestial mechanics, such as fluid masses in rotation, theories concerning the tides, the planets, the earth and the moon—in brief, cosmogonic hypotheses of the widest range.

The problems of mathematical physics likewise attracted him strongly and he investigated with much success the laws of thermodynamics, optics, electricity and electrotechnique, cathodic rays, and Hertzian waves.

His most remarkable works are the three volumes entitled "Science and Method," "Science and Hypothesis," and "The Value of Science."



HENRI POINCARÉ IN HIS LIBRARY

But he found time also to prepare the series of brief biographies included in a fourth work, "Scientists and Writers," (*Savants et Écrivains*). This is of very wide general appeal, including as it does appreciative accounts of such scientific luminaries as Curie, Laguerre, d'Hermite, Tisserand, Bertrand, Berthelot, Lord Kelvin and Maurice Loewy.

The introduction to this work contains a passage so luminous in its valuation of men of genius and so illuminative of the lofty attitude of its author toward the pursuit of truth that we cannot refrain from quoting it.

"Among *savants*," he says, "disinterestedness is a general virtue: the appetite for money is almost always unknown to them. . . . But then any forms of disinterestedness other than that toward money. . . . There are men who seek influence and others who disdain it; the first have an excuse—it is that they desire it not solely for themselves, but for their ideas; and again, that the world of science cannot dispense with administrators occupied with its temporal interests. But my preference is for the others, whom no exterior care distracts from their laborious dream.

"Men of science should be equally indifferent to fame; when one has had the happiness of making a discovery, what happiness can there be in giving it one's name, after the joy of having contemplated, for an instant, truth face to face? And should we not remind ourselves that the world is as grateful to the anonymous inventor of the wheel, or of fire, as if it knew how to pronounce the syllables of his name? Do I need to add that all the world does not think thus, or at least, does not act as if it did?"

Shortly after Poincaré's election to the Academy, Marcel Prévost, now one of "the Forty Immortals" himself penned an estimate of his genius, "than which nothing could be more penetrating or more just," according to *Les Annales* (Paris), from which we quote some passages:

This is a name of European—or as we say to-day—of world-wide celebrity. Not only cultivated people, but the humblest pupils in scientific or industrial schools, over the whole surface of the globe, have read it and pronounced it; it will be the same, indefinitely, for succeeding generations, for geometry has not age nor country: Archimedes and Euclid are of all places and all times. This is probably the best known French name since that of Berthelot, for scientific fame, in the twentieth century, emits sound-waves larger and more sonorous than artistic or even political fame. . . .

The reverse side of this dazzling medal is that

between the crowd that repeats admiringly the name of such a *savant* and the *savant* himself, there is no common intellectual measure. The humblest, the least educated admirers of a Puvis de Chavannes, of a Hervieu, of a Saint-Saëns, of a Rostand, comprehend something of the art they admire. While even those whom a Henri Poincaré might deem his peers confess the difficulty they have in following him upon certain paths he has opened. Those who are not eminent in mathematics are reduced to admire him from afar, comprehending only the titles and general direction of his discoveries. As for the crowd, they admire with confidence, without possessing any means of 'controlling' their admiration. If you imagine a theater, where, in almost complete obscurity, a new drama by an illustrious author, is played in a language unknown to the spectators, you will realize pretty nearly the relative positions of the great public and of such a *savant* as Henri Poincaré.

Poincaré was born in 1854, entered the Polytechnic School in 1873, and six years later was a mining engineer and doctor of science. He was a professor of analysis at Caen and then at Paris, and was elected to the geometry section of the Academy of Sciences in 1886. "A perfect intellectual machine has traversed without incident the road upon which it received its initial propulsion."

Besides mathematical analysis, astronomical mechanics, and mathematical physics, he has written profoundly on scientific philosophy.

"But what the public should learn and remember," says Prévost, "is that all the labors pursued by Poincaré in the different realms of pure science have a common character, that of *generalization*. To take a particular method, restricted to the solution of a particular problem, and to extract from it a general method which should resolve an infinitely vaster category of problems: such was his constant tendency. In all the quarters of the mysterious forest in which he labored a path was pierced and a great horizon opened. By this is he distinguished from other very meritorious scientists, who are able by obstinate grubbing, to make a clearing about themselves as a center, without a vista to open country."

* * * *

After giving specific examples he continues:

Thus, whatever realms of science have been invaded and annexed by Henri Poincaré, he has immediately put them in order and administered them comprehensively, as do all true conquerors.

"It would have been highly improbable

that such a faculty of generalization should not have exercised itself on the most general of scientific objects: the philosophy of science.

"The general reader is better advised of this matter than of his purely mathematical works, for the volumes in which the philosopher has exposed his doctrine have obtained

a dazzling success. They have the *format* and the price of an ordinary novel, but many novelists would be satisfied with a sale comparable to that of "Science and Hypothesis," about 20,000 copies. Similarly, the "Value of Science" and "Science and Method" are in every hand."

A REPUBLICAN'S PLEA FOR A MONARCHY IN FRANCE

A GREAT joy has come to French royalist circles and a corresponding dismay to republicans by the publication in the Paris *Soleil* of a letter written by M. Emile Flourens who was French Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time of the celebrated Schnaebele incident that nearly precipitated a war between France and Germany in 1887.

The occasion for the letter was given, according to a royalist paper, *Defense de Seine et Marne*, by a reproach addressed to M. Flourens recently by the well-known former editor of the Paris *Libre Parole*, Edouard Drumont, that, when Minister of Foreign Affairs, he had prevented war between France and Germany, and thus lost a great opportunity to avenge the defeats and retrieve the disasters of 1870.

An analysis of the Flourens letter with comments appeared in a recent issue of the *Action Française*, another royalist paper, and revealed some remarkable facts of the diplomacy of the day as well as the trend of thought among certain Frenchmen now. M. Flourens comes out unequivocally for monarchical rule, and gives as his reasons the experience he went through at the Foreign Office in those long past critical days. He had to choose between submitting to Bismarck or plunging France into all the perils of another conflict with inadequate resources and division in the government. At that time Boulanger on the black horse was the popular idol but incessant difficulties hindered his course. To please Clemenceau, Boulanger had dismissed before their time eighteen thousand infantry soldiers. President Grévy opposed their recall on the ground that it would be treated by Germany as a provocation. "But Boulanger had confidence," said Drumont.

"You would not speak that way," replied Flourens, "if you had heard as I have, the generals placed at the head of our great military commands."

All recognized in him great bravery and declared that he was an ideal leader to head squadrons in

an heroic charge, but they all denied him the power of conception necessary to direct the operations of an army; they did not admit that he had coolness or scientific knowledge of the art of war. Falling back on this undisguised encouragement from the Elysée, Boulanger's adversaries went so far as to announce that they would refuse obedience to such an incapable.

It pleased some to represent the President of the Republic as powerless; that is an error. When he is infatuated with a minister he makes a dictator of him who, like Delcassé, to accomplish the execution of his plans, can pass by the Cabinet as well as Parliament. When on the other hand he bungles his suggestions, when he refuses or delays his signature to the most important documents, he makes it impossible for him to carry on his duties.

Such was the attitude of Grévy toward Boulanger. He would not see in the Schnaebele incident anything but an episode in his fight against Boulanger and wished to turn it to his own profit. Germany, he believed, had come to aid him to drive from the War Office a man not easy to dislodge. "A dangerous illusion," says *L'Action Française*, "emanating from de Lesseps and entertained by our (the French) Ambassador at Berlin." Even during Cabinet Councils, President Grévy thought only of thwarting his Minister of War, and on one occasion treated him in such a way that he threw his portfolio on the table and left the room. M. Goblet ran after him and brought him back, promising that "everything would be arranged."

M. Flourens also recalls how in 1877 an alliance between the French parliament and Germany was made. Before going to Berlin, Crispi then Prime Minister of Italy, passed through Paris. There he saw Gambetta and had a long interview with him, and quickly understood how he could take advantage of the necessities of the new Republic, and he had not much trouble in convincing Bismarck. M. Flourens then explains the process:

The editor of Crispi's "Memoirs" [already reviewed in the pages of this REVIEW] that after these interviews, relations were established between Crispi and Gambetta. He publishes in fac-simile a

letter of Gambetta's which accredited his friend Armand Ruiz as his confidential agent with Crispi, while Crispi appointed Francesco Cuccchi as his with Bismarck. From then the compact was sealed and Gambetta launched his war-cry, "Clericalism, that is the enemy." While Gambettaism was dominant, we lived under the dictatorship of Bismarck. That dictatorship oppressed not only our external policy but our internal affairs.

M. Flourens then gives the proofs which go back to the time when he was at the Foreign Office, and of which the dismissal of Delcassé under Rouvier was only the continuation. He says:

When I came to the Quai d'Orsay, nothing was done which had not received the approbation of the Wilhelmstrasse (Berlin). The ambassador of England and the Ambassador of Russia refused to chat with me, objecting "what use is it our talking to you if all we say is reported in Berlin." This was the policy followed by all the opportunist ministries.

At the moment of the Schnaebele incident the opportunist party was under the thumb of Reinach who declared he would turn everything upside down if Boulanger was not thrown overboard. But around Reinach, Gambetta's heir, all the world was playing its part in the comedy of "The Revenge." Finally, to crown the edifice as he says, M. Flourens the visit of M. Floquet who was solemnity itself. After severely criticizing the inertia of the government which was doing nothing to relieve the anxiety of the country, he declared that it was necessary to call the two Chambers together in order to come to some decision. "What decision?" asked M. Flourens. "Congress will consider," replied Floquet grandiosely. "Will Congress vote for war? Will you yourself

vote for it," asked Flourens. "No, certainly not," said Floquet with determination. "Then let me attend to my affairs," said Flourens, and he turned Floquet out of his office.

L'Action Française then goes on to say that the cause of the impotence of Republican governments in foreign affairs are the internal politics, and that only under a monarch, as M. Flourens, himself a republican, has convinced himself, can a nation act with promptness, energy and oneness of purpose, and, curiously enough, quotes proofs furnished by what it calls the Republican anarchy in Poland, confirming, as it sees it, the Republican anarchy in France illustrated by the opinions expressed by M. Emile Flourens after a critical experience in office as Minister of Foreign affairs.

The conclusions both of M. Flourens and of *L'Action Française*, seem when closely examined somewhat forced, for nowadays with the spread of education and a free press even despots are no longer absolute; they have to consider the popular will. A prominent German writer, referring to the recent meeting between the Emperor of Russia and the German Kaiser, and its barrenness of result, declares the conviction that "the friendships of monarchs have no longer the significance they had seventy and forty years ago," from which the deduction may be drawn that so far from the reëstablishment of royalty being of advantage to France it would be more likely to fall under the domination of some interest such as drove the Emperor, Napoleon III., to Sedan and France to reëstablish the Republic which M. Flourens so singularly depreciates.

THE PRESENT STATE OF OUR KNOWLEDGE OF RADIUM

THE most wonderful thing about the marvelous metal radium, discovered by the gifted Polish scientist, Mme. Curie, and her late husband, Pierre Curie, is the way in which it has forced upon scientists a new concept of the laws of matter and fundamental modifications of theory concerning the mechanics of the universe.

Many eager brains besides that of the great woman to whom we owe its discovery are now busied with the problems presented by radium, and laboring to push back still further the barriers that limit the known from the unknown, and much still remains doubtless in the womb of the future; but it is instructive

to consider the present status of our knowledge of the matter.

We welcome, therefore, the lucid résumé of the subject presented by the well-known writer on scientific topics, the Duc de Broglie, in a late number of the *Revue Hebdomadaire* (Paris).

To the physicist of even thirty years ago some of the ideas now advanced would have been unthinkable, as is clearly evident from the striking words of the following summary:

The progress of physics and the discovery of radio-activity have permitted us to penetrate into the new world of the phenomena which concern the interior of atoms. Chemistry studied the reactions

of atoms upon one another; to-day we are in the presence of a new science which enables us to enter far more profoundly into the structure of matter and the spectacle offered us is marvelous: projectiles launched with undreamed speed approaching that of light; particles [grains] of electricity circulating within atoms; a modification of the vibrations of these particles under the influence of magnetism; spontaneous and progressive transformations accomplished according to strange laws; quantities of energy enormous with respect to the quantity of matter involved; the natural and spontaneous emission by certain substances of rays which seem related to the passage of electricity in discharges taking place in rarefied gases; movements regulated by a new mechanics.

The limitations of our space oblige us to omit the introductory passages of the article dealing with the generally accepted views of the constitution and laws of matter previous to the discovery of radium; it is the results of this discovery that are of special interest. We read:

Radio-active bodies are substances which produce in spontaneous manner, and apparently without immediate cause and without consumption of matter, the greater part of the effects which have been observed in electric discharges through rarefied gases. They emit a very penetrating sort of radiation which traverses great thicknesses of the densest substances, and which renders the air a conductor of electricity by forming ions, thus showing itself analogous in nearly every respect to the Röntgen rays; they give rise in the space which surrounds them to a bombardment of electrified particles, which are not projected, this time, in the interior of a highly rarefied medium, but sent through atmospheric air at enormous rates of speed. It is not to be wondered at that the molecules of the air sustain, under the intense shocks thus received, dislocations similar to those produced by Röntgen rays and become parted into electrified fragments.

The preparations of radium are usually only a mixture of an inert body with a very minute quantity of a chemical compound of radium. Radium itself, in a free state, is a metal whose chemical properties place it in the group to which calcium belongs. It is not especially interesting to deal with the metal itself, since its properties follow it without alteration into its various chemical combinations; it has been isolated in the metallic state by Mme. Curie and M. Debierne; it is merely more active, weight for weight, than its compounds, the activity of these being proportional to their content of radium.

The space which surrounds the active substance is traversed by three radiations, which have been called (A), *Alpha* rays (B), *Beta* rays, and *Gamma* rays, (T).

The *Alpha* radiation, regarded as composed of material atoms, carries a charge of positive electricity; these atoms are projected through the air with a speed which may attain thirty thousand kilometers per second, a speed a tenth as great as that of light; they break the molecules of air which they encounter, separating them into electrified fragments, and stopping, exhausted, when they have lost their speed because of these repeated shocks; the distance through which they can thus penetrate

the air at atmospheric pressure varies from 2 to 8 centimeters, and involves an encounter with more than a hundred thousand molecules of air.

When these projectiles encounter a screen covered with zinc sulphide they give rise to a flash of light; looking at the screen with a magnifying glass we perceive a sky sown with stars which shine and are extinguished, turn by turn; . . . we can thus count the *Alpha* atoms and we have here an experimental proof of the discontinuity of their activity. What is the nature of these projectiles? We shall see that they are probably atoms of the rare gas helium.

The *Beta* rays are of different character: composed also of isolated projectiles, they are distinguished by the extreme smallness of their particles; these are no longer atoms, but minute fragments of atoms—perhaps pure electricity—the stones of which atomic edifices are built. Their electric charge, negative this time, and their small mass render them sensitive to the action of a magnet, which easily forces them to deviate, despite their enormous speed, approximating that of light. From such tiny electrified bodies—often called electrons—submitted to familiar electric and magnetic forces, we pass to the simple case of movements of which astronomy has given a just example; but here we must note a new phenomenon, whose signification may have an immense bearing upon all mechanics.

Mechanics has introduced the idea of *mass*: this is the coefficient of inertia proper to each substance, which measures the facility with which a given force can put in motion a given volume of the substance. The basis of classic mechanics is that the mass of a body is invariable, not depending on either motion or speed. This is a fact verified by all the calculations of astronomy and by over two centuries of experiment, but these experiments and calculations were based on rates of speed very low compared to that of light. . . .

The corpuscles projected by radium permit us to experiment with speeds unknown until the present, and it seems probable that here the mass varies with the speed, and even augments very rapidly when the speed approaches that of light. Here is an entire new system of mechanics to be constructed for the calculation of motions of such rapidity. These conclusions . . . do not imply the falsity of ordinary mechanics, but simply limit its validity to *ordinary* rates of speed, excluding enormous rates.

The *Gamma* rays are not composed of projectiles, but are analogous to the Röntgen rays; they are very penetrating, capable of traversing, for example, a meter's thickness of lead and of producing, like the *Beta* rays, photographic and electric effects which enable us to follow their course. The magnet does not affect them.

In the latter part of the article the author discusses the now generally accepted theory that radio-active substances are in a continual state of transformation. This may be very slow—thus it requires some 2000 years to diminish radium by one-half—but it is sufficient to account for the steady liberation of heat by such substances. Since these are present in the crust of the earth in the most wide-spread range, and may also be present in unknown quantities in its interior, it is evident

that this heat is a factor of tremendous importance in terrestrial temperatures; so great, indeed, as to necessitate a profound modification of various geologic assumptions—such as the rate of cooling of the earth, the time of the appearance of life, etc.—heretofore regarded as settled questions.

A few years ago the English physicist, Rutherford, suggested a brilliant hypothesis to explain the transformation referred to above—a hypothesis strikingly supported by subsequent discoveries. According to this the atom of radium is instable. "At each second a certain fraction of the total number of atoms undergoes a sort of internal explosion which throws off the *Alpha* and *Beta* projectiles, produces the *Gamma* radiation, and disengages heat. There remains the largest fragment, the atom of radium, diminished by the *Alpha* and *Beta* fragments which it has expelled; this remainder is in reality a chemical substance different from radium, and one which may itself be radio-active. In this case it is transformed, in its turn, according to

the same mechanism, and this process continues until we arrive at a final product which is a stable atom, and therefore non-radio-active, and undistinguishable from ordinary matter.

This accounts for the series of "descendants" which are evolved from radium. Seven such descendants have already been observed in the case of radium, and the series may possibly end in lead. Besides the radium group there are known at present three other groups or families of radio-active substances which undergo similar progressive transformations. Such transformations are shown by uranium, thorium, and actinium, and it is even supposed that radium is itself a descendant of uranium. This startling fact has shaken the foundations of chemistry by suggesting that the so-called "elements" are not unalterable after all! The question has even been raised, whether the old alchemists were right in their belief in transmutation. But we have no space for the speculations on this theme now rife in the scientific world.

POISONS AND THEIR EFFECT ON THE ORGANISM

THE very fact that poisons are so widespread in origin and so various of action renders definition difficult. Yet definition is exceedingly important, and both medicine and law have endeavored for centuries to frame such definition. Many elements enter into consideration, even in such a general statement as that poisons are substances injurious to health or life. Degree of concentration is a factor, for many things are harmless, or even beneficial in minute quantities. Time is another factor, since some poisons, such as lead and arsenic, are cumulative in action, and may thus be fatal in even minute doses when these are long continued; while substances quickly eliminated might be quite harmless in much larger amounts.

In legal questions, moreover, the element of will is concerned, and this involves both malicious intent and criminal negligence. In the first case, for example, a woman who administered a secret drug to her husband, either as a so-called "love potion" or "to cure the drink habit," and thereby caused his death, would not be technically guilty of poisoning. In the second case, the most difficult and delicate situations may arise in regard to the responsibility of employers for injuries occasioned by "occupational poisons," such as

phosphorus, arsenic, copper, mercury, etc.; and in the settlement of such cases the "contributory carelessness" of the employee must be weighed in the balance against the "criminal negligence" or the ruthless greed of the employer.

Even the word "substances" must be discarded in these days, since poisonous effects may be induced by such things as the ultra-modern discoveries of radium and the Röntgen rays, which are not substances at all, but forms of force acting at appreciable distances, and strongly suggesting the ancient superstition of "the evil eye." Furthermore, modern science must take account of the peculiarly virulent agencies of death comprised in the bacterial poisons.

It will be seen that the time is ripe for a revision of ideas on toxicology and a restatement of its scope. Data for such revision are given in an article by Dr. Ernst Schottelius in a recent number of *Prometheus* (Berlin). Dr. Schottelius finds two things always concerned in a case of poisoning: one the agency that disturbs the orderly life process of the cells, and the other the manner in which the organism responds to the disturbing agency.

The physician and the pharmacologist have joined hands to elucidate the nature of the

first, so that we are well acquainted with the origin and the chemical structure of most poisons, with the symptoms they produce, and the manner of death or recovery; but the second is still more of less shrouded in mystery. Only this much is certain: that in the reaction between these two factors "the building material of the body," the protoplasm of the cells, is directly involved and altered.

"In both organic and inorganic nature," we read, "we meet with manifold poisons. There are poisonous plants and animals in which the production and excretion of poisons tend to the defense of the individual and the preservation of the species. This seems to be less the case with one of the lower divisions of the vegetable kingdom, the bacteria. From the mineral kingdom come poisons, chiefly in the shape of salts of the heavy metals, and finally science has constructed new chemical poisons." Poisons are distinguished from one another by the fact that each, almost without exception, first attacks some special tissue of the body. "Phosphorus, for example (in cases of acute poisoning), chiefly attacks the cells of the liver, while the extract of digitalis attacks the nervous apparatus of the heart; curare paralyzes only the nerve terminations which carry motor impulses to the muscles, and chloroform causes a sleep-like state of the covering of the brain. . . .

"That bodily tissue first affected and altered in function by a given poison is called the 'predilection point' of the poisonous effect. But it must be added that this effect does not operate exclusively on this tissue, but is merely first apparent there."

While secondary effects are nearly always present the affinity of the poison for the tissue of the predilection point is so marked as to afford a basis of physiological classification, so that we speak of cardiac poisons, blood poisons, nerve poisons, etc.

A typical example is that of strychnine, the alkaloid found in *nux vomica*. This displays a special affinity for certain parts of the central nervous system, particularly the spinal column, in which it acts exclusively on those elements of the nerve which transmit the reflexes, familiar examples of which are the involuntary winking of the eyelid when touched or approached and the contraction of the pupils in an increase of light.

In a case of strychnine poisoning the reflex apparatus is at first in a condition of excessive irritability. At the slightest touch there is an "explosion," so to speak, of the full amount of energy it is capable of exerting. "Thus we

see, as the external effect of the poison, how, at every excitement of the sensory organs, a severe contraction of all the muscles of the body ensues, and continues for a considerable period. This state is designated tetanic rigidity of the muscles. By experiments on animals it has been proved that this reflex cramp proceeds from the spinal column—animals in which this has been destroyed are not subject to it—and it is further established that this poison *merely induces a highly augmented irritability, but is not of itself irritant*; for so long as every external irritation is withheld the cramps do not occur. If the quantity of strychnine is not such as to cause death by the extension of the cramps to the respiratory muscles, there follows in due course a period of paralysis after the period of heightened irritability. The extension of this to respiratory apparatus and heart—the blood pressure sinks—finally causes death. . . . Strychnine also affects the brain, and especially the eye. This shows in the stage of irritability a marked increase of facility in the perception of light and colors. Hence small quantities of strychnine have been successfully used therapeutically to restore the sensitiveness lost by illness to the sensory organs and motor nerves."

Other alkaloids, such as morphine, caffeine, cocaine, hyoscyne, etc., act in similar manner, though having different predilection points. These are all of vegetable origin, and are basic nitrogenous compounds, forming salts with acids, like true bases.

The poisoning action of the strong acids, of which sulphuric acid may be taken as the type, is apparently simpler. They are usually swallowed, and first affect the mucous membrane of the alimentary canal, on which they exert a corrosive action very similar to that by burning.

The exact nature of this corrosion is yet unknown to us. We can discern from the dead cells of the epithelium that the normal inner cell structure has disappeared. The content of the cells, the living protoplasm, has undergone with the acid or its separate components an irreversible reaction. The cell content is seen under the microscope to have run out, while the outer form of the cell and the nucleus remain. The severity of the injury is of course widely variable and chiefly dependent on the concentration of the acid. The whole complex of this corrosive action was formerly considered due to the withdrawal of water from the cells, but according to modern ideas of the constitution of the molecule we think rather of an injury to the protoplasm by free hydrogen ions.

Besides this initial action there are secondary effects on the nervous system analogous to those that occur in injury by burns.

Dr. Schottelius next considers bacterial poisons. We read:

Among the numerous poisonous substances produced by bacteria in the processes of their life or death the toxins occupy a peculiar place; partly because they are true *secretions*, but chiefly because they induce in the organism the production of a specific antidote, an antitoxin. We know how this fact, theoretically so interesting, has led practically to the employment of curative sera. However, it is far from all of the sickness-causing bacteria which produce such specific toxins. But thus far diphtheria, tetanus, and dysentery are recognized as toxin diseases and are successfully combated with the corresponding sera.

The antitoxins are obtained by the cultivation of the bacteria for several weeks in a suitable medium, such as bouillon. The extreme virulence of the poisons is shown by such a fact as that 0.1 cubic centimeter of the dysentery-poison bouillon was sufficient, though strongly diluted, to cause the death of a rabbit weighing 2000 grams in from twenty-four to forty-eight hours.

The specific poisonous effect in this case first becomes observable in an increase of temperature; after a few hours paralysis, usually of the hind legs, sets in, often accompanied by paralysis

of the intestine, with diarrhea; a progressive paralysis of the back and forelegs follows, with sinking of the temperature and the blood pressure, and finally death. Examination of the dead animals shows that the paralysis is due, not to an injury of the functioning muscles and nerves, but to the destruction of the sources of origin of the nerves in the spinal column.

The poison takes effect in the so-called motor ganglion cells, causing a shriveling of the nucleus. It is encouraging to learn that the terrible progress of the disease can be arrested by the timely use of a minimal quantity (0.05 cubic centimeter) of the proper serum. The animals treated with the serum quickly recover and show no trace of illness.

"According to our present knowledge," says Dr. Schottelius in closing, "the other poisons do not offer the possibility of a specific antagonistic treatment, such as that exerted by the antitoxins against the toxins. Hence there can be no serum prepared to fight alcohol or morphine or sublimate poisoning. Practical progress in the conquest of these can be expected only through a further penetration into the essential nature of these processes and a completion of our still limited knowledge of them."

DICKENS AS A CRIMINOLOGIST

STUDIES of Dickens have been many and various, but they have all agreed on one point, and that is, that Dickens was what is termed a "writer with a purpose." Some saw in him a reformer, others a philanthropist, and still others an educator. A novel and rather interesting view of his works is taken by a Russian. Mr. E. Kulisher regards Dickens as a criminologist. In his contribution to *Russdaya Mysl* (St. Petersburg), he writes:

Although the formal connection of Dickens with the realm of justice is insignificant—in his early youth he worked for two years as a lawyer's clerk—his real significance in the domain of jurisprudence, in the domain of criminal law is great. It is great because in his public utterances and, mainly, in his literary productions one sees the dawn of new ideas in the province of criminal law. To trace Dickens' views on questions of criminality it is necessary to recall the descriptions of crime with which his novels abound.

Mr. Kulisher then comments upon the description of the "Gordon Riots" which he considers a typical "crime of the mob":

In "Barnaby Rudge" Dickens not only gives a vivid picture of the riots, not only a touching description of the ruins left after them, but in a few

masterful strokes he characterizes the storming mob and the spirit that dominates it. This novel was written in 1841—long before the works of Tarde, Ziegel, and others, which opened to us the psychology of the criminal mob; yet we find in it some very characteristic details, which later attracted the attention of scientific investigators. Particularly does science emphasize the significance of psychic contagion as a momentum which greatly contributes to the growth of the mob and the rise of its criminal tendencies. Dickens expresses this view in the following lines: "Sober workmen, going home from their day's labor, were seen to cast down their baskets of tools and become riotous in an instant; mere boys on errands did the like. In a word, a moral plague ran through the city. The noise, and hurry, and excitement had for hundreds and hundreds an attraction they had no firmness to resist. The contagion spread like a dread fever." . . . There are also other important details, such as the semiconscious character of the actions of the mob and the potentialization of the evil propensities of individual members of that criminal mob.

The description of the murder of Nancy in "Oliver Twist," Mr. Kulisher thinks not less interesting from the standpoint of criminology. In the scene of the murder he finds that

Dickens lays stress on the circumstance that the murder is committed, in a state of extreme excite-

ment, by a professional robber, but an accidental murderer—Sikes is a dangerous criminal in general, but in this case only a man who killed his mistress in the heat of passion. This differentiation is very instructive.

Crime was a matter of interest to many writers before Dickens and they very ably described it. But, in the opinion of Mr. Kulisher,

Dickens discovered the criminal, and the anthropologist Kurella is right when he says that Dickens' description of criminal types has served to form a new view of the criminal, has led us to regard the criminal as a man with a peculiar psychic organization. In his novel-notes,—long before Lombroso,—there are allusions to anthropological factors of crime. The young pickpocket Dawkins is de-

scribed as "snub-nosed, flat-browed, too small for his age," and Sikes as having "a broad, heavy countenance." He also paid tribute to the theory of heredity, stating that the mother of the murderer Hugh was a criminal and ended her life on the gallows, or when speaking of children, that they are destined to be burglars and murderers from the cradle. But first and foremost of all he considered the social-economic factors of crime. He described poverty as no one else did before him and only few after. Poverty in his writings is shown in all its horrors, unvarnished and uncovered. It dwells in the filthy streets of London, where the air is full of foul odors, where drunken men and women lie in the gutter, where amid general misery only the saloon flourishes. Is it surprising that those who are born in such surroundings, the children of hunger and cold, whose cradle, according to Dickens, is the street and the cess-pool, of whom nobody takes thought—is it surprising that they fill the ranks of crime and vice?

SPORTS AS REMEDIES FOR NEURASTHENIA

NEURASTHENICS of the accidental or casual type may be described as men in whom an essential reservoir has become empty which it is only possible to refill drop by drop. Their only physician is Time, with his habitual attendants, Patience and Resignation. Recourse is frequently had to innumerable lozenges and pilules whose professed action is "to nourish the nerves"—a pretension absolutely without foundation in fact. It is not in this fashion that the nerves are nourished. Their cuisine may be said to be composed of simple regularity, of a normal alimentation, and of complete repose. *Per contra*, psychism plays a certain rôle, of which, without exaggerating its importance, it is necessary to take a certain account. It is here, says a writer in the *Revue Olympique*, that sports should be made use of; not in every case certainly, but in many cases, especially where the patient is organically sound.

A frequent characteristic of this kind of neurasthenia is what may be termed loss or diminution of "virile sensibility," or, to coin a word, "virilism." The active man, in good health, or believing himself so, suddenly is attacked by an insidious disease born of modern strenuousness—the *mal américain*, as European spite terms it. He is no longer master of himself, and in a short time becomes a sort of human "rag," enfeebled and depressed. Now, anything sportive—the word is used in the sense of "pertaining to sport"—is more or less productive of "virilism," and tends to bodily energy and confidence in oneself. Only, of course, sport is fatiguing. For the neurasthenic, it will be even doubly

so. Upon muscular fatigue there is superposed an expenditure of nervous force. How can one expend what one does not have, that which one is endeavoring to restore by degrees and laboriously? It would be absurd to attempt such a thing! Hereby is explained the objection which most physicians have with respect to sportive movements in the treatment of neurasthenia. "This objection," says the *Revue Olympique* writer, "proves (if we may be permitted to say so) their ignorance in the matter." Not all sportive movements entail an unreasonable expenditure of muscular and nervous force, and consequently one may safely recommend such remedial agencies in particular cases.

They are palliatives which demand the least of initiative and are attended by the least of the unexpected. In effect anodynes, they do not stand for much psychologically. Such movements as Swedish gymnastics, for instance, which are to sport what a scale is to a piano, awaken only imperfectly in those that practise them the idea of muscular power. Imagination must be brought strongly into play if results are to be attained.

For this reason the writer of the article under notice strongly recommends equitation for neurasthenics. Nothing energizes a man more than contact with the horse. In this respect, too, a certain warlike atavism strengthens the mentality of the cavalier. But, it will be said, horsemanship is pre-eminently an exercise in which initiative and the unexpected play a great part. The apparent anomaly is thus explained:

Primarily a seat on horseback (for all except the veriest novice) involves no fatigue. In fact, the

horseman needs but a back to his seat to be as comfortable as in the best armchair. If his stirrups are properly adjusted, the weight of his body is perfectly apportioned; and this equilibrium need not be disturbed by the pace of the animal. The object of the ride is absolute regularity and an absence of preoccupation in the guidance of the animal. These conditions are easily realizable. Take nine horsemen advancing on a road in three rows of three each. For convenience' sake, number them. Numbers 4, 6, 7, and 9 will be almost exempt from the said preoccupation; numbers 5 and 8 entirely so, being completely surrounded. For this reason, cavalry who march long distances are not fatigued by the length of the stages. Thus the "collective" promenade on horseback with good mounts, on a route free from surprises and stoppages, affords, in cases of neurasthenia, a remedy powerful psychologically and enjoyable physiologically.

The same writer recommends with equal confidence the sports of boxing (either in the English or the French style) and rowing, which exercises ought, he says, contrary to the general idea, to be regulated so as to entail no great expenditure of physical force. In every case he assumes previous acquaintance with the particular sport, inasmuch as learning any sport or exercise always involves a considerable expenditure of energy. If a man has never mounted a horse, nor delivered a fist blow, nor pulled an oar, the remedies suggested would not, in his case, be at all suitable. But some sort of sport properly adjusted to the particular needs of the subject cannot fail to be beneficial in the highest degree.

THE MODERN CREMATION MOVEMENT

THERE are certain movements of a public—or at least semi-public—nature which literally "pursue the noiseless tenor of their way," gaining adherents here and there, until the world hears with surprise of the proportions they have assumed. The cremation movement is one of these. As long ago as 1658 Sir Thomas Browne published in England his "*Hydriotaphia*," a work on urn burial; and in 1817 Dr. J. Jameson, in the same country, printed his "*Origin of Cremation*," but it was not till 1885 that a crematory was erected near London. According to Mr. Albert Hardy, in the *Forum*, the modern cremation movement had its rise at Washington, Pa., in 1876; and "to-day there are modern and model working crematories in nearly half the States of the Union." Since 1882 "more than half a hundred crematories have been established throughout Great Britain and Europe." And Canada has one at Montreal. Mr. Hardy treats of present-day aspects of cremation, and says that, "considering the importance of the practice—its hygienic, economic, and practical bearing on every-day life—the dense ignorance shown by many regarding the *modus operandi* of incineration is something almost beyond belief."

The idea still remains firmly implanted in many minds that the modern scientifically constructed crematory is a sort of funeral pyre, not unlike the huge pile of fagots employed by the ancients for the incineration of their dead.

The usual arguments advanced by anti-cremationists are the following:

Because earth burial has been in practice by Christian nations for so many centuries, custom has made it right, while cremation, being an in-

novation, is wrong; that the rapid destruction of the human body, by incineration—the "desecration of God's holy temple"—instead of the slow process of inhumation, is idolatrous because it was practised by idolatrous nations; that it destroys all evidence of crime in cases where murder by poison has been committed; that, in some mysterious way, which the objectors themselves cannot explain, when the body is consumed by heat, not flame—that never comes in contact with the body during incineration—the soul is at the same time destroyed.

The cremationist replies with the following arguments:

That cremation is the only hygienic, sanitary, cleanly, and economic method of disposing of our dead; that earth burial pollutes the ground in which the body is laid, this applying especially in cases of contagious diseases, sowing the seed of contagion and spreading it broadcast. He seeks to prove by mathematical computation that our rapidly filling burial grounds will, in course of time, and in no great period of time, spread to such an alarming extent, especially where they are in close proximity to large cities, that our cemeteries will grow to be literal "cities of the dead," to the exclusion of the quick; that instead of being un-Christian or sacrilegious, cremation has a deep spiritual and poetic significance; that pure flame is preferable to damp earth; that by cremation all the horrors of earth burial are avoided; that instead of endangering one's immortal soul, it is, to quote Dean Hodges, of the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, "in accordance with true religion, especially in two particulars—it agrees with the right idea of the resurrection of the body and it symbolizes the supremacy of the soul." Cremation as practised to-day, argue its advocates, is not a turning back to the crude and often insanitary methods of cremation adopted by the ancients, but the modern scientific application of a time-tested custom.

Alluding to the fact that the Roman Catholic Church emphatically forbids cremation, Mr.

Hardy points out that many of the saints and martyrs of the early Church sacrificed themselves for their faith and were burned at the stake, and that "certain it is, according to Catholic belief, incineration in these instances did not debar the faithful from the joys of Paradise." Further, commenting on the fact that cremation is contrary to Jewish law, Mr. Hardy says:

I read in Genesis xviii: 2, God's command to Abraham: "Take now thy son, thine only son, Isaac, whom thou lovest . . . and offer him for a burnt offering." . . . In the earliest history of the Jews we find that the penalty for unchastity, not only for women but for men, was burning.

From an economic viewpoint, cremation "may at any crematorium cost far less than

the old form of burial, there being no necessity for a burial plot, gravedigging, elaborate casket, or monument."

The cinerary urn—a relic of paganism if you will—the final resting-place of the incinerated body, may, under proper treatment at the hands of potter and decorator, reach a high degree of art, grace and beauty.

Though many Gentiles, like Catholic and Jew, cling with tenacity to earth burial for no better reason than that their fathers did before them, the present-day cremationist sees the dawning of the day "when cremation shall be universally practised, when there shall no longer be unsanitary and disease-breeding burial grounds to pollute and encumber God's green earth."

MILITARY PREPARATIONS AND THE EVOLUTION TOWARD PEACE

IT is difficult to break away from firmly established traditions. For years we have regarded it as the prudent, time-honored course to prepare in time of peace for war. Now, with the universal spread of the conviction that war is an obsolete and illogical method of settling disputes; with the insistence of that great commercial community of which the nations are but components that war is too costly to be resorted to as an arbiter; with unmistakable evidences that the world powers would welcome, if not disarmament, sweeping reductions of military and naval establishments—with all these admitted conditions—the question that arises for settlement is not how we shall best prepare for war, but what should be the military policy of the United States, having due regard to the extensive movement looking to international peace. Captain George D. Snyder, who discusses this question in the *Journal of the Military Service Institution*, admits that "whatever the cause, world conditions are changing, and sooner or later some change must be made in the nation's military policies to conform to these new conditions." Inasmuch as the long evolution through which the military systems of the world have passed started with a militia where every man was more or less of a soldier, and this was followed by armies trained separately for each war, which, in turn, gave way to standing armies, he thinks that

it is not likely that any nation would be willing to take a step backward in its evolution toward peace

and give up universal conscription for an army of professional soldiers of limited numbers, and it would be probably more willing to take several steps backward and revert to a militia system. Universal conscription and a militia system have much in common. In both the soldier only devotes a portion of his life to arms and occupies himself with civil employment subject to the call of his country in time of need. . . . A nation could change its military policy from universal conscription to a militia system more readily than to an army of limited numbers, and obtain greater protection at less cost.

As far as the United States is concerned, there is a tendency to develop the militia and rely on it to augment the Regular Army to form the field armies of the future. But, if the militia is to be so relied on, it must be greatly increased in numbers, having been practically at a standstill for many years. Further, if the militia is to assist in educating the people to a realization of their military obligations, it must be more evenly distributed.

The number of organized militia has heretofore been the affair of each State and the ratio of militiamen to population varies from 1 to 283 in Arizona to 1 to 1360 in Tennessee, this ratio in the most populous States where the militia is most efficient being from 1 to 400 to 1 to 700. The distribution within the States is even more unequal than that between the States; for instance, in the State of Tennessee, out of a total of 96 counties, 81 have no organized militia whatever, and even in the populous States with a fair proportion of militia we find this unequal distribution—25 out of New York's 61 counties, 24 out of Pennsylvania's 67 counties being without citizen soldiers.

Captain Snyder is of the opinion that if the dream of peace ever comes true, it will be brought about by a succession of gradual steps one of which will be a limitation of armament, and that limitation to a militia has much to commend it. As to whether, in view of the peace movement, this country is warranted in making any change in its military policy, he thinks its military policy should be strengthened rather than weakened, and that the following principle should be carried out:

First—To continue the maintenance and development of the navy.

Second—To continue the support of a small but efficient regular army of sufficient size to police

our insular possessions and the Canal Zone, to partially man the coast defenses, and to furnish model organizations for the instruction and training of its own officers and the militia, and to furnish the principal officers of the war-time armies, and, in addition, to be able to furnish an expeditionary force if intervention becomes necessary in any unstable American republics.

Third—To continue the development and training of the militia with a view to its use in supplying the numbers to complete the manning of the coast defenses and to furnish the bulk of the field armies of the future.

With the latter end in view, the militia should be strengthened in those sections where it is weakest, and should be developed with reference to national needs, rather than to State requirements.

PARIS RESTAURANTS FOR WOMEN

THE Paris working-girl has become the object or central figure of a "movement" in the French capital—a movement that is regarded so highly important that Abbé J. de Maistre, writing of it in the *Correspondant*, calls it "the Work" (with a capital W). A short account of it should prove interesting to readers of the REVIEW, not only for the details of the movement themselves, but also for the evidence it affords of conditions differing widely from those in the same social field in our own large cities. The Abbé, after picturing the daily matutinal invasion of the city of Paris by the army of workers—the "real French work-world," as he terms it—goes on to say:

Of the thousands and thousands of persons who come daily to Paris in pursuit of their respective occupations, the majority is composed of young women and girls who are engaged in stores, factories, offices, studios, etc. How many among them are able to return home for déjeuner? How many can leave business? The most fortunate, those whose pay permits, go to a restaurant; the others, seated on a bench in the neighboring gardens or park, eat as best they can! Poor things! And when the weather is unfavorable, it is under a porch that they munch a crust of bread. It is obvious that this state of things exposes to grave dangers those comprised in the former class equally with those of the latter. First, a word as to the moral danger.

What follows in the Abbé's article must, we think, prove strange reading for Americans. He continues:

The young woman goes to a restaurant. I do not speak here of certain restaurants which she may visit, either intentionally or mistakenly, or it may be from sheer waywardness to find a dé-

jeuner of the best, paid for by "some one" only too happy to offer it; no, I refer to the ordinary, "respectable" restaurant. Many a young woman who would not for all the world enter a restaurant of the first class would have no hesitation in visiting one of the latter kind. But even here there is danger. All the more readily on account of her artlessness, and with no ulterior motive, our young visitor will ere long form an acquaintance which in the nature of things is most likely to end in her ruin. There is the moral danger of the restaurant. It is needless to say that the déjeuner on a bench in the square or the garden is at least as hazardous. The moral danger that surrounds these young women is obvious.

Passing to the material side of the question, the Abbé shows that in the "respectable" restaurants either the charges are too high for the slender purses of many of the young women clients or the cooking—often greasy, to say the least—renders what would otherwise be wholesome food unsuitable to the physiological needs of these young and delicate customers. And what of the number of young women who, by reason of their meager wages, are obliged to feed on the remains of the previous day, brought by them to the city in the little square basket which is the inseparable companion of many of those one sees each morning wending their way to their daily labors? And how many others, "issuing at noon from the workshops, betake themselves to the delicatessen stores to purchase, it matters not what, to render appetizing their piece of dry bread." Then "they take from the fountain a glass of water, the which they laughingly—for they are Frenchwomen—designate by the sonorous title of '*château la pompe*.'"

After their déjeuner the young women

(the Abbé calls them "midinettes")—both those who visit restaurants and those who make their repast elsewhere—have some spare moments. How do they spend them?

The pious among them spend a few moments in a near-by church. The others remain to chatter with each other, awaiting on the sidewalk the hour for resuming work. This is sufficiently dangerous. Some saunter to the stores to feast on the display of goods there. This is still more dangerous. Others again—and their case is no better—devour the unwholesome feuilleton of a journal or some disreputable romance from a cheap library.

To remedy this condition of things, which they considered indicated the existence of a real evil, certain charitable people of Paris decided to provide establishments of two kinds for the exclusive use of girls and women—restaurants and *réchauds*. The latter are thus described by the Abbé:

The *réchaud* is a hall furnished with tables and seats (benches or chairs), a certain number of chafing-dishes (French, *réchauds*, hence the name), with gas and water turned on. Utensils, such as dishes, casseroles, etc., are also supplied. The young woman, on entering, pays ten centimes for the use of these and of the gas and water. She unpacks her provisions and prepares them herself. Having made her déjeuner, she washes the things she has used. Some of the *réchauds* sell vegetables and desserts, even tea and coffee, to their customers; but no wine is sold.

Of the restaurants for women the Abbé cites as typical the "Stanislas" in the Palais-Royal, founded in memory of the late P. Stanislas du Lac. This has been open for two years: in the first it supplied 40,000 meals; in the second, 60,000. As between the res-

taurant and the *réchaud* the Abbé seems to be of the opinion that the former is preferable. As he puts it, "it is a case of the exigencies of the purse versus the exigencies of the stomach."

Arriving at the *réchaud* fatigued from her work, the young woman, after preparing and partaking of her summary repast, has no time for rest. Moreover, in the matter of cooking, she is no *cordon bleu*; and her provisions, bought at retail, are often inferior of quality. On the other hand, the restaurant, buying at wholesale, serves her with food of good quality, well prepared, and in the long run at about the same cost as her indifferent, self-prepared meals at the *réchaud*. No man is admitted to the restaurants, which have for their object, besides the furnishing of wholesome food, the provisions of a means whereby young women may escape the moral dangers of the general restaurants—a place which they may consider exclusively their own shelter and home. Adjacent to the dining room is a waiting room, where the young clients may rest before and after déjeuner, and where the better class of journals and magazines are placed at their disposal.

The Abbé claims that "the restaurant for women is a moral preservative and support for the young workers; it affords them the means of effecting a useful economy, and at the same time of conserving their health." The movement is making good headway; the Abbé gives the names of eight or ten restaurants already included in the enterprise; and others are being acquired. Among the latter is one which is probably known to these readers of the REVIEW who are familiar with Paris—the popular establishment of Tavernier the elder, in the Palais-Royal.

HOW RUSSIA PUTS DOWN STRIKES

THE "calm of paralysis" in Russia was suddenly interrupted in April and May by a severe shock which came from the far-away forests of Siberia. In spite of the general spirit of repression the Russian people as a whole became suddenly agitated and expressed its indignation at military despotism by means of country-wide one-day strikes, street demonstrations, and especially through the press. Even such ultra-conservative dailies as the *Novoye Vremya* and the *Grazhdanin* (Moscow) were "mildly horrified."

While the Russian Government has always regarded labor strikes even on purely economic grounds as a part of the revolutionary movement, still for the last three years it grew accustomed to them, and many of such strikes have taken place without armed inter-

ference by the government. All strikes, however, which had anything of a political nature about them were immediately suppressed, and in most of the cases in a very brutal manner. As the *Sovremyenny Mir* says:

The sad experience of past years shows that in Russian life there is one badly inflamed sore which cannot bear even the slightest insinuation of touch. This sore is called "politics." The gentlest contact with it incites visions in the pain and rage-blinded eyes of the administration, visions which incite impetuous cruelties, and which afterwards serve as justifications.

As will be seen later there was not a single political motive actuating the Lena strike, *i. e.*, until the arrival of a police officer who needed one, and who created it.

The following detailed description of the

affair is summarized from articles which have appeared in four of the most distinguished Russian periodicals (*Vyestnik Yevropi*, *Russkoye Bogatstvo*, *Russkaya Mysl*, and *Sovremennyy Mir*):

As far back as in the beginning of last year the correspondent of the *Ryech* described the working conditions in the Lena mining district as unbearable, with wages averaging about 60 cents per day, an exceedingly high cost of living, unsanitary crowded barracks and with rough treatment by the administrative officers of the miners. The formal strike, however, began on the 13th of March in the Andreyev mine, when rotten horse-meat was offered for sale in the provision stores conducted by the mining company. The miners united and sent a formal petition to the district-engineer requesting that provisions unfit for consumption be destroyed on inspection, that medical aid be given to sick miners until full recovery is achieved, and that politer treatment be established, also declaring that no work would be done until these requests are complied with. If these few just demands had been granted the entire strike would have been averted before it ever began. But the administration was enraged and refused to grant them, threatening complete dismissal to those who did not renew work within three days. The miners became excited, and within three days all the mines stopped operations because the same conditions prevailed in the entire district. This time the miners presented to the company more serious demands, viz: improved food and lodgings, increases of 10 to 30 per cent. in wages, an eight-hour day on some kinds of work, and the publication of a daily bulletin giving a table of earnings by each worker. The company again refused to satisfy the demands with the exception of the least important ones, and it again threatened discharge within two days if work were not resumed—which it was not.

The miners themselves decided, however, to continue that part of the operation which was necessary to avoid delay in case work was to be resumed. This alone shows the exceedingly peaceful disposition of the strikers, which is further demonstrated by the fact that they appealed by telegraph to the Irkutsk governor-general, to the government mining authorities, to the Duma, and to the directors of the Lena Mining Company in St. Petersburg requesting that the strike be settled, and the officers who caused it removed.

The strikers themselves had the wine-shops closed, and their own officers carefully policed the district maintaining excellent order everywhere. This was really much more than could be expected from a few thousand ignorant, hungry, and excited miners in the wilderness of the Siberian "taiga" (dense forests), with no armed force at hand to protect the property and maintain order. The company, however, continued its dangerous course of action. On the 2nd of April it tele-

graphed to the governor of Irkutsk complaining that the government district engineer was inactive in dislodging the thousands of miners who were discharged. Dislodging meant to be thrown out into the "taiga," hundreds of miles away from the nearest village or town.

The St. Petersburg administration of the company included some influential persons and the governor of Irkutsk heeded its telegram and despatched immediately to the striking district Capt. Treshtenkov of the gendarmerie with a detachment of infantry.

This shrewd police officer arrived on April 6, and by the 16th he succeeded in making the situation "political" by arresting the representatives of the miners, who were merely used as spokesmen. The miners became very indignant and demanded that their representatives should be at once released. On April 17, 2500 miners gathered and marched to the Nadezhdin mine where the administrative offices are situated. When the crowd came within about 100 feet of the offices Engineer Tulchinsky, a favorite of the miners, went out to meet them, and he became engaged in a peaceful conversation with the miners of the front ranks, from whom he learned that they came to express their protest against the arbitrary and unjustified arrest of their comrades. During this conversation Capt. Treshtenkov ordered his troops to fire. Two volleys were fired without any warning, loaded cartridges being used, no blanks. A great many miners fell at once. The engineer was saved because he happened to be covered by a pile of wounded miners. The crowd was at first stupefied, but soon it realized the situation and began to run away. The brave captain ordered more fire, and several volleys were sent into the running crowd. Two hundred and fifty miners were killed or died within the next day, while two hundred and fifty others were wounded more or less seriously. Further reports tell of Capt. Treshtenkov's promotion in rank, of suppression of public discussions of the incident; etc. Mr. Makarov, Associate Minister of Interior, made a feeble attempt to apologize for the disaster in the Duma. In his interpretation the demands of the strikers were "socialistic"; also the fact that the strike was conducted by a special committee seems very revolutionary to the high official, enough so to justify the cold-blooded murder of 250 men.

The *Vyestnik Yevropi*, speaking of the general impression produced in Russia, said:

In depth of impression we can compare with the Lena tragedy only such a terrible and unexpected disaster as befell the *Titanic*. The Lena tragedy is, of course, nearer to us. Besides, violent death came to the miners not from the unfeeling elements but from men who are supposed to possess ordinary human feelings. The two catastrophes have very much in common. The *Titanic* was swallowed by the real ocean of nature, while the Lena workmen became victims of that ocean of lawlessness which spreads itself over one-sixth of the earth's surface which is called the Russian Empire.

THE TERROR AS SEEN BY A MODERN FRENCHMAN

ANATOLE FRANCE'S NEW HISTORICAL ROMANCE¹

IT was Camille Desmoulins, we believe, who phrased the blood-lust of the Reign of Terror in the sinister words *Les Dieux ont Soif*—"The Gods are athirst," as Carlyle renders them. It is these words which Anatole France has chosen for the title of his recent novel, which deals with the most sanguinary period of the French Revolution, beginning with the triumph of Marat and ending with the fall of Robespierre. "The prisons were gorged, and the public accuser worked eighteen hours a day. To the defeats of the armies, to the revolts of the provinces, to conspiracies, plots, and treasons the convention opposed the Terror. The Gods were athirst."

It would seem difficult to write freshly and entertainingly for French readers at this late date on so well-worn a subject. But, judging by the fact that the book went into sixty-six editions within a few days of publication, and by the space accorded it in the leading French reviews, M. France seems to have accomplished it. The *Révue des Deux Mondes*, for example, devotes twelve pages to it, in a brilliant analysis by such an eminent critic as M. René Doumic of the French Academy.

M. France paints for us no lurid picture of smoke and flame such as readers of Carlyle are familiar with. He shows us a group of characters very neatly limned, and sketches a series of appropriate backgrounds for these lifelike figures. There is nothing violent or exaggerated. Rather there is an insistence on the usual, on the dominance of every-day concerns even in such troubled times. To quote M. Doumic's apt simile, to read these pages is like looking over a choice collection of fine old eighteenth-century prints—scenes by Fragonard or Boucher. Moreover, the ruling passion is as strong in life as it proverbially is in death. Take this clear-cut little scene: A tumbril passes guarded by a somber and terrible cortege. Within it sits the first victim of the Revolutionary tribunal on his way to the guillotine. Surely an impressive and awesome spectacle. But the handsome and too-gallant young engraver Desmahis, after trying impatiently to break through the lines cries angrily that this cursed cart has cut him off from

a divine little creature he'd been following—a pretty little dressmaker, with a straw hat and blonde hair down her back—now he fears he's lost her altogether!

M. Doumic uses this incident to point his critical estimate of M. France's attitude toward history. To Desmahis the tumbril is only an obstruction. "And according to the philosophy of the whole book," he says, "nothing is more important than to follow the little dressmaker. Facts have the importance which we lend them; their pretended hierarchy is regulated solely by our own caprice."

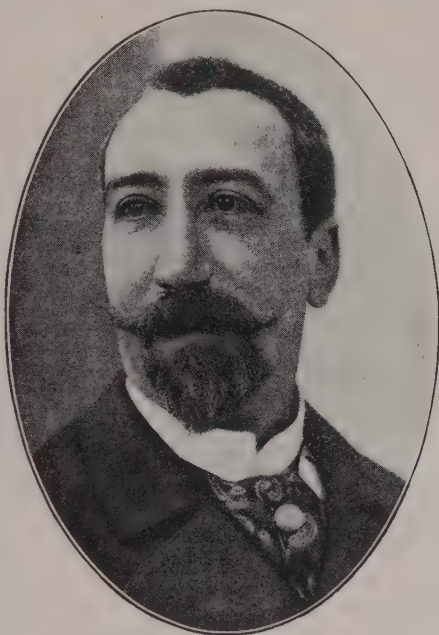
But on the other hand, where the soul vibrates in unison with tremendous events, an overwhelming influence may be exerted on the character of the participants in such events, or even their mere observers. This is shown with great power in the study of the central figure of the romance, Évariste Gamelin. This young painter of bourgeois origin, a pupil of David, is elected a member or "juré" of the tribunal. Handsome, gifted, generous, naturally tender and noble of nature, he is lauded by his mother as the best of sons. But the red rage of tyranny so seizes upon his soul, he becomes so drunk with the terrible passion of bettering the condition of the people by sending their enemies to the guillotine, that at the end the same old woman is forced to declare sorrowfully, "He is a monster."

A disciple of Rousseau, a lover of nature, proclaimer of the rights of man, ardent upholder of liberty, equality, and fraternity, he is, nevertheless, the stuff that fanatics are made of, and M. France depicts with skill the corroding influence of a fixed idea upon a sensitive spirit. Like Orestes, Évariste is driven by the gods to deeds of bloody vengeance, only to writhe in tortured remorse under the whips of the Furies.

HUNGER THE ROOT OF REVOLUTION

Who are the gods under the urge of whose commands this gentle nature stiffens to iron purpose?

The dread and implacable deities, Want and Famine, the brazen clamor of whose voices sounds the monotonous note of human suffering. The oppressors of the people must die that the people



ANATOLE FRANCE, THE FRENCH CRITIC
AND NOVELIST

¹ "Les Dieux ont Soif" by Anatole France. Published by Calmann Lévy, Paris. 3 fr. 50.

may cease to suffer. "Especially," cries Evariste, "those who speculate in the people's food."

Throughout the book—and the present reviewer considers this perhaps its most significant feature—stress is laid on the increased cost of living. "How dear things are!" that is the note struck again and again. The Widow Gamelin "eats with respect the food that has cost so much." She says, "Eat, Evariste, eat!" as if urging upon him the performance of a sacred religious ceremony. And very clearly Anatole France shows us that much of the confusion and bloodthirstiness of the times came from the desire to fix the blame and find the remedy for the widespread hunger and need. "The king was to blame." "It was the Austrian's extravagance." "The aristocrats were the guilty ones." Or the émigrés, the speculators, those who hoarded money instead of spending it, or who took cash out of the country, or the army, or the Tribunal, or the Republic itself. Such were the cries, and the only remedy, alas! was blood, and blood, and yet more blood.

It is impossible here to sketch the minor characters, either women or men, cleverly drawn as they are, but we cannot omit the old "*ci-devant*," Maurice Brotteaux, who is of almost equal importance with Evariste, and whose character of the serene and whimsical philosopher is elaborated by the author with loving care. Formerly a wealthy and cultivated financier, patron of the arts, neopagan, and Epicurean, the Revolution has deprived him of his fortune, his title, and his friends, but left him his serene philosophy, his equable and kindly temper, and his Lucretius, a well-worn copy of whose charming verses he keeps always at hand in the bulging pocket of his shabby redin-

gote, and whose Epicurean precepts he not only preaches, but practices.

He earns his scanty bread—he whose suppers were famous!—by a variety of occupations. He paints portraits of humble folk, he gives dancing lessons, he composes discourses for representatives of the people, and finally, "rich with a pot of glue, a ball of string, a box of watercolors, and some shreds of paper" he makes jumping-jacks for the toy-merchants.

We meet him carrying a parcel of these cheap playthings. "I have here," he says, "an entire people: they are my creatures; they have received from me a perishable body exempt from joys and sufferings. I have not given them the power of thought, for I am a good god."

Brotteaux has read Jean-Jacques, whom Evariste and his confrères adore, and formed his own opinion. "Rousseau," he says, "who had some talent, especially in music, pretended to extract his morality from Nature and really got it from the principles of Calvin. Nature teaches us to devour each other, and gives us the example of all the crimes and all the vices which the social estate corrects or dissimulates."

We note with regret that among the female characters of the book M. France has seen fit to present only one, Gamelin's mother, who is free from some taint of looseness.

It is true, doubtless, that such periods tend to produce laxity of morals and extravagances of various sorts among both men and women, but the fact need not be harped upon. It is equally true that there were many men and women who displayed domestic and public virtues in the same era.

THE NEW BOOKS

"THE Greek Genius and Its Meaning to Us,"¹ by R. W. Livingston, represents an unusually intelligent and successful attempt to interpret the spirit of ancient Greece in terms of living thought. For this purpose the author selects deliberately the literature of Athens during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., as containing most of the essence for which he has gone in search. And his search results in the establishment of six dominant "notes" as present in all the literature that he holds thoroughly characteristic of the Greek spirit. They are the notes of beauty, of freedom, of directness, of humanism, of sanity, and of many-sidedness. On them he bases his contention that what is best not only in the thought but in the institutions of our own day has its roots in the Athens of Pericles. But in tracing this origin for modern thought, he emphasizes repeatedly that Hellas must be held complementary, not hostile, to Palestine, and that to understand and to develop ourselves fruitfully we must cherish equally the Greek and the Hebrew strains in our mental and spiritual composition. There is much food of thought in this lucid, charming interpretation of the Hellenic spirit for the instruction and edification of modern students.

¹The Greek Genius and Its Meaning to Us. By R. W. Livingston. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 250 pp. \$2.50.

A very stimulating little monograph on "The Shifting of Literary Values,"² by Albert Mordell, comes from the International Press of Philadelphia.

Mr. Mordell undertakes to prove the contention that changes in morality must affect literary values, "that some of the classics idealize views of life now obsolete, that these books are therefore responsible for the existence of some of our moral and intellectual stagnancy, and that a new critical outlook upon them is called for." He has endeavored, he says, not to permit himself to be influenced by the grand eulogies that have heretofore been pronounced upon these classics, nor to be daunted even when the oldest and most famous books are involved. Some of the world's greatest poets, he believes, "have corrupted their poetry by too close an adherence to the errors of their religion." Every new philosophic school, he insists; every great scientific discovery, makes changes in our ethical belief, hence in our literary judgments. Finally "to remain always on a level with the classics and under their sway is often to neglect the richer and more intellectual side of our own nature, to kill our originality, suspend our judgment, and retard the progress of our own minds."

²The Shifting of Literary Values. By Albert Mordell. Philadelphia: The International Press, 84 pp.

It will be news to many, even those fairly well acquainted with the history of transatlantic steamship passenger traffic, that the designers and builders of the *Great Eastern*, built more than fifty years ago, did succeed in making a ship practically unsinkable. In a very stimulating study of the wreck of the *Titanic*,¹ Mr. J. Bernard Walker, editor of the *Scientific American*, reminds us of the fact that the *Great Eastern* actually passed through a more severe ordeal than the *Titanic*, but that she survived it and came into port under her own steam. Since her day, says Mr. Walker, in his preface, the shipbuilder has eliminated all but one of the safety devices which made the *Great Eastern* a ship so difficult to sink. "Nobody, not even the shipbuilders themselves, seemed to realize what was being done, until, suddenly, the world's finest vessel, in all the pride of her maiden voyage, struck an iceberg and went to the bottom in something over two and a half hours' time! If we learn the lesson of this tragedy, we shall lose no time in getting back to first principles. We shall reintroduce in all future passenger ships those simple and effective elements of safety—the double skin, the longitudinal bulkhead, and the watertight deck—which were conspicuous in the *Great Eastern*, and which alone can render such a ship as the *Titanic* unsinkable." This little volume contains a specially valuable chapter on the relative value of the safety construction on a few of the best known ships. There are some thirty or forty illustrations.

A full account of the loss of the *Titanic*, with an attempt to point out a lesson, has been written in narrative style by Lawrence Beesley, one of the survivors. This volume² also is illustrated.

A little volume which casts some valuable and interesting sidelights upon prison life during the Civil War is George Haven Putnam's "A Prisoner of War in Virginia 1864-5."³ Mr.

A Civil War Prisoner Putnam was Adjutant and Brevet-Major of the 176th New York State Volunteers. He gives, in this book, a personal experience which serves to make clear certain matters in dispute since the close of the war concerning the management of prisons in the South and the responsibility of officials for the suffering and large proportion of deaths in these institutions. The book is illustrated.

A new edition of "Canadian Men and Women of the Time,"⁴ edited by Dr. Henry James Morgan, comes from the press of William Briggs of Toronto.

Who's Who in Canada This handbook of living Canadians contains 1218 pages, or one hundred more than the first edition, which appeared in 1898. The biographical sketches are adequate and comprehensive. The "Canadian Men and Women of the Time" will, undoubtedly, be a very useful addition to the reference library.

¹Aⁿ Unsinkable *Titanic*. By J. Bernard Walker. Dodd, Mead & Co. 185 pp. ill. \$1.

²The Loss of the SS. *Titanic*. By Lawrence Beesley. Houghton Mifflin Co. 302 pp., ill. \$1.20.

³A Prisoner of War in Virginia, 1864-5. By George Haven Putnam. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 104 pp., ill. 75c.

⁴Canadian Men and Women of the Time. Edited by Henry James Morgan. Toronto: William Briggs. 1218 pp. pors. \$5.

It has been said that the most mysterious figure connected with the last hours of the great Napoleon, at St. Helena, was that of a certain "Polish follower," Captain Charles Frederic Jules Piontkowski. He was faithful to the last to his great master, and the story of his fidelity, as told in his letters to Sir Robert Wilson, forms a useful footnote to history. These letters and other documents relating to the subject have been collected by G. L. de St. M. Watson, under the title "A Polish Exile With Napoleon."⁵ The volume is illustrated.

Two books of the descriptive, biographical order about more or less famous women of French history, translated by Katharine Prescott Wormeley, come to us from the Lamb Publishing Company. "The Ruin of A Princess"⁶ tells the story of Madame Elisabeth, the ill-starred sister of the no less unfortunate Louis XVI. Madame Elisabeth has been described as almost the only figure which emerges unsullied from the unspeakable corruption and decadence of the French court and monarchy of Louis XV. "Illustrious Dames of the Court of the Valois Kings,"⁷ includes sketches of Catherine de Medici, Marguerite de Valois, Anne of Bretagne, Diana of Poitiers, Jeanne d'Albert, Mary Stuart, and Isabelle of Austria. The translation is from the original by Pierre de Bourdeille and C. A. Sainte-Beuve.

An unusually entertaining book of travel and description is Edmund B. D'Auvergne's "Switzerland in Sunshine and Snow."⁸ We are led gently **A New Guide to Switzerland** and pleasantly, with good-natured side excursions into humor, through the little mountain republic from Berne to Glarus, besides being informed and instructed by several chapters on sports, guides, St. Bernard dogs, and general hotel lore. This volume is copiously illustrated.

An entertainingly written book on some "Famous Houses and Literary Shrines of London"⁹ that still survive deals with houses in which famous authors and artists lived **Houses and Haunts of English Authors** and worked. The author, A. St. John Adcock, tells us much that is interesting about the haunts of Johnson, Milton, Shakespeare, Pope, Goldsmith, Reynolds, Boswell, Keats, Quincy, Byron, Lamb, Hood, Carlyle, Thackeray, Dickens and Browning. There are portrait illustrations, besides some very clever drawings, by Frederick Adcock, brother of the author. The book is, in short, a kind of superior-grade guide-book to London.

⁵A Polish Exile With Napoleon. By G. L. de St. M. Watson. Little, Brown & Co. 304 pp., ill. \$3.50.

⁶The Ruin of A Princess. By the Duchesse d'Angouleme, Madame Elisabeth, Sister of Louis XVI, and Clery, the King's Valet de Chambre. Translated by Katharine Prescott Wormeley. New York: The Lamb Publishing Company. 329 pp., ill. \$3.

⁷Illustrious Dames of the Court of the Valois Kings. By Pierre de Bourdeille and C. A. Sainte-Beuve. Translated by Katharine Prescott Wormeley. New York: The Lamb Publishing Company. 308 pp., ill. \$3.

⁸Switzerland in Sunshine and Snow. By Edmund B. D'Auvergne. Little, Brown & Co. 307 pp., ill. \$3.

⁹Famous Houses and Literary Shrines of London. By A. St. John Adcock. E. P. Dutton & Co. 356 pp., ill. \$2.50.

FINANCIAL NEWS FOR THE INVESTOR

A DEALER in investment securities was astonished, not long ago, to receive an inquiry from a prospective purchaser asking for a list of safe stocks which would net a return of more than 15 per cent. Accustomed as he was to the most unexpected questions, and patient as long experience had made him in explaining the fundamental distinctions between gambling, speculation and investment, this impossible request discouraged the dealer as to ever being able to make some people understand the first principles of investment.

But it was only a few weeks later that the dealer himself lost his most settled convictions. Last May he learned with apprehension that the United States Supreme Court had ordered the Standard Oil Company to dissolve. It was then feared in business circles that this historic decree might prostrate the oil industry. No one seemed to know what would become of the segregated oil companies. But speculation soon sprang up in the shares of these companies and their business continued to grow. One after another they declared stock dividends and "rights." Large regular cash dividends were paid and a steady advance in the shares went on. Despite the rise, extending over more than half a year, many of the stocks at the time of this writing pay dividends which even at current high prices yield an income approaching 12 per cent. a year.

The dealer had never felt much confidence in the Standard Oil shares as investment securities. He did not believe enough was known about them outside a narrow and limited circle of men. But he read enough of the ponderous government reports and of the testimony in the suit to realize that great assets had been accumulated by this wonderfully successful group. He knew too that the oil and gasoline business was not falling off. He owned an automobile and saw how his own gasoline bill mounted. So it was that the continued rise in oil shares and the apparently never-ending story of increasing dividends shook his faith in the old, conservative precepts of safe and sane investment.

When the Standard Oil combination was first broken up only one or two brokers traded

in its separated certificates. But as speculation grew and dividend followed dividend the number of brokers specializing in S. O. has mounted up to a score or more. At this writing one share of stock of the old Standard Oil Company of New Jersey—that is, the present company with all the old subsidiary shares attached—sells for \$1140, or nearly \$500 more than it sold for on the day of the Supreme Court decision and \$297 more than the highest previous price at which it had ever sold. Since January 1, 1912, the present Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and its former subsidiaries have paid out \$5,782,523 more in cash dividends than was paid by the old combination for the same period in 1911. This is an increase of nearly 20 per cent. and does not take into account various stock distributions and subscription privileges besides which there are six powerful companies yet to be heard from.

Is it any wonder that Standard Oil stocks should appeal to brokers and speculators alike? And with regard to those who have been satisfied with investment returns of say 5 per cent. is it not a little irksome to see securities which one does not own paying enormous dividends and mounting skyward, when one knows all the time that these companies have for many years been engaged in a steadily growing and basic industry?

Nor is it much consolation to know that when the oil companies were first separated their officers insisted that a year must elapse before any definite information could be given out as to their operation under new conditions, or before the big dividends could be considered as permanent. The speculators who waxed prosperous buying these stocks simply did not wait for official assurances. They were bold and they won. But while speculation in these particular shares had been rarely successful, it is that very quality of rarity that should make the investor content with smaller things. Men of experience do not need to be told that few speculations turn out as well. The careful investor can afford to let undoubtedly good opportunity of growing rich go by in order to maintain that frame of mind which keeps him from losing what little he has in a dozen wholly unsuccessful ventures.

Not long ago a gentleman who, for a good round sum, offers advice on the stock market, wrote a book which showed how a million dollars could be acquired at middle age by the simple and ingenuous process of buying a few shares of stock early in life. When the greatest railroad operator in the country died, early this year, Wall Street guessed that he had accumulated about \$60,000,000. Edwin Hawley had certainly enjoyed every opportunity to acquire a large fortune. At the time of his death he was "in control" of half a dozen important railroads and was interested in many others, he was unquestionably backed by the leading financial interests in this country, and he was one of the coolest speculators and manipulators Wall Street had ever known. But the Deputy State Comptroller has just announced that the net value of the Hawley estate is exactly \$5,283,287.90, well below public expectation.

When a great man dies the minions of the law dig into and turn up to the daylight all the evidences of his wealth, no matter how closely he may have concealed them from view when he was alive. Among the tokens of wealth which Hawley left behind were more than 40,000 shares of stock in a large variety of corporations which have little value. He held one lot of 25,000 shares of a company whose past history has spelled anything but success. Even among the securities which have value there are many of proven failure as speculations.

Even with opportunity, resources, boldness, and the right temperament, speculation is a fickle mistress. The investor whose small property is placed in a few safe bonds or in such a well-established but moderate dividend-paying stock as Pennsylvania may after all be relatively wiser than those who move in the higher circles of finance.

TYPICAL INQUIRIES AND ANSWERS

No. 391. "DIVERSIFICATION" EXEMPLIFIED

As a subscriber and reader of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, I desire in the future to take advantage of the services of the Investment Bureau. Since the first of the present year, I have purchased the following bonds in equal amounts:

Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific refunding 4 per cent.
Chicago & Western Indiana consolidated 4 per cent.
Iron Mountain—River & Gulf Div. 1st mtg. 4 per cent.
Kan. City, Ft. Scott & Memphis refunding 4 per cent.
Kanawha & Michigan general 4 per cent, Series A.
Southern Railway general and development 4 per cent.
Virginian Railway first mortgage 5 per cent.
Denver Tramway Terminal guaranteed 5 per cent.
Tri-City Railway & Light collateral 5 per cent.
N. Y. Gas, Elec. Light, Heat & Power purchase-money 4 per cent.
Pacific Power & Light first and refunding 5 per cent.
Red River Power 5 per cent.
Pacific Light & Power first mortgage, guaranteed 5 per cent.

In making the above purchases, I have tried to keep within the limits of (1) safety of principal and interest; (2) reasonable marketability; and (3) an average yield of 5 per cent. You will undoubtedly note that I have also tried to divide the investment over the entire country as much as possible. I will appreciate any comment you may care to make on the above, as well as any suggestions toward further purchases with a view to keeping my investments well balanced.

One thing which your list suggests at the very outset is that you are to be commended for the manner in which you have applied the principle of diversification, especially that of *geographical* diversification. While, in your endeavor to get an average income of 5 per cent., you have gone pretty well down in the list in some instances, we think you have a very fair average of quality. Then, you will find that you have security in the very number of different issues among which your funds have been divided. Among your railroad issues, it is more or less obvious that the most speculative one in the list is that of the Kansas City, Fort Scott & Memphis refunding 4's. Next to that would probably stand the Southern Railway general and development 4's, and the Iron Mountain—River & Gulf Division 4's. However, we are unable at this time to see anything that points to the likelihood of these particular issues giving you any trouble. In

fact, it is not unlikely that the next year may see some improvement in their market positions.

On the whole, we think your public utility bonds have been pretty well chosen. In approaching the matter of suggestions as to what course would be most practicable for you to pursue in placing your additional funds, we note, first, your desire to have your entire list contain nothing but securities possessing a *reasonable* market. If it were not for this requirement of marketability, we think we should be inclined to suggest your giving consideration to straight mortgage investments, on which, with careful selection, you might get 6 per cent. with a high degree of safety, and 7 with at least reasonable safety. Or, to keep the limit more nearly 5 per cent., you might look at municipal bonds issued by some of the smaller though scarcely less prosperous (relatively) towns and counties of the West or Middle West. As intimated already, however, neither one of these two types of investment possesses the feature of marketability. They are both more essentially income propositions. With them eliminated, and assuming that you are desirous of still further diversifying your investments (this time, perhaps, in respect of kind), about the only things left in the shape of bonds are in the industrial class. We name a few from among the reasonably active issues listed on the New York Stock Exchange, merely with the idea of indicating the general class which we think might fit in well with the securities you already have:

Virginia-Carolina Chemical first 5's, to net slightly over 5 per cent.

Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing 5's, to net about 5.45 per cent.

Armour & Company first, real estate 4½'s, to net about 5.05 per cent.

Illinois Steel debenture 4½'s, to net about 5.05 per cent.

Undoubtedly your banker will be able to suggest

others that would meet your requirements equally well, if not better.

No. 392. ALTERNATIVES TO THE SAVINGS BANK

Being a steady and long-time reader of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS*, I beg to solicit your services in regard to the investment of my savings. To this end, I submit the following: I have accounts with two New York savings banks, one bringing 4 per cent., the other only $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. I would like to place my capital so that it will bring between 4 and 5 per cent. without risk. One bank, on application, declined to answer my questions in regard to this matter, as it perhaps naturally would, apprehending the withdrawal of my deposit. Some time ago an article appeared in the columns of the *REVIEW* referring to short-term bonds and the interest they yield. This appealed to me. I would be inclined, I think, to buy securities maturing in five or six years, or such securities as might be sold again readily without loss. How would you propose to take care of such securities, after they are acquired, to prevent loss, in case they should fall into strange hands? Can bonds be disposed of readily by anyone except their owner?

Unless we mistake your habit of mind, as indicated by the note of caution in your letter, we should say that there is at least a reasonable doubt that you ought to seek to change the form of your investments at all. A good many things might be suggested with a view to increasing your income to an average of rate between 4 and 5 per cent., however. Under the circumstances, the most conservative thing you could do to gain that end would be to put the money into the kind of bonds that are legal investments for the savings banks in New York State. You will see the point of this suggestion if you stop to consider that such bonds are the very kind that stand now as security for the money you have on deposit at the two institutions. Other things being equal, there would be no logical reason why you should not avail yourself of the direct ownership of some such bonds, and thereby take advantage of an additional income of one-half, or perhaps 1 per cent. Assuming that you desire to have your funds placed permanently for income alone, the thing for you to do, should you decide on such a course, would be to have whatever bonds you purchase registered in your name, both as to principal and interest. In that event it would be a comparatively simple procedure for you to stop payment on them, provided they were lost or stolen and attempt made to negotiate them. If you were to hold "coupon" bonds, you would have little chance to recover them in case they were lost, for such bonds are payable to bearer, usually both principal and interest.

In some respects your idea of turning your attention to short-term notes or bonds of an average maturity of from three to five years is a good one. On such securities it would be possible for you to get from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to, say, $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. with a fairly high degree of safety. But in the selection of issues of this class you would need to use a good deal of careful discrimination and to avail yourself of the best banking advice. And we should not, in your case, think it wise to put the entire surplus into such securities.

No. 393. BEGINNING YOUNG TO LEARN THE SCIENCE OF INVESTMENT

My father wants me to write to you about my savings fund. I will soon have \$100 and want to put it where I can sure get 6 per cent. The last \$100 I had was put in a real estate bond. Father says I ought to put the next in something else. He is one of your old subscribers and wants me to learn how to manage my money so I won't lose any.

Your father is quite right. It is an excellent time right now for you to begin to practise the principle of diversification, the idea of which is that your eggs are likely to be safer in the end if they are not all in one basket. We fear you have set

your demands a trifle too high with respect to income, however. At least, until you have gained a great deal of investment experience you would be liable to high risks if you sought invariably to secure so high a rate as 6 per cent. In your place, we think we should be disposed now to content ourselves with a net income of say 5 per cent. at the maximum— $4\frac{1}{2}$ would perhaps be wiser. With this in mind, we might suggest for your consideration one-hundred-dollar bonds like the following:

Southern Pacific—San Francisco Terminal first mortgage 4's, to yield approximately $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.
Colorado & Southern refunding and extension $4\frac{1}{2}$'s, to yield approximately 4.65 per cent.
American Telephone & Telegraph collateral trust 4 per cent. certificates, to yield approximately 4.60 per cent.

It would be a good idea for you to get a list of small denomination bonds, and to begin now to study for yourself the fundamental characteristics of a number of well-known issues, to the end that when your money became available next time you could act more on your own initiative. Of course we shall be glad to help you at any time, if there is any way in which we can.

No. 394. OUR RULE OF CONFIDENCE REITERATED

I notice in a recent issue of your magazine that a subscriber wants to purchase real estate or first mortgages. Please give me his name and address, as I should like to correspond with him regarding a loan.

You confront us with a difficulty. As you may imagine, we receive many requests of this sort. In some cases they come from people who have all sorts of doubtful things in the shape of securities to sell. So we have had to make a rule that we must observe absolute confidence in *all* our correspondence with investors. If we did not adhere to this rule, many of our investing correspondents would instantly suspect that we were acting in the interests of others. Here is the way it works: We get scores of letters a month from investors. A few of them we reprint, as we are reprinting yours, without mentioning names. Now, if we had the pleasure of hearing from you on some investment matter of different character, we would report to you by mail, and, if the subject was one of general interest, we might choose it as one of those to be printed in the next month's magazine. But, if people wanted to get in touch with you we should not feel at liberty to give them your name. Nor would you care to have us.

No. 395. SUGGESTIONS FOR A SMALL WAGE-EARNER

Please send me information regarding investments for a person earning between fifty and sixty dollars per month.

You might have told us how much you are able to save out of this amount of earnings, and how long you have been accumulating savings. But at all events, about the best information we could give you is that a sound savings bank is the best place for anyone to put money away until such time as a sufficient sum has accumulated to make possible the outright purchase for *permanent* investment of some kind of high-grade bond. If you now have a hundred dollars or so, you might perhaps be interested in learning about small-denomination bonds of the character that experience has shown to be suited to the requirements of people of moderate means and limited investment knowledge. The Readers' Investment Bureau would be glad to tell you about such bonds at any time.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

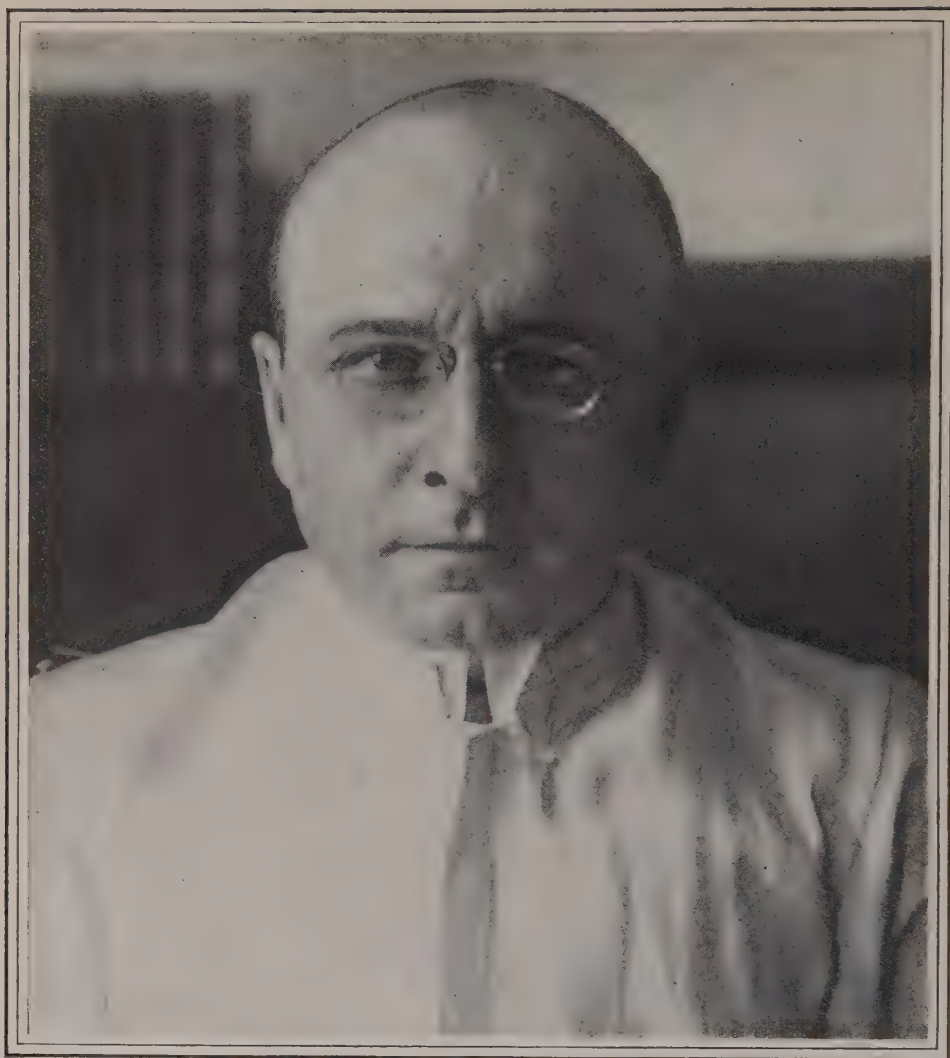
EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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DR. ALEXIS CARREL, WINNER OF THE NOBEL 1912 PRIZE FOR MEDICINE

(While such a large portion of the world is resounding with the clash of war and the animosities of political strife, America records a notable victory of peace. For the first time since it was established the Nobel prize for research work in medicine is to come to this country. This honor was awarded last month for 1912 to Dr. Alexis Carrel, of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. Dr. Carrel's researches in medicine during the past two years have demonstrated that it is possible to prolong heart life after removal from the body to which the heart belongs. Last spring he succeeded in keeping the heart tissue of a chicken alive one hundred and twenty days apart from the body. This discovery offers great possibilities for constructive surgery, and has aroused much speculation in scientific circles as to whether "permanent life" might not be made possible. Dr. Carrel is a Frenchman by birth and a graduate of the University of Lyons. In 1903 he was in charge of the laboratory at McGill University, in Montreal, and afterwards at the University of Chicago. In 1906 he came to the Rockefeller Institute. The first Nobel prize to come to this country was awarded, in 1906, to President Roosevelt for his services in bringing about peace between Russia and Japan. The next year (1907) Prof. A. A. Michelson, of the University of Chicago, was awarded the prize for physics)

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No. 5

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*The Process—
Always—Always
Forward*

We must not lose our sense of good things already achieved, in our eager demand for things still better, or in our sense of alarm lest what some men proclaim as the gospel of progress should prove fallacious or harmful. It is simply necessary to do the best we can and allow much to the element of time. On most public questions, differences that seem to divide the masses of men can almost always be accounted for by this one factor of divergence in the rapidity with which people arrive at their convictions. The reformer proclaims his doctrines in advance. The average mind moves more slowly. After the lapse of years this particular reformer is overtaken, and likely enough he comes to be known as a conservative. In English statesmanship, it has often been the case that fundamental measures of democratic or social progress demanded by the Liberals and Radicals have eventually been put into final form and given practical effect by the Conservative party. Where the people have been given power, as in this country, they must be allowed to work out their own political salvation; and there can be no avoiding the necessity of facing difficult and perplexing situations. But if all the forces of right and justice in the community are striving to train boys and girls to be good citizens, we may be allowed to believe that the cause of human welfare will make gains rather than losses as the decades go by.

*In the
Balkans—a
Contrast*

In this country we have the great blessing of civil order and international peace. The people of southeastern Europe, for a long period past, have lived in the constant apprehension of war. This state of mind so affects entire communities that it would be almost impossible for members of typical American com-

munities to understand it. The present situation in the Balkan States—where, as these pages close for the press, there seems no prospect of averting a general war against Turkey—is largely to be explained as psychological. It is not that Bulgarians and Serbians and Greeks, or even Montenegrins, have any love whatever for the frightful hazards and unspeakable horrors of modern warfare. Those people love their homes, their little farms, the peaceful life of their villages and neighborhoods. But they have inherited an uncompleted task. The children are trained in the history of the struggle of the subject Christian races to throw off the yoke of the Turk. Unsettled problems are always a menace to peace.

*The
Uncompleted
Task*

It has been inevitable for generations,—even for centuries,—that the rule of the Turks over native Christian races upon European soil must come to an end. It does, indeed, matter much whether in a given province the Turkish rule is more atrocious or less. But the idea is implanted in the minds of all the non-Mohammedan peoples of various languages and nationalities that the over-rule of the Turks is a false and abhorrent thing that must be brought to an end. It would of course have been ended long ago, but for the ambitions and rivalries of the great European powers, which have not wanted to break up the Turkish hold upon Macedonia and the remaining provinces of European Turkey until they could respectively make sure of gaining something for themselves, or of preventing the gain of something by their rivals. Elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW we are presenting this situation in southeastern Europe with more thoroughness and detail. Suffice it here to note the contrast between the peaceful conditions that surround our

lives in the United States and the dreads and terrors that have for so long a time affected the minds of great masses of men and women living in the troubled regions of the Danube and the Balkans.

*Human
Progress in
Bulgaria*

In spite of difficulties that might have furnished excuses for lax and apathetic social and political life in those small countries, there has been amazing progress in the past thirty years. There has been a spirit of intense loyalty and patriotism in all of these small kingdoms and principalities that has not merely shown itself in the form of military readiness for external conflict, but in affairs of internal improvement. This is particularly true of Bulgaria and Greece. It is also true of Servia, of Rumania, and of Bosnia (which, however, has owed its internal progress in large part to the wisdom of Austrian administrators). Progress of all sorts, in a country or a community, is often stimulated by some great stress or emotion of a universal character. Bulgaria, for instance, was under the rule of the Turks until thirty-five years ago. That Turkish rule was attended by frightful atrocities in the last years of its continuance. The effort to obtain emancipation lifted the Bulgarians to great heights of heroic valor, and of determination to take a worthy place in the world. Their material opportunities were not brilliant; but high spirit and noble purpose transformed Bulgaria from a wretched Turkish province into a nation of progressive, well-governed, well-educated people.

*Our
Superior
Opportunities*

If in that corner of Europe men have the courage to stand together, facing their problems and achieving far better things for their children than were enjoyed by their parents, surely we in the United States have no cause for disheartenment. And, above all, we have no excuse if we tolerate bad conditions. In Bulgaria, in Switzerland, in Denmark, the institutions of government are carried on for the welfare and progress of all the people. In the United States, under our system, we have brilliant opportunity to promote the public interest, and we have only to apply to the task of government our best elements in character and our best qualities in statesmanship, in order to bring about many things that would make life even better than at present. The great political campaign through which we have been passing has no other true significance than this: It means that within the sphere of those matters that

belong to the national government, the people want the best attainable results. It means that in each one of the forty-eight States of the Union the people perceive an opportunity to act together through their central agency in such a way as to obtain for everybody what nobody alone could obtain for himself. It means that in our cities and smaller divisions there is a chance to make life more wholesome and desirable in many way if only the people were high-spirited and earnest enough to secure for themselves the kind of administration that would be carried on in the public interest rather than in that of the alliance between business and politics.

*This Year's
Political
Campaign*

The great contest this year, on the national plane, is one of principles that go deeper than party habits and traditions. This magazine has always stood for certain principles of political and social progress. It has usually presented those principles in what may be called the concrete educational way, rather than in the contentious and argumentative fashion, or in a merely abstract manner. It is hard, however, in a campaign year of intense strivings for the immediate success of the principles in which one believes, to avoid to some extent the attitude of partisan preference. The political life of the old parties has by no means been completely separated from sympathy and association with right conceptions and principles of progress. There is very much in both of the old parties that has responded—sometimes tardily, but not insincerely—to the enlightened growth of public opinion. But for a good while past, neither of the old parties has had unity and strength of leadership in the work of political reform and social progress.

*Parties
and
Doctrines*

In both old parties strong leaders and right principles have met with constant obstruction because of the mercenary game of professional politics, which has been played at the expense of party honor and of the public well-being. One of the best things resulting from this past year of intense political discussion will be the relative weakening everywhere of machine politics and the boss system, whether on the high plane of the nation's government or in the more obscure political life of States and localities. Another thing that we shall gain will be the breaking-up, in large part, of the secret financing of candidates and movements by the heads of trusts and corporations. We shall bring our political life out into the open,

and that will be very useful. In the opinion of this magazine, there is great merit in most of the principles and particular reforms demanded in the platform of the Progressive party. But there is also much merit in many of the things contained in the Democratic and Republican platforms. When one views things broadly, one must admit that the American people are not just now sharply divided over definite problems of legislation. There are men of all sorts of views in each of the three leading parties,—just as nowadays there are men of all shades and complexions of theology in every one of the leading religious denominations.

*Tariff
as a Practical
Issue*

The Democratic party is full of men who are free-traders in principle and high-protectionists in practice. The Republican party has a good many members who are protectionists in principle while very doubtful about the application of the doctrine. The Progressives as individuals hold all sorts of tariff views, but their official attitude supports the principle of protection while demanding scientific tariff revision from the standpoint of the general welfare, rather than a tariff made by "log-rolling" and dictated by its immediate beneficiaries. Let us suppose the selection of a hundred thoughtful and public-spirited men from each one of these three parties,—a body of three hundred in all. Imagine them removed from the exigencies of party politics so that they might forget their parties and think solely of the country and its needs. It would be quite possible for such a body to lay down the lines of a general tariff policy that could be pursued for the next twenty years, and to formulate methods in accordance with which tariff revision could be carried on from time to time. These three hundred men would not be unanimous, yet it is not unlikely that they could reach general agreements in which five-sixths of the body would cheerfully concur.

*Differences
that Are
Not Vital*

Our object in putting the matter in this way is to show that the intelligent and responsible citizenship of the United States is not sharply divided, just now, upon a question like the tariff. There is a general belief that the principle of levying tariffs in such a way as to afford protection to American industry and production must be applied for a good many years to come. The Democratic House bills, which were accepted by the Senate and vetoed by President Taft, while reducing the aver-

age level quite appreciably, still left us with a very high tariff. The country, therefore, is not passionately divided between protectionists and free-traders; but what it really wants is high statesmanship and thorough, scientific judgment applied to the task of making our tariff fit our national needs. It is natural enough that in the stress of a political campaign the speakers and writers of each party should do their best to criticize the attitude of opposing parties upon any great question like revising the tariff or better regulating large industrial corporations. And doubtless Governor Wilson's way of approaching these questions may well please many citizens better than Colonel Roosevelt's way or President Taft's way. Nevertheless, one might venture to say that if these three men, with their knowledge and experience, could be wholly removed from the exigencies of party leadership, and could be appointed to act together, with ample leisure, as a committee to lay down the lines and principles of a tariff policy for the next twenty years, and to suggest the machinery by which, through a tariff commission or otherwise, we could deal with the concrete business, they would almost certainly be able to agree upon some statesmanlike and workable proposals. Thus the country does not know, and cannot be expected to know, exactly how the tariff problem ought to be solved. The thing that men now want is wisdom and good sense applied in the non-partisan spirit to all these economic problems, whether relating to the tariff, the trusts, the railroads, the shipping and navigation laws, or any other matter of current importance.

*The Verdict
to be
Rendered*

Happily, we shall not have failed to move to some extent in the right direction as a result of the great popular debating of the present year. As for the probable results of the balloting on November 5, it is enough to say that the American Sovereign clearly refuses to announce his verdict in advance. In other words, there are millions of voters who do not seem this year to be under control of the traditional party spirit. Some of these will express their convictions best by not voting at all. Many of them will vote for one party in the Presidential election, and for a different party in their State and local contests. Many business men, including bankers and the heads of large corporations, seek the success of the Republican party on its old lines and under the control of its present managers. Vast bodies of men believe that the Demo-



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COLONEL ROOSEVELT IN WASHINGTON LAST MONTH

(Colonel Roosevelt appeared before the Senate committee investigating campaign contributions and expenditures on October 4, and added further details to the extensive answer he had already made—in a letter to Senator Clapp—to the charges that he had been aware of Standard Oil contributions in the campaign of 1904. The picture shown above was photographed on that day)

intense conviction and deep zeal for political and social reform. With their program of popular measures, the Progressives count upon the support of wage-earning voters almost everywhere. If this were a normal political year, Governor Wilson and the Democrats would certainly win. It is easy to calculate that with the Republican voters split into two bodies, the Democratic candidate must needs gain the victory in spite of himself. But nothing can be counted upon with any degree of assurance. The betting odds, of course, have been strongly in Governor Wilson's favor. That Colonel Roosevelt will cast a tremendously heavy vote is the belief of impartial observers. President Taft's support during October seemed weak, and there was apparently no real conviction behind the bold claims that the Republican campaign managers were giving to the newspapers. But an organization so completely ramified and powerfully entrenched as the old Republican party must always control a large number of votes through the sheer strength of organization and of party cohesion.

Col. Roosevelt Assailed

The campaign reached its climax of thrill and sensation when, on the evening of October 14, at Milwaukee, a bold attempt was made upon the life of Colonel Roosevelt. The Progressive candidate had just entered a waiting automobile, with his secretary and immediate companions, in order to proceed to the Auditorium to make a set speech before a great audience. Among the people thronging the sidewalk was a man who managed to approach close to the automobile and who fired a revolver with the evident intention of sending a bullet through Colonel Roosevelt's heart. The shot, as later discovered, passed through the Colonel's overcoat and also through the manuscript sheets of the speech that was in an inner right-hand coat pocket. The bullet then penetrated the right breast to a depth of perhaps three inches. The would-be assassin was immediately seized and disarmed by the alert and courageous Elbert E. Martin of Colonel Roosevelt's party. The heroic candidate himself insisted upon going directly to the Auditorium, where he proceeded, against the urgent remonstrance of physicians, to deliver his speech, occupying about an hour's time. Nothing could better have illustrated the marvelous vitality and the physical and moral courage of Colonel Roosevelt, than his pluck in proceeding with the speech. It was not prudent from the ordinary standpoint, but it was soldier-like,

cratic party has earned its innings, and that its candidates and platform are abundantly entitled to confidence and support: The adherents of the national Progressive party comprise a great number of men and women of



Photograph by Fritch, New Orleans

COLONEL ROOSEVELT ON HIS RECENT SPEAKING TOUR

(The above is a very excellent and typical likeness of Colonel Roosevelt when recognizing the applause of a crowd. It was photographed at New Orleans, late in September. At the moment when he was shot in Milwaukee, on the evening of October 14, he had risen to his feet in the automobile and lifted his hat, precisely as in this picture)

and it was done in no spirit of ostentation. It is quite likely that Colonel Roosevelt felt that when once he submitted himself to the hands of the surgeons it would be impossible, in the three weeks that remained before election, for him to take any further speaking part in the campaign. Under such circumstances, it might have seemed to him almost imperative to expend some part of his strength in addressing the great waiting audience that was sure to listen with the more eagerness and close attention because of the unprecedented circumstances. Never had a formal speech been entered upon and carried to its conclusion under conditions so remarkable.

*A Man
Above
Reproach*

In his opening remarks, Colonel Roosevelt spoke with feeling and sincerity of his own motives in the present campaign. He declared that he was not in the movement from any desire for his own personal success, but because of his devotion to the principles of his platform and the cause that he represented. He further spoke with firmness, though not with exaggeration, regarding the danger of incitement to the assassination of public men when misrepresentation and abuse are carried so far by the opposing newspapers as to play upon the morbid propensities of a certain type of disordered mind. It was this same sort of

incitement that resulted in the assassination of Presidents Garfield and McKinley. The virulence of the attacks upon Colonel Roosevelt has been almost unexampled; and thousands of men who ought to know better have been led so far in their feeling against him as to say openly and everywhere that he is a dangerous character, while some have been so reckless as to say that they would be glad if he were destroyed. The man who shot Colonel Roosevelt is named John Schrank, who gave an address in the tenement-house district of the East Side of New York City. He seems to have followed the Colonel, waiting for an opportunity to shoot. There was no indication that this man belonged to the Socialist party, or that he represented any group or political element. He seems to belong to the type of crank who is the victim of the habit of reading mendacious and sensational newspapers. For thirty years Mr. Roosevelt has been engaged in active and energetic public work. Though delicate and sickly as a boy, he was able, by strong will power and good care, to build up a physique that not one man in ten thousand possesses. His life has been one of great and methodical industry, and of the most abstemious and temperate habits. Yet within the past few months a great number of his opponents have allowed themselves to be gulled by the cheap and false slander that he is an alcoholic inebriate. His public work has been singularly high-minded and habitually free from the private or personal motive. Yet his enemies have been accusing him of every kind of wild and distorted personal ambition on the one hand, or of base and mercenary relationships on the other hand. The simple fact is that the American people, in their hearts, know that such things are not true. We are all a good deal affected, in spite of ourselves, by the tone of the newspapers that we regularly read. And so there are people who have for a time allowed their own good sense to be obscured by malignant attacks upon Colonel Roosevelt which were inspired by enemies whose motives would not bear the light of day. Yet even these prejudiced readers, when they stop to consider the Colonel's long career of wholesome public activity, are sure to perceive the danger of being unjust to our most distinguished living citizen.

*Col. Roosevelt's
Speaking
Tours*

As a matter of permanent record, something should be said of the remarkable campaign Colonel Roosevelt had been making in the weeks previous to the Milwaukee occurrence. On

October 3 he returned to New York from a tour lasting thirty-one days, comprising more than 10,000 miles of travel and speech-making in twenty-seven States. This journey covered most of the States west of the Mississippi River to the Pacific Coast, and those of the South. After returning to New York and resting a day or two, Colonel Roosevelt appeared before the Clapp committee in Washington and testified regarding his knowledge of campaign contributions in 1904. On October 7, he started westward upon a trip to Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, intending to return through Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania and New Jersey in time to spend the last few days of the campaign in the State of New York and one or two New England States. His versatility and power were never so much displayed in any speaking tour as in the efforts of September and October. He had planned to give timely assistance to his cause in Indiana and Ohio, where his presence was expected greatly to help the State leaders. And, above all, he had expected to accomplish much in his own State of New York. But with the cheering belief that his disability is only a temporary matter, his supporters will naturally have redoubled their own efforts.

*Gov. Wilson's
Campaign*

Governor Wilson has not traveled nearly as much as Colonel Roosevelt, nor spoken so frequently. But he made an extensive tour of the Middle West in September, and in October he was as far west as Colorado and Kansas. His campaign has been conducted with personal dignity and tact, and while he cannot be said to have become a popular idol, it is not to be denied that his great talents as a speaker have been recognized, and that his personality has gained an increasing hold upon a public which at first thought of him in his academic character. Governor Wilson has especially concerned himself with the tariff, the control of corporations, and the economic policies of a well-administered government. It is not to be supposed, in a year like this, that the candidate of the Democratic party could be wholly and minutely explicit. The chief business of the President, after all, is to administer the government and enforce the laws in an efficient way. He must maintain good relations with foreign countries and show the alert intelligence, decisive will-power, and untainted moral purpose that are requisite in the head of a great nation. It is not reasonable to expect that a candidate will tell you to the last detail just how his party would solve this



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GOVERNOR WILSON GREETING THE FARMERS AT A RAILROAD CROSSING

(Everyone knows how fully Governor Wilson's platform appearance and finished oratory meet all set and formal occasions. But the picture above shows that he can also unbend, and greet his plain fellow-citizens on easy and democratic terms. This photograph was taken in Indiana on one of Governor Wilson's recent speaking tours. As soon as Colonel Roosevelt's engagements were brought to an end by his gunshot wound, Governor Wilson announced that, after filling several necessary and immediate engagements, he would give up his own further plans of speaking. Thus it seemed probable that the last two weeks of the campaign would be comparatively quiet, and that the chief candidates would make few if any appearances before large audiences)

problem or that. If he should undertake to be explicit upon all things he would be merely indulging in platform talk. The personal qualities and character of a President of the United States are many fold more important than his opinions upon matters of legislation. Since it is now generally believed that the choice at the polls is to lie between Governor Wilson and Colonel Roosevelt, it is fortunate to have evidence that either man possesses the qualities of an able and patriotic administrator.

The Taft Campaign

President Taft has not been very active in his own campaign for reelection. He has made several addresses and given prepared interviews to newspapers and periodicals. During the first part of October he obtained some needed rest and recreation in the New England States. The campaign for his renomination, during the first half of the present year, was intense, preoccupying, and not fairly compatible with

the dignity or the duties of the Presidential office. The exertions made by the Taft campaign committee at that time were very expensive and ably organized. So far as can be noted, the efforts of the last two months have not been in keeping with those put forth in the pre-convention period. There has not been a notable speaking campaign on behalf of the Taft-Sherman ticket. Vice-President Sherman is unfortunately in a state of ill health that has prevented his taking part in the campaign. The cabinet has been widely scattered, and not as active as might have been expected. Secretary Knox's earlier trip to Central America, and his later trip to Japan, practically resulted in his being entirely absent from his own State of Pennsylvania in the chief periods of political stress. Secretary MacVeagh has been regarded as a Democrat, and, so far as we are aware, has taken no active part in the season's politics. Secretary Stimson was absent on a long trip in the mountains and forests of California.



Photograph by Paul Thompson. New York

COL. FRANKLIN Q. BROWN AND MR. GEORGE R. SHELDON, JOINT MANAGERS OF THE
TAFT CAMPAIGN FUND

(Mr. George R. Sheldon, of New York, who was treasurer of the Republican campaign committee four years ago, was persuaded by the national committee to retain that office for the campaign of 1912. Associated with him in the work of financing the campaign is Col. Franklin Q. Brown, also of New York. Both gentlemen are prominent as bankers and financiers in the Wall Street district. It is to be said that both of them are men of the highest personal and business standing. The money-making industries of the United States are largely in the corporate form. It is true of Republicans, Democrats, and Progressives alike that their campaign funds are this year derived very largely from men whose wealth has come from their connection with large corporations. The great end to be sought is that all such contributions should be open and public, and that no gift should be received from any man who is trying to purchase favor or immunity for himself or for his corporation interests.)

Secretary Fisher was in Hawaii and elsewhere remote from the stormy politics of his own State of Illinois. Secretary Meyer devoted himself to the administration of the navy with intelligence and skill, taking no part, so far as we are aware, in the politics of Massachusetts. Postmaster-General Hitchcock has been busy with the work of his department, but has been out of politics. Secretary Nagel and Attorney-General Wickersham have been not mute, but they have not been active. These remarks apply to the situation previous to the last ten days of October. It may have been planned to put more vim into the Taft campaign toward the end.

The Campaign Funds, as Disclosed
It is not quite time yet to estimate the value of the disclosures made in the testimony before the Senate committee investigating campaign

contributions and expenditures. Colonel Roosevelt was a witness last month, as were all of the contemporary political managers and a number of prominent financiers, including Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan. It was shown that men of large wealth connected with corporations had decided, toward the end of the campaign of 1904, that in spite of their dislike of Colonel Roosevelt they preferred to keep the Republican party in power. Accordingly, they contributed large sums to the campaign fund, chiefly through the treasurer, Mr. Cornelius N. Bliss. Every sensible man has become satisfied that Colonel Roosevelt was in no way guilty of improper relations with corporation men at that time. It is valuable, however, for the public to know just how these political funds have been contributed in times past. In the campaign of 1908, it seems that Mr. Charles P. Taft, the

President's brother, contributed several hundred thousand dollars toward the expense of securing the nomination for Mr. Taft. In the present year, all of the candidates have been supported by men of means who have given money liberally. This was true of Mr. La Follette, Mr. Taft, and Mr. Roosevelt, on the Republican side, and of all the leading Democratic candidates. It does not seem likely that any of the disclosures of this inquiry can to any extent affect the voting for any one of the three candidates. But it is probable that the inquiry will have a very valuable future effect upon the raising of campaign funds. There will be an increasing attempt to secure a much larger number of gifts in smaller amounts from disinterested members of political parties.



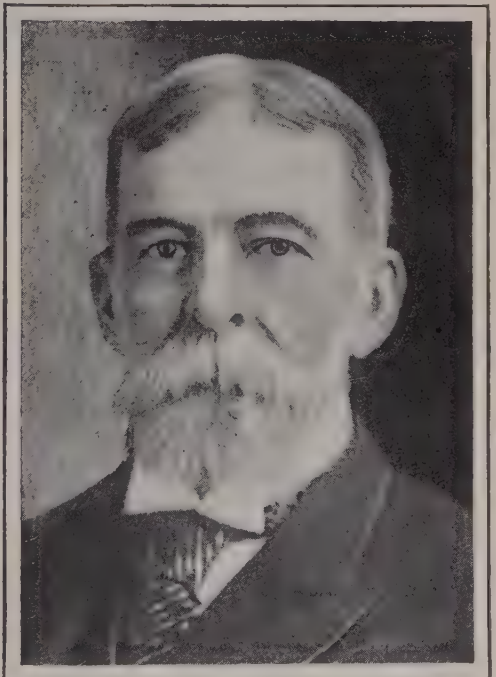
MR. ELON H. HOOKER, OF NEW YORK
(Treasurer of the national Progressive campaign committee,
who testified regarding the Roosevelt campaign fund)



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MR. J. PIERPONT MORGAN

(The famous New York banker, as he appeared in Washington last month, where he gave testimony regarding contributions by himself and his banking firm to political funds in recent national campaigns)



MR. CHARLES P. TAFT, OF CINCINNATI
(Brother of the President, and chief contributor to the
Taft funds of 1908 and 1912)



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HON. JOB E. HEDGES, WITH MR. AND MRS. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR.

(Mr. Hedges, on the left in the group, is the Republican nominee for Governor of New York, and Mr. Wadsworth is candidate for the office of Lieutenant-Governor. Mrs. Wadsworth is a daughter of the late John Hay, Secretary of State)

*New
York State
Republicans* The nomination of Mr. Oscar S. Straus for Governor of New York by the Progressive party had met with a unanimous chorus of approval everywhere. It was plain that the Republican and Democratic State conventions, coming later, would have to appear upon their best behavior and seem to be free from the dictation of bosses or the accusation of merely ratifying programs previously made. But those who know best have declared that in both conventions the seeming spontaneity had been arranged in advance. The Republican plan was to allow several names to go before the convention, only two of which, however, seemed to have any real chance. One of these was Mr. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., who for some time has been the bright and promising favorite of the Republican organization, and the other was Mr.

Job E. Hedges, a well-known public speaker, who had opposed the Roosevelt-Stimson men at the Saratoga convention in 1910. The result of the convention was that Mr. Hedges was nominated for Governor and Mr. Wadsworth for Lieutenant-Governor. Mr. Wadsworth had been speaker of the lower House, and if elected Lieutenant-Governor he will be presiding officer of the State senate. It is said that his friends did not intend to nominate him for Governor this year, because they wished to save him for some more favorable time in the future. Mr. Hedges' face and voice have been familiar in Republican conventions and before New York audiences for a long time. He has not heretofore been regarded as a probable nominee for so important an office, and the prominence attained by him at this time will be a valuable asset to him, regardless of the fact that his



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THREE LEADING PERSONALITIES IN THE NEW YORK REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

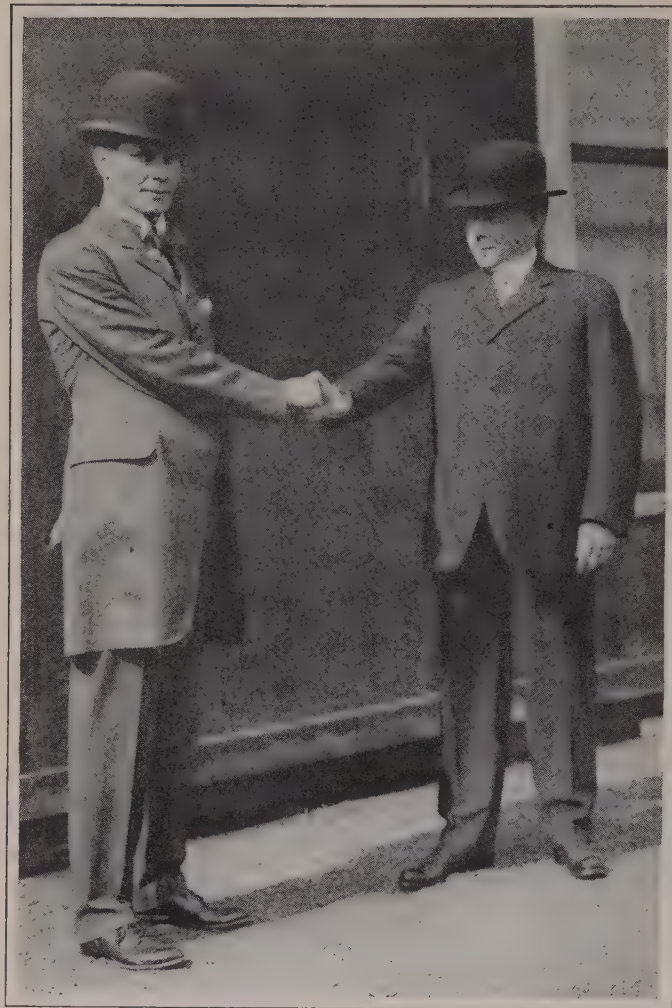
(Mr. William D. Guthrie, as temporary chairman, made the principal address and Senator Root and State Chairman Barnes were the convention's most potent advisers)

defeat is considered inevitable for reasons that reflect in no way upon his personal fitness. Mr. Hedges is wholly sincere in his ambition to make a worthy public record, and no one has been saying a word against him in this campaign. The so-called "keynote" speech of the convention was made by a gentleman famous as a great corporation lawyer, but not a familiar figure in the political field. Mr. Guthrie's general view of the issues at stake this year is that of a great array of lawyers who are supporting Mr. Taft and opposing the Progressive doctrines. Senator Root was the dominating mind in the convention, and Mr. Barnes, chairman of the State committee, was naturally the chief practical manager.

Mr. Sulzer
and
Tammany

The Democrats under other circumstances would have given a renomination to Governor Dix. The situation was wholly in the hands of Mr. Murphy, head of the Tammany organization. Up to the last it was Mr. Murphy's pretense that he was an earnest supporter of the Governor's demand for a second term. But the Dix administration had been condemned so unsparingly by the press of the State, including the leading Democratic newspapers of New York City, that it was

not possible to take the chances. All the influence of the friends of the national Democratic ticket was exerted to the utmost against Dix. The *New York World*, and various other papers, were supporting the up-State Democratic leaders in their declaration that in case of Dix's nomination they would put a competing Democratic ticket in the field. Under these circumstances, several names were allowed to appear before the State convention, and the fourth ballot was reached before the convention gracefully, and in perfectly good temper, agreed upon the choice of Mr. William Sulzer, of New York City. For nearly twenty years Mr. Sulzer has been in Congress representing a Tammany district. He has steadily grown in influence and public favor. His talent for representing the plain people in a sympathetic, democratic way is not merely the acquired art of a professional politician. In Mr. Sulzer's character, the democratic spirit is a matter of temperament and conviction. He is chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the present Democratic House. He had much to do with the agitation which resulted in the stand taken by our government on the question of naturalized Jews traveling in Russia under the protection of American passports. Mr. Sulzer is also a believer in the navy, and he



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HON. WILLIAM SULZER (ON THE LEFT) AND HON. MARTIN H. GLYNN (ON THE RIGHT)

(Mr. Sulzer and Mr. Glynn are at the head of the New York State Democratic ticket)

was the foremost Democratic leader in the House to oppose his party's "no-battleship" policy in the last session, and to bring about the final compromise in favor of one very large and powerful ship as against the established program of two battleships each year. Mr. Sulzer, like Mr. Hedges, is determined, in case of election, to give the State of New York the best services of which he is capable. But in case of Democratic victory Mr. Sulzer would not be the sole governing authority. The rest of the State ticket is not regarded as averaging up to Mr. Sulzer's level of independence and sense of public duty. Furthermore, a Tammany legislature would be dominated by Mr. Murphy rather than by Governor Sulzer. Mr. Sulzer himself, it must

be remembered, has always maintained his position as a Tammany man, and it would be hardly possible to conceive of his breaking away from that organization. If Mr. Sulzer or Mr. Hedges could be as free and untrammelled as Mr. Straus, in case of election, either one of them would make a good Governor. The contest would seem to lie between Mr. Straus and Mr. Sulzer. But no one can predict election results this year in the State of New York.

*New
England
Candidates*

The triangular situation which gives New York three conspicuous candidates for the Governorship is repeated in many other States. Some of these situations had been completed early enough to be set forth in our issue last month. In Massachusetts, the party primaries of September 24 gave Governor Foss the renomination as a Democrat, and placed Mr. Joseph Walker in nomination as a Republican. The Progressives had previously nominated Mr. Charles S. Bird, of whom mention was made in these pages last month. In Rhode Island the Republicans have put up Governor Pothier for a fifth term, and the Progressives

have named Mr. Albert H. Humes of Pawtucket. A well-known Providencelawyer, Mr. Theodore F. Green, has been named by the Democrats. The Connecticut Progressives, late in September, nominated Mr. Herbert Knox Smith, who had recently resigned as federal Commissioner of Corporations. Governor Baldwin had previously been named by the Democrats, and Judge Studley by the Republicans. In Massachusetts and Connecticut the situation seems favorable to the Democrats. Our comment last month included a statement of the situation in New Hampshire, where Mr. Winston Churchill heads the Progressive ticket. The Vermont Legislature has settled the Governorship contest in favor of Fletcher, the Republican candidate.



GOVERNOR FOSS, DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE IN MASSACHUSETTS, AND HON. JOSEPH WALKER, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE

*Party Chaos
in the West*

The Western States had for the most part completed their tickets earlier in the season. In Minnesota, Governor Eberhart won his renomination as a Republican, by virtue of the second-choice provision of the primary law. P. M. Ringdal, of Crookston, was victorious in the Democratic primary. The Progressives, in

a convention on September 20, selected Mr. P. V. Collins, editor of the *Northwestern Agriculturist*, as their candidate for Governor. Colonel Roosevelt is reported as very strong in Minnesota. In Michigan, a Progressive ticket was placed in the field on October 1, headed by State Senator L. Whitney Watkins. In the State of Washington the Republican Gov-



Photograph by Marceau, Boston
Samuel D. Felker

Franklin Worcester

THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES FOR THE PROGRESSIVE AND REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR OF NEW HAMPSHIRE



Robert T. Hodge

Marion E. Hay

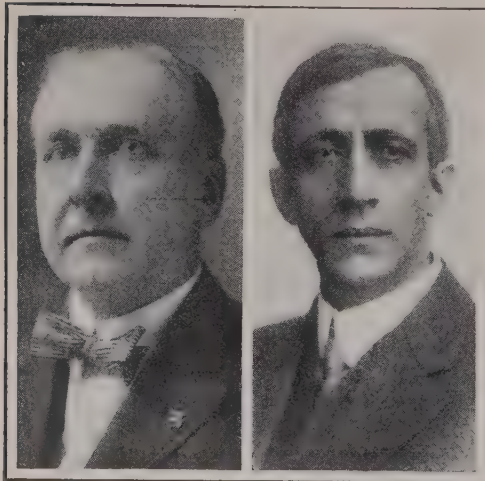
GOVERNOR OF WASHINGTON



JOHN C. KAREL, DEMOCRAT

FRANCIS E. M'GOVERN, REPUBLICAN

CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR OF WISCONSIN



C. C. Parks

E. P. Costigan

THE REPUBLICAN AND PROGRESSIVE CANDIDATES FOR
GOVERNOR OF COLORADO

ernor Hay was renominated in the September primaries, and the Democratic candidate is the Hon. Ernest Lister. The Progressive candidate is Mr. Robert T. Hodge. The wholly uncertain condition existing in the States of the Middle West renders it useless to venture any prediction. The State of Wisconsin furnishes a good example of this uncertainty. In that State Senator LaFollette, who is devoting his time chiefly to the recital of what he regards as his own personal grievances against Colonel Roosevelt, is strongly advocating the reelection of Governor McGovern. Curiously enough, LaFollette praises McGovern as worthy of the fullest support and confidence in his capacity as chief executive of the State, while bitterly condemning McGovern for supporting the Presidential candidacy of Colonel Roosevelt. Senator LaFollette also denounces in unmeasured terms the Democratic State ticket, and declares that it has



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PRESIDENT AND MRS. TAFT ON THE "MAYFLOWER" DURING THE REVIEW OF THE BATTLESHIP FLEET LAST MONTH

(From right to left are Herbert L. Satterlee [formerly Assistant Secretary of the Navy], Secretary Meyer, Charles P. Taft [in the rear], the President, Mrs. Taft, Gen. B. F. Tracy [Secretary of the Navy under President Harrison], and Henry W. Taft)

the support of "the anti-Bryan, anti-Wilson Tory Democrats and the reactionary 'stalwart' Republicans." Thus the mix-up in Wisconsin is quite beyond all analysis, and in Illinois and some other Western States the party chaos is almost as great.

*The Navy
on
Exhibition*

Last month our enterprising Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Meyer, arranged on a larger scale a repetition of last year's practical object-lesson as regards the size and mobility of our navy. For several days, 123 American warships lay at anchor in the Hudson, extending nine miles up the river from a point opposite the heart of New York City; and anyone who wished could see and admire the second greatest war fleet ever assembled, or could board the vessels and examine them closely. The fleet was inspected by the President and the Secretary of the Navy on October 14, and on the following day it was reviewed by them as it passed out to sea. Mr. Meyer's desire has been to show as many persons as possible just what they are getting for the hundreds of millions spent each year for our chief means of defense,—and perhaps to soften the

objections of those who fail to see any reason for the maintenance of our navy at its present standard of efficiency. He also hoped to interest young Americans in the seemingly happy and contented lot of the sailor. Many thousands availed themselves of the opportunity to board a battleship; and they saw things, and had other things explained to them, which they will not soon forget.

*Uncle Sam's
Modern
Seamen*

The work of the seaman of to-day is not all scrubbing and polishing, though there is a good deal of that. The "sailor" was in evidence in the wireless room, with an instrument at his ear and his finger on the telegraph key. He was in the executive officer's or the paymaster's room, using a typewriter, an adding machine, or a card-index system. Or perhaps he was perched on a turret or in a skeleton mast, waving the signal flags and conveying some message to a sailor on another ship whom the "landlubber" could not even see. Of course the greatest attention was paid to the newest additions to our navy, the super-dreadnoughts *Arkansas* and *Wyoming*, which are the most powerful battleships in the world. The best

argument for an efficient navy is found in a comparison of these modern warships with those of a decade ago. During our war with Spain, the *Iowa* was the pride of the fleet. With all respect to that vessel, what chance would it stand, with its four 12-inch guns, in conflict with a battleship like the *Wyoming*, with three times as many? Both these ships were in the Hudson last month, and they undoubtedly converted many—as Secretary Meyer had hoped—to the belief that we should have either an up-to-date navy or none at all.

Fire Prevention

On October 9, the forty-first anniversary of the great Chicago fire, there took place quite generally throughout the United States the more or less formal celebration of Fire Prevention Day. In Illinois, Iowa, and New York, for example, Governors Deneen, Carroll, and Dix by official proclamation specially designated the day for observance and recommended that public and private consideration be given to the matter of fire dangers and their prevention. In several Western States, in compliance with official suggestion, the day was devoted to a general overhauling and cleaning of flues and heating devices, while in the schools generally fire drills were held and the children were instructed on the dangers of fire, warned against carelessness, and impressed with the necessity for universal caution. The celebration of Fire Prevention Day is but one phase of the national campaign of general education that is now being waged in the hope of removing what has been a long-standing national menace and disgrace. In 1911 the fire loss in the United States was \$2.31 per capita, as compared with 81 cents in France, 53 cents in England, and 21 cents in Germany. The fire loss in New York in 1911 was \$2.45 as against 60 cents in Paris, 54 cents in London, and 18 cents in Hamburg. Boston, a city of about the same size as Hamburg, had a fire loss of \$3.26 per capita, or over eighteen times as great. Yet until recently little or no heed has been paid to the lesson, emphasized as it is annually by great conflagrations and such catastrophes as the Washington Place holocaust of 1911, where 145 workers perished in a New York factory.

Water Supply

With the approaching completion of large projects for increasing the water supply of the cities of New York and Los Angeles at a cost of many millions of dollars, it is also important to con-

sider the equally serious if less spectacular matter of water conservation within the cities themselves. This work is outlined elsewhere in this magazine by Prof. E. W. Bemis. The lesson that many American cities still have to learn is that efficient and economical maintenance of existing water-works systems is no less the province of sound municipal engineering than the construction of vast aqueducts and reservoirs designed to stand as Twentieth Century monuments. Likewise, a large per capita consumption of water does not necessarily indicate a high standard of living and cleanliness, but may mean an inexcusable laxity of maintenance. It was only a few years ago that Washington, D. C., stood face to face with the apparent necessity of increasing its water supply at an estimated cost of some \$5,000,000. It was suggested that before this was done an examination of the distribution system should be made by expert water-works engineers, and a careful survey was undertaken. By methods outlined in an article following that of Professor Bemis, underground leakage and waste were detected to such a marked degree that it was found possible to postpone indefinitely the extensive new works that had been contemplated. But whether secured by good municipal care and housekeeping or by new and increased supply systems, adequate and pure water everywhere is essential to the health of the community, and throughout the United States there is widespread interest in new aqueducts and purification plants. Thus in Richmond, Va., the local water bureau daily exhibits on one of the principal streets samples of raw and filtered water, and its reports and analyses are published by the local press.

Public Hygiene

So widespread has become the public interest in pure water and its relation to disease that it is only natural for the public now to concern itself with such movements as involve the safeguarding of the milk supply, the prevention of tuberculosis, the establishment of a national quarantine, and other like movements for the preservation and amelioration of the national health. Accordingly the Fifteenth International Congress on Hygiene and Demography, held at Washington late in September, and the first of the kind to take place in America, aroused interest that was not confined to the physicians and sanitarians in attendance. As will be seen from a special article elsewhere in this issue of the REVIEW, the many scientific and technical papers there presented dealt with subjects of vital importance



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

NEW YORK'S EDUCATIONAL PARTHENON AT ALBANY

(The State Educational Building, dedicated on October 17)

and interest to the intelligent layman no less than to the medical man and scientist. Furthermore there was held an interesting exhibition at which were shown modern museum methods of teaching hygiene and sanitary lessons to the general public. There were exhibited models, charts, and photographs, in addition to hospital equipment and instruments and other material, that were intended to present in the most forcible manner lessons on such important subjects as care of children, disease prevention, evils of use of alcohol, the propagation of disease by insects, and military hygiene. This exhibition was especially interesting as showing what various municipal and other agencies were doing in the way of propaganda for better hygiene and sanitation. But it was also apparent that the public interest was not confined to those attending the exhibition. It was evident from the abstracts of the technical papers and particularly the results of recent researches as reported to the Congress, printed in the daily press, that these papers were attracting wide attention and indicated widespread interest in problems of modern health and sanitation and growing appreciation of modern scientific methods.

*New York's
Education
Building*

The New York State Education Building at Albany, which was dedicated last month, is not only impressive architecturally, but it meets a public need in a way that is most creditable to the Empire State. This edifice houses the State Library, which was all but totally destroyed by fire in the capitol building in March, 1911, but which is being renewed under liberal State appropriations. It also contains quarters for the administrative offices of the Department of Education and the State Museum, and an auditorium seating a thousand persons. Altogether, for building and equipment, the State has expended \$5,500,000 thus far. Those who are familiar with the peculiar responsibilities of the New York Department of Education know that it has long demanded an administration building. As to the provision for the State Library, it would be well if some other States would follow the excellent example set by New York and Wisconsin in the erection of suitable fireproof buildings to contain the State archives and collections of printed books, many of which cannot be duplicated. Such buildings properly dignify the higher ideals of State governments.



PREMIER BORDEN ADDRESSING AN OPEN AIR
MEETING IN MONTREAL

*Canada's Navy
and Her
Railroads* In an address in Toronto, on
September 22, Premier Borden,
of Canada, explained officially the
objects and accomplishments of his recent
visit to London. He declared:

The people of the old land [Great Britain] are determined to maintain for themselves and for Canadians a sure path across every ocean where British dominions lie. . . . With coöperation in imperial defense must come a certain voice by Canada in the interests of peace and war. . . . As for our home land, we will continue its development by necessary railroad construction.

This address was delivered on the anniversary of the Canadian general election at which

reciprocity with the United States was rejected and Mr. Borden's party was triumphant at the polls. The question of the form in which Canada's contribution shall be made to the British imperial navy, whether as a battleship or as a cash contribution, is one of the pressing political issues in the Dominion at present. So important does this seem to the Premier and his ministry that, instead of waiting until January, the regular time of the assembling of Parliament, the legislators will be called together early in the present month to receive a report of Mr. Borden's British visit and to consider the naval policy of the Dominion. We hope to give to our readers in these pages next month a comprehensive and authoritative article on this naval problem as it presses in Canada to-day. The question of railway construction, with particular reference to the Hudson Bay line, as it will be affected by the Panama Canal, will be considered in a subsequent number. In this issue (on page 585) we present ex-Senator Beveridge's able and illuminating description of Canada's experiment with state owned railways, the story of the building and operation of the Intercolonial.

*Mexico's
Upward
Progress*

Despite the persistent newspaper reports of anarchy and disorder in Mexico and the gloomy predictions as to the early or ultimate failure of the Madero administration, good evidence is not wanting that solid progress is being made in the republic south of the Rio Grande. This REVIEW has received a letter from an American resident in Mexico City, whose business interests are dependent on financial stability and legal security. The following paragraph is significant:

Things in Mexico are much better than they have been before. The Government is more in control than heretofore, the army has greatly increased and has stood loyal, the finances are in excellent condition, the cabinet is harmonious, the local press of importance is supporting the Government,—except one paper which is likely to fail financially. With the defeat of Orozco there ended the only serious opposition of a political nature. Bandits have been flourishing in different districts, but they are on the decrease, partly because they are being shot, and partly because the defeat of Orozco and the capture of his father strengthen the Government and discourage disorder. No disorders occurred here or in other cities on September 16 [the anniversary of Mexican independence] the day for which many uprisings were predicted. There were great crowds taking part in the celebration, but never before have we seen a more orderly good-natured crowd together. Congress met in regular session on that day. The President's message was well received. It covered the situation admirably. The Government has a good

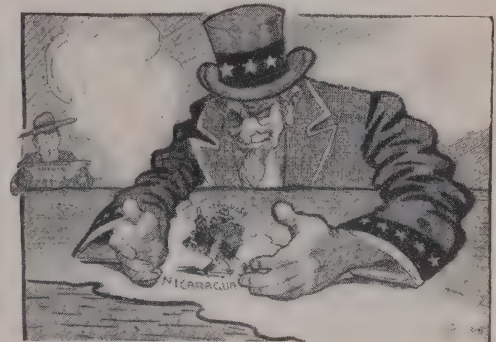
working majority in the Congress and there is every reason to believe it will be able to carry forward its program. The financial conditions are admirable, despite the war and the loss of revenue resulting from the control of the city of El Paso and two other custom houses by Orozco. There was a surplus for last year in both the general treasury and the operation of the National Railways. The proposed modification of the tariff and some other taxes next year will yield an additional revenue more than sufficient to cover the increase in army expenses. The Government has taken a wise step regarding publicity. An arrangement has been with the banks under which an accurate daily statement of the truth will be given to the world. This is of the utmost importance, since it will counteract the evil that has been done by certain people who have hoped to gain some personal influence and financial benefit from the overthrow of the Government. The rumors that the federal army is not loyal are false. The army to-day is stronger than it has been in many years. The various acts of violence that have occurred recently in the southern and central portions of the country are clearly non-political in the broad sense. They have been committed by bandits who are not united by any common purpose. Without question, the problem in the state of Morelos with Zapata is difficult, but by the defeat of the political revolutionists in the North, the Zapata question will be quickly settled. The Government recognizes very fully the absolute necessity of suppressing the bandits in the different states and will use extreme measures to compel obedience to law. The just claims presented by foreigners for loss of life will be promptly adjusted, but one of the chief difficulties with such claims is that many of them are absurdly extravagant and because of the improper claims the just claims must necessarily suffer delay in settlement.

American "Interference" in Nicaragua
A new stage in the much checked progress of Nicaraguan history and a comparatively new departure in American foreign politics was begun late in August when 200 American sailors and marines were landed at Corinto, the Pacific seaport of Nicaragua, and forced their way to Leon and Managua, the capital through territory held by the revolutionists. The revolt against the authority of the Diaz government in the Nicaraguan republic was described last month. The capital had been threatened by the rebel troops, and the railroad connection with the sea interrupted for weeks. The State Department determined to protect American life and property and aid the established government in maintaining order. Therefore, on August 27, a battleship and several cruisers, under command of Rear Admiral Southerland, landed the marines in varying forces at different times until 1200 had been transported to Managua, while 800 sailors protected the railroad connection from the coast to the interior lakes. Following the statement for the Nicaraguan government, to which we refer later, that the United

States would not countenance "the uncivilized actions" of the rebel leader, General Mena, and would lend moral support to the cause of good government, these sailors and marines took part in the fighting. A number of positions held by the insurgents were captured, including, on October 6, the town of Leon, the ecclesiastical center of the republic. On another page this month we print an article setting forth the genesis and causes of this present Nicaraguan revolutionary movement, from the pen of an American who occupies a government position in that republic and is thoroughly conversant with the facts of which he speaks.

As a result of this activity of the American marines in Nicaragua the revolt against the government of that republic has been suppressed and order restored. On September 26 General Mena, the chief commander of those in rebellion, surrendered to Rear Admiral Southerland, and that naval official reported to the American Minister at Managua that the revolution was practically over, that the railroad was in operation, and that passenger and freight traffic had been resumed. Admiral Southerland reported further that he had announced to both sides that no favor would be shown toward breakers of peace, and that, while the rebels had been chastised, no government troops would be permitted to enter any strongholds until normal conditions had been absolutely restored. On September 12, United States Minister Weitzel at Managua, handed to the Nicaraguan government, communicated to the revolutionists, and made public a note from acting Secretary of State Wilson, setting forth this government's unalterable opposition to the present

End of the
Nicaraguan
Revolt



"A PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE"

(In this way, the cartoonist of *O Mahlo*, the Rio Janeiro weekly, sets forth the general South American view of what is "virtually a pretext of Yankee imperialism to begin the absorption of Central America")



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

THE ANTI-HOME RULE DEMONSTRATION IN BELFAST LAST MONTH—THE PARADE

revolution in Nicaragua. The note made it plain that American marines were landed to protect American lives and property and to assist in making it possible for General Mena and his forces to be suppressed. This note in its general tenor is a warning to all Central America. The American purpose, says the note, is to foster true constitutional government and free elections in Central America. To this end, "strong moral support will be given to established governments against revolutions based upon the selfish designs of would-be despots and not upon any principle or popular demand." "Force will be used, if necessary, to maintain free communications with and to protect American ministries and legations."

*British
Parliament
Meets*

The British Parliament assembled for its autumn session on October 7 and the House of Commons proceeded at once to the government's program for the session. The Premier proposed the closure measure for the third reading of the Home Rule bill. This measure provided for twenty-seven days' deliberation on the bill from the time of its entering committee until its third reading or passage. The Premier's motion was adopted on October 14. Whatever amendments may be

made by the speaker, who has a certain latitude in this matter, thirty days is to be the limit permitted for discussion. Meanwhile the campaign in Ulster against Home Rule has been waxing warm. As the crowning proof of their determination never to submit to the domination of an Irish Parliament, thousands of Ulsterites, under the lead of Sir Edward Carson (on September 28), signed a "covenant" of resistance to Home Rule. It seems likely that the government will be able to put through the measure without difficulty, although the Liberals have lost much of their strength in the Commons since the last general election. In December, 1910, when the last pollings were made for the House of Commons, the official majority was 126. The different bye elections since that time have cut down this majority to 108. It is now being freely predicted that there will be a general election in the spring.

*The Balkan
War at
Last*

Once again all the wise international prophets have been confounded. The real trouble in the Balkans, predicted every spring for a quarter of a century, has come upon Europe as an almost complete surprise. A definite understanding between Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro and Greece—always declared an impos-

sible thing—had been achieved and proclaimed, and concerted action against Turkey begun before any of the chancelleries of Europe could realize what had happened. Little Montenegro, on October 8, formally declared war against her powerful Moslem neighbor and marched her armies across the border. In summoning the Montenegrins to the assistance of their brethren in that part of Old Servia now known as the Sanjak (sub-province) of Novi Bazar King Nicholas issued from Cetinje, the Montenegrin capital, a proclamation which is believed to summarize the objects and scope of the Balkan Confederation. It said in part:

Montenegro had hoped to obtain the liberation of the Serbs in Turkey without the shedding of blood, but peaceful endeavors proved unavailing, and no other recourse was left but to take up the sword on their behalf.

We are assured, in this holy undertaking, of the sympathy of the whole civilized world, and we will have the loyal assistance of the Kings of Servia, Bulgaria, and Greece and their peoples, who in this affair have ranged themselves with the Montenegrins like brothers.

Montenegro is attacking Turkey not from motives of arrogance, but inspired by a noble resolve to prevent the final extermination of her brethren.

Within less than a week the Montenegrin army, led by King Nicholas and two of his sons in person, had assaulted and captured a number of strongly fortified positions in Turkish territory, and had been received by their Slavonic brethren in that land as deliverers. The armies of Bulgaria, Servia and Greece were, at the same time, swiftly mobilized and moved to the Turkish frontier. The parliaments of these countries voted liberal war credits, and, as with one voice, the people of the four Balkan States demanded immediate war to the death with Turkey. Diplomatic notes, amounting to ultimatums, were addressed to the Porte demanding immediate reforms in Macedonia with guaranties. It is one of Turkey's historic boasts that she never yields to menaces. The Ottoman reply was an immediate order for mobilization, and, on October 17, Turkey declared war against Bulgaria and Servia.

*Turkey Willing
to Grant
Some Reform*

At the same time the Ottoman press was careful to admit that the Porte is willing to make certain concessions in the way of reforms in her Christian provinces. An article, apparently officially inspired, appearing in the *Agence Ottoman*, of Constantinople, declares that the Turkish Government had decided, weeks before the concerted action of the Balkan

States, to apply to all provinces of the empire the reforms drawn up by the International Commission for Eastern Rumelia in 1879 (as a result of the Berlin Congress of the year before) and declared law by decree from Constantinople the same year. Autonomy for the remaining European provinces of Turkey are pronounced impossible by this Ottoman journal. "Autonomy would eventually be used as a lever for the complete separation of Macedonia from the Turkish Empire." This point of view was diplomatically set forth in the polite note to the Powers.

*The New
Balkan
Union*

The sudden appearance of this new and formidable corporate power, the Balkan Confederation, is already an important factor in the game of European politics. As long as the four Balkan States, Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro and Greece, acted separately, they were helpless. As long as agents of Turkey or the Powers were able to stir up Servians against Bulgarians, and Bulgarians against Greeks, to mutual quarrels and mutual slaughter, the foolish and wicked game went on and the Turk profited. Moslem atrocities upon Christians were counterbalanced by Christian massacres of Turks, until murder, rapine and desolation were the order of the day in Macedonia. Meanwhile, the great Powers solemnly made proposals and wrote diplomatic notes. Program succeeded scheme, and agreement succeeded program. Up to the first part of last month the plain truth would seem to be that neither Turkey nor the great Powers intended to do anything at all. When the Balkan States realized the truth of the adage that in union there is strength, and acted upon this realization, the moral authority of the so-called Concert of Europe disappeared. This feeble Concert, having shirked or ignored its duties of guardianship, the subjects of this guardianship asserted themselves, and the Balkan Confederation was born, a new and pregnant fact in the maze of European politics. Hardly had the notes of Bulgaria, Servia and Greece, and the declaration of Montenegro been handed to the representatives of the Porte when the old Concert revived somewhat, and attempted to coerce the little states and persuade their big antagonist into a reconciliation. But all signs indicate that it is too late. The Balkan war will go on or the reforms demanded in Macedonia and withheld for so many years will be realized, and the Turks, with the consent, if not under compulsion of the Powers, will give absolute guaranties of the execution of these reforms.



AHMED MOUKTAR PASHA, THE TURKISH GRAND VIZIER

While patriotic war fervor is breathed in every despatch from Constantinople, and the readiness of the Turks to fight all Europe, if necessary, is being proclaimed, the fact remains that the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire and the loyalty of the people to the government are not being demonstrated in a manner entirely satisfactory. In July, it will be remembered, the Young Turks were defeated in the elections. The new ministry, dominated by members of the Liberal Union, which is opposed to the Committee of Union and Progress (the Young Turks), summarily closed the parliamentary session soon after its assembling. It was then feared that the Young Turks would organize a revolution, which is the customary method in Eastern Europe of expressing opposition to the government, and that civil war would break out. The Young Turkish leaders, however, contented themselves with denouncing the action of the government as "an illegal *coup d'état*." They decided to fight by legal and constitutional methods. The new government, which announced its purpose to be neutral, soon became partisan and began a policy of reprisals. Many of the officials appointed by the Young Turk Committee were dismissed from office, the press censorship was revived, all criticism of the government was prohibited, and a number of

prominent editors thrown into jail. Among these was the eminent Djavid Bey, editor of the *Tanin* (*Echo*).

*And Other
Domestic
Troubles*

The Young Turks then transferred their headquarters from Salonica, where they had conducted their deliberations since the deposition of Abdul Hamid, four years ago, to the capital. They abandoned the name "Committee" and officially announced themselves a political organization, to be known hereafter as the Party of Union and Progress. It was intended to hold elections during the middle of last month, but disorders throughout the empire and the imminence of the Balkan war made impossible the campaign which had been planned for late September. Some of the promised reforms in Albania were rather hurriedly put into execution last month by Marshal Ibrahim Pasha, President of the Conciliation Commission. This was done, undoubtedly, to placate the Malissori, the Catholic Albanians of the vilayet of Scutari, near the Montenegrin border. These hardy warlike mountaineers had been in rebellion for some months, and it was necessary to conciliate them before the threatened invasion of the armies of Montenegro. It is among these people that the troops of King Nicholas were gaining their initial victories over the Turks during early October. But the Constantinople government has had serious revolts on its hands in other parts of the empire. In the vilayets of Van and Bitlis, in Asia Minor, far toward the Persian border, the Kurds have been restless for more than a year and have been committing horrible outrages upon the Mohammedan Turks and Armenian Christians alike. It is believed that the grievances of the Kurds, however, have to do with agricultural and local administrative questions rather than political or religious ones. All these centers of unrest have tied the bonds of the Porte, while the conflict with Italy was damaging its prestige abroad.

*Italy and
Turkey Make
Peace*

The signing of a "protocol of peace preliminaries" between Italy and Turkey on October 15, with the promise of the conclusion of a formal treaty within a week, removed one disturbing factor in the generally disturbed European situation. The preliminaries were signed by the Italian and Turkish delegates, at Ouchy, in Switzerland, where, for several months, negotiations had been going on. The protocol provided for:

The absolute sovereignty of Italy in Libya (Tripolitania and Cyrenaica) without formal recognition there of Italy by Turkey.

The free exercise of religious authority by the Caliph.

Turkey to withdraw her regular troops from Libya.

Italy to pay an indemnity equivalent to Libya's contributions to the Ottoman treasury.

The restitution of the captured Egean Islands to Turkey, with guaranties for the Christian populations.

No indemnity payable by either side toward the cost of the war.

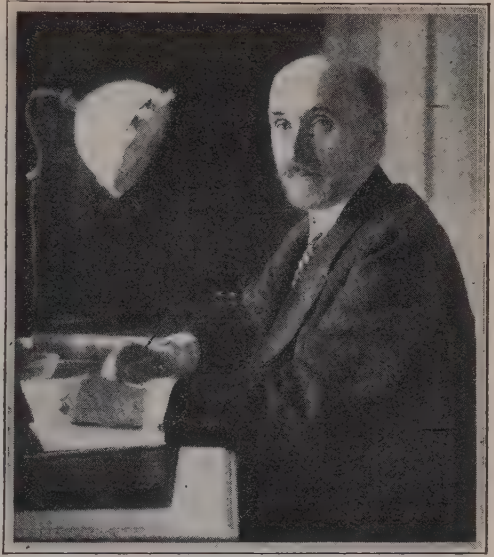
The reestablishment of the former diplomatic and commercial relations.

On the same day the Porte recalled her ministers from Greece and the other Balkan States, the Bulgarian forces on the Turkish frontier were announced to aggregate 250,000 men, and the French Government despatched an identical note to the chancellories of other great Powers suggesting the convocation of a European conference to settle once and for all the Balkan question. With Italy once more neutral, it is possible that the apparently defunct European Concert may be fully revived with increased power to effect a real final settlement of the Near Eastern problem.

In these pages last month we set forth somewhat in detail the general European situation as it affected Balkan conditions, and referred to the comment on the proposition of Count Berchtold, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, to bring about in Turkey, by pressure from the great Powers, what the Austrian statesman characterized as "a policy of moderate decentralization on ethnic lines." This was generally taken to mean that Austria, with the approval of the foreign offices of the other Powers, intended to actively advocate the granting of local self-government to the racial units under the domination of the Turks. These proposals of Count Berchtold, it has now been made clear, were but part of a considerably more ambitious scheme to bring about the expulsion of the Turk from Europe and divide up his territory. The scheme is said to be an inheritance from the Near Eastern policy of the late Count Aehrenthal, who, it will be remembered, engineered the formal annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina four years ago.

*A Bold
Scheme of
Partition*

The always well-informed and trustworthy correspondent of the *Paris Temps* says that this secret partition as conceived of by Count Aehrenthal included the absorption of Serbia and



DR. SASONOV, RUSSIAN MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
(Who has been very active in attempting to secure a general agreement of the Powers on the question of the Near East)

Montenegro by Austria-Hungary. It is even reported that the Austrian statesman had, shortly before his death, reached an understanding with Nicholas, King of Montenegro. As compensation for the loss of their independent sovereignty, Serbia and Montenegro were to be combined with Bosnia, Herzegovina and the Slavonic-speaking portions of Hungary (Croatia and Slavonia) into a great southern Slav kingdom which would change the Dual Monarchy into a Triple Monarchy. Of this new Slav kingdom the Austro-Hungarian monarch would be acknowledged king in the same sense as he is now king of Hungary and Bohemia. In return for Austria's abstaining from interference in the Italian plans to absorb Tripoli, Italy was to offer no objection to the creation of the Slav kingdom or to the absorption by Austria of other territory on the Albanian coast; Greece was to receive Crete and the Greek islands in the Egean, and the southern angle of Epirus, now part of Turkey. Bulgaria was to get large accessions of territory in Macedonia and to carry her boundary line down almost to Salonica. Great Britain, the Austro-Hungarian statesman argued in his brief, would be satisfied if her position in Egypt were "regularized," while Russia was to receive her long coveted free passage of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, and France was to be permitted to subscribe various pending loans of the interested parties. As for Turkey, she would retain only her Asiatic



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

ONE OF THE BIG FIGHTERS OF THE GREEK NAVY AND HER CREW

(The turret guns of the Greek cruiser *Avarov* ordered last month to prey upon Turkish commerce)

territory as a remnant of her once great empire, together with Constantinople, the immediate shores of the Marmorean Sea and the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. The failure of this plan may be explained by the unsuspected solidarity of the Balkan States or by the rather significant omission of Germany from the list of those who were to benefit by the grandiose scheme. Despite the cynical disregard shown of such rights as Turkey may be legally said to possess, there were geographical, political and racial reasons why such a scheme, if the European Powers had agreed upon it, would have made for tranquillity in the disturbed Balkan region.

*Will the Berlin
Treaty be
Superseded?*

If the Powers agree to the conference proposed by France, there will, in all probability, be before long, a radical readjustment of the map of Southeastern Europe. It has been more than once well said that the famous Berlin Treaty of 1878, under the provisions of which the Balkans and Turkey have maintained an armed neutrality for thirty-four years, showed much more regard for the interests of the Powers that made it than for the needs and aspirations of those most

deeply affected by it. This historic compact, imposed on Russia and Turkey by Bismarck's cynicism and Disraeli's challenge of the Muscovite, was all but contemptuous of the ambitions of the Balkan States. The national desires of most of these states were ruthlessly suppressed, while the treaty carefully provided for the commercial profit of the big nations that drew it up. Russia's victorious armies were within a day's march of Constantinople after her triumphant war with Turkey. She had forced the latter to sign the Treaty of San Stefano (March, 1878) which would have made the Slav empire all powerful in the Near East. The fears and jealousies of combined Europe, however, triumphed at the conference and the diplomats of Britain, Germany, France and Austria tore up the San Stefano agreement and substituted for it the now famous Treaty of Berlin, agreed upon in the German capital in July of the same year.

*What the
Berlin Treaty
Did*

This compact established the independence of Rumania, Servia, and Montenegro. It set up the province of Eastern Rumelia, "with administrative autonomy and a Christian govern-



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

**ALBANIAN MOUNTAINEERS BOARDING THE TRAIN AT MONASTIR
FOR THE SEAT OF WAR ON THE MONTENEGRIN FRONTIER**

ment, but under the control of Turkey" provided for a gradual extension of the Greek frontier; gave Austria a mandate to occupy and administer the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which, however, were to remain nominally subject to Turkey; forced Turkey to cede valuable territory in Caucasia to Russia; ceded to Great Britain control of Island of Cyprus; provided for the carrying out of certain reforms in Crete; granted full religious liberty to the Christian subjects of the Sultan; and finally "erected" the principality of Bulgaria as an autonomous state tributary to the Porte, but with a Christian governor. The two Turkish vilayets, Monastir and Salonica, and the greater part of the third, Kossovo, now known to the western world as Macedonia, which had been occupied by the Russian troops during the entire war, were handed back to the Porte without reserve. The treaty left Turkey in Europe about the size of the State of Missouri, mutilated and uncertain of her status, more dissatisfied than if the apparently harsher terms of the Treaty of San Stefano had been permitted to remain in force.

*How it
Has Been
Broken*

In many of the provisions of this highly artificial compromise, the Treaty of Berlin, Europe laid up for herself endless troubles and uncertainties which have disturbed almost every year of the past thirty-five. Even with all the military forces of the great Powers to enforce it, the treaty could not be expected to render

permanent most of the anomalous and contradictory conditions such as the jealousies of the Powers sought to impose. Practically every provision of the treaty was openly and cynically broken by almost every one of the signers before the agreement had been in force for ten years. In 1880 Montenegro and Greece forced the Porte to cede large sections of territory, and Rumania became a kingdom instead of a principality, while Serbia followed suit. Eastern Rumania revolted and Bulgaria calmly annexed it. The Bulgars could not be expected to keep a compact to which they had not been a party. In October, 1908, the Bulgarian principality proclaimed

her independence of Turkey. The same year Austro-Hungary formally annexed the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which she had been administering since 1878. The Young Turk régime at Constantinople at first showed a tendency to fight, but after a brief boycott of Austrian goods, assented to the annexation of the two provinces and recognized the independence of Bulgaria. Bosnia and Herzegovina have since been administered by the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Finance, and are making excellent progress, we are credibly informed, in all the arts of civilization. Then, in 1909, came the real revolution in Turkey. Abdul Hamid was deposed, and his younger brother, Mohammed, the present Sultan, was chosen to succeed him.

*What is
the Balkan
Question?*

The Balkan or Near Eastern question has been one of the most complicated political problems of world's history for half a century. Stated in its broad general lines, this question is threefold. We cannot state these better than by quoting here a few sentences from a paragraph this REVIEW printed in its issue for November, 1908, after the excitement in Europe over the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austro-Hungary. We said at that time:

The first phase is that of a race war, the "triangular duel" between Teuton, Slav and Turk. This "*Drang nach Osten*" of the Teuton, the ever westward march of the Slav, and the slow retreat

of the Ottoman from Europe are complicated by Latin influences persisting in Rumania from old Roman times and reaching out from the young Italian nation, and by the efforts of Greek religion and nationality to again dominate in Macedonia. The second factor is that of state-making. It consists of the aspirations of the various small Slav nationalities either for autonomy, for independent sovereignty, or for union into a great pan-Balkan empire. The third factor is the *weltpolitik* of Europe; the jealousy and rivalry of the great Powers. For four centuries and a half, ever since the conquering Turk crossed the Bosphorus and took Constantinople, the grim contest has gone on to dislodge him by war and diplomacy. In both these up to the present time the Turk has generally proved himself the equal, if not the superior, of the so-called Christian Powers.

We commend the particular attention of our readers to two articles which appear on other pages this month, by eminent first-hand authorities on Balkan conditions. Both are journalists, one with a knowledge of Balkan conditions extending back nearly forty years in the service of the London press, and the other an ex-United States consul for some years in that troubled region.

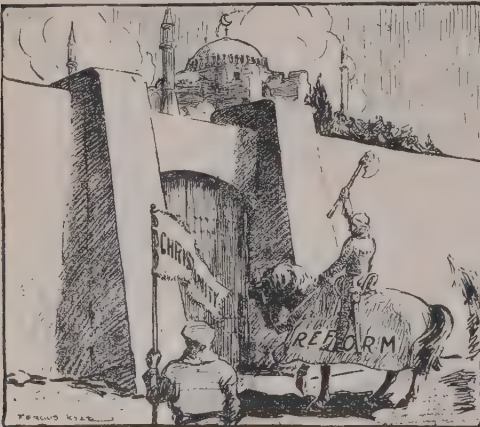
Why, asks a reader of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, are the Balkan nations ready and determined to fight now? In the last resort, this war is an effort of the remaining Christian and European provinces of the Turkish Empire to win their freedom from Moslem misrule. The peoples of Macedonia (the three modern Turkish provinces of Monastir, Salonica and Kossovo) and Epirus (that part of modern Turkey inhabited by Greeks immediately north of the Greek frontier), or rather the Christian part of these populations, are aim-

The Moment
Well
Chosen

ing by two successive steps—first, autonomy, then complete independence—to join Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro and Greece, once under Turkish domination, but now free. The Albanians, the bulk of the population of which is Mohammedan though not Turkish, also yearn to escape from the misgovernment and the interference of Constantinople. They have not found the Young Turkish régime very much better than the government of Abdul Hamid. These peoples of the European provinces of Turkey have been crying aloud to the world for freedom from misgovernment aggravated by massacre for more than thirty years since the Treaty of Berlin recognized their abstract right to some sort of autonomy. Why then, having been put off so long, have they now become united and active? These are questions that American readers will want answered. The reply is found in the one word "Opportunity." For the first time in their history these four Balkan powers, Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro and Greece, have been able to come to an understanding. From a military and financial standpoint they are now able to move efficient armies. Turkey has been at war for a year with one of the great Powers and the other European nations have been hopelessly divided, as well as weakly inefficient, on the Balkan question. To the governments at Sofia, Belgrade, Cetinje and Athens the consideration is, to use the exact words of Premier Venezelos of Greece: "now or never."

The Slow
Departure of
the Turk

The expulsion of the followers of Mohammed from the European continent has been so steadily, unceasingly, and unanimously sought by Europe through these four and a half centuries that it is difficult to hear with patience the solemn prating of the "close constructionists" of treaties, who demand the territorial integrity of Turkey and the Porte's right to lands long since shorn from it, no more part of the Sultan's empire than Cuba is part of Spain, and under his suzerainty only by a diplomatic figment recorded nowhere except in the reference books and in the solemn phraseology of diplomatic notes. The Turk himself has not been deceived. He knows that what seemed to be radical changes in the map of Europe during recent years have after all only been paper changes. He has not to-day one square foot less of territory than before Bulgaria asserted her independence and Austria and Italy extended their sovereignty over Bosnia and Tripoli. If Macedonia were



THE NEW CRUSADE

(Will the Cross replace the Crescent on the Mosque of St. Sofia, in Constantinople?)
From the *Globe* (Toronto)

formally taken from him, he would not in reality lose anything he has actually governed for a hundred years. It is simply a case of calling things by their real names.

How He Has Been Pushed Eastward

The Turk has never administered any province inhabited by an alien race with decent government. It has always been a matter of the exaction of a brutal conqueror's tribute, a "hold up." He knows he has remained in Europe only as a conqueror depending on his military arm. For two centuries Europe has been elbowing him out of the continent. The present Balkan war, whatever it may amount to or finally involve, is merely another step in the continuous process of the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, going on ever since 1683, when Sobieski checked the advance of the Turk at Vienna. This is the way province after province has fallen away since Byron swam the Hellespont to die in defense of Hellenic liberties:

Greece: Independent kingdom, 1830.

Algeria: French occupation, 1830; now a province of the French republic.

Servia: Autonomous principality, 1830; independent principality, 1878; kingdom, 1882.

Rumania: Autonomous principality, 1862; independent principality, 1878; kingdom, 1881.

Montenegro: Independent principality, 1878; kingdom, 1910.

Bosnia and Herzegovina: Occupied by Austria-Hungary, 1878, annexed to Austria-Hungary, 1908.

Bulgaria: Autonomous principality, 1878; independent kingdom, 1908.

Eastern Rumelia: Administrative autonomy, 1878, annexed to Bulgaria, 1885.

Cyprus: Ceded by Turkey to England, 1878.

Tunis: French protectorate, 1881.

Egypt: Occupied by Great Britain, 1882.

Crete: Autonomous, 1898; now striving for annexation to Greece.

Tripoli: Occupied by Italy, 1911.

Albania: Now in rebellion.

Macedonia: About to be liberated by the Balkan States.

For more than a century this regular evolution has been going on while the Turk has been slowly expelled from Europe. His territory has been carved into, first, "spheres of influence," then provinces under "suzerainty," then "autonomous principalities," then independent sovereign states. The Turk understands. What

will he do in this new crisis in his history? Of course he will fight. But what will it avail him? And will Europe be able to hold her vast armies back from joining in the struggle?

Australia's "Continental" Railroad

The construction of the new transcontinental railroad, which is to link up Western Australia with the eastern states of the commonwealth, was officially begun, on September 25, by the laying of the first rail at Port Augusta, South Australia. The new line will run from this point to Kalgoorlie, which it connects with the Western Australian system already constructed, making a total mileage of 1100. When the railway is completed, Sydney and Melbourne will be brought three days nearer to London than they are at present. It is expected that the line will be completed within three years. It will run through the very heart of the great Australian desert, and will be of the highest political as well as commercial importance to the entire Australian federation, acting, as it will, as a bond of physical union that has hitherto been lacking. There are now in the Australian commonwealth more than 18,000 miles of railroads, of which more than 16,000 are state owned. As soon as this line is completed, the Federal government intends to push the other great transcontinental scheme, to which it is pledged, that connecting Pine Creek in the Northern Territory, with Oodnadatta, the present northern extremity of the South Australian system. All political parties in Australia are in favor of these east to west and north to south railroad systems and are committed to their building.



THE POWERS BREWING THE BALKAN "HEALING DRAUGHT"
From the *Amsterdamer* (Amsterdam)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From September 17 to October 16, 1912)



Gov. B. W. Hooper
(Republican)

Photograph by Moffett, Chicago
Hon. W. F. Poston
(Democrat)

TWO CANDIDATES FOR THE GOVERNORSHIP IN
TENNESSEE

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

September 17.—Governor Eberhart (Rep.) and United States Senator Nelson (Rep.) are renominated in the first Minnesota direct primary; P. M. Ringdal is the Democratic nominee for Governor.

September 19.—Colonel Roosevelt, in a speech at Denver, states his belief in the application of the "recall" even to the Presidency. . . . Woodrow Wilson speaks at Detroit and several other Michigan cities.

September 21.—Minnesota Progressives nominate P. V. Collins, editor of the *Northwestern Agriculturist*, for Governor.

September 24.—The Massachusetts primaries result in the renomination of Governor Foss (Dem.) and the choice of Joseph Walker as the Republican candidate for Governor. . . . The New Jersey Senatorial primary results in the endorsement of ex-Congressman William Hughes (Dem.); Senator Frank O. Briggs is the unopposed Republican candidate.

September 25.—Woodrow Wilson, speaking at Hartford and New Haven, declares his belief in the initiative and referendum and the recall of administrative officials.

September 26.—Connecticut Progressives, in convention, nominate Herbert Knox Smith for Governor. . . . Winston Churchill is nominated as the Progressive candidate for Governor in New Hampshire.

September 27.—Colonel Roosevelt, in a speech at New Orleans, urges the voters of the South to support the new Progressive party. . . . The New York State Republican convention selects Job E. Hedges as its candidate for Governor.

September 28.—President Taft addresses an outdoor audience at Beverly, Mass., criticizing the tariff principles of the Democratic party and the platform of the Progressives.

September 30.—The Senate committee investigating campaign contributions reassembles at Washington and examines the late Edward H. Harriman's secretary and the late Cornelius N. Bliss' son.

October 2.—The New York State Democratic convention names Congressman William Sulzer as its candidate for Governor. . . . The Vermont Legislature meets in regular session and elects Allen M. Fletcher (Rep.) as Governor, the election of September 3 having failed to disclose a majority for any candidate. . . . Colonel Roosevelt returns to New York after a speaking tour of 11,000 miles in twenty-seven States.

October 3.—J. Pierpont Morgan testifies before the Senate committee regarding his firm's contributions to the campaign of 1904. . . . The California Supreme Court rules that under the State law the names of the Taft electors cannot be printed on the ballot as Republicans, those pledged to Roosevelt having won the Republican primary. . . . Wood-



Copyright by Harris & Ewing, Washington

HON. WILLIAM HUGHES, OF NEW JERSEY
(Nominated for the United States Senate at the Democratic primaries)

row Wilson addresses the National Conservation Congress at Indianapolis.

October 4.—Ex-President Roosevelt testifies before the special Senate committee regarding corporation contributions to his campaign in 1904.

October 8.—Colonel Roosevelt, on his second Western trip, speaks to large audiences in Detroit and Saginaw. . . . Woodrow Wilson delivers six addresses in Kansas.

October 11.—Colonel Roosevelt appeals to the progressive Republicans of Wisconsin to support the Progressive ticket.

October 14.—Colonel Roosevelt is shot and seriously wounded by a fanatic named John Schrank, while leaving a Milwaukee hotel in an automobile on his way to deliver a political address Testimony is given before the special Senate committee to the effect that Cyrus H. McCormick, head of the Harvester Trust, contributed to the campaign expenses of Woodrow Wilson.

October 15.—President Taft signs an order placing all fourth-class postmasters in the civil service.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

September 17.—Riotous demonstrations by the opposition party, in favor of universal suffrage, mark the opening of the Hungarian Parliament.

September 18.—Many persons are seriously injured in conflicts between Socialist rioters and the police in the streets of Budapest and in Parliament.

September 20.—Albanian Malissoris hold the town of Scutari against a Turkish division.



Photograph by Harris & Ewing, Washington

HON. HERBERT KNOX SMITH

(Progressive candidate for Governor of Connecticut)

September 23.—Disorders in Mexico become more violent and widespread, the States of Chihuahua, Durango, and Sinaloa being overrun with rebels and brigands. . . . The Ulster Unionist Council approves the text of a covenant pledging Orangemen not to recognize an Irish Parliament, should one be created under the Home Rule bill.

September 24.—An investigation conducted by the Government shows that 70 per cent. of the inhabitants of Spain can neither read nor write and that 60 per cent. of the land is uncultivated. . . . Guillermo Billinghurst is inaugurated President of Peru. . . . Two thousand Chinese soldiers mutiny at Wu-chang.

September 25.—The Nicaraguan revolutionary leader, General Mena, surrenders to Rear-Admiral Southerland, in command of the American forces. . . . President Madero and the Mexican cabinet offer amnesty to General Orozco and his followers.

September 27.—A great anti-Home Rule demonstration is held at Belfast.

September 28.—Thousands of Ulsterites sign the covenant of resistance to Home Rule.

October 1.—Belisario Porras is inaugurated President of Panama.

October 3.—Representatives of Spanish railway employees present to Premier Canalejas their demands for a minimum wage.

October 7.—The British House of Commons assembles for the autumn session.



MR. P. V. COLLINS

(Progressive candidate for Governor of Minnesota)

October 16.—Gen. Felix Díaz, nephew of the deposed President, creates a new insurrection in Mexico and seizes the city of Vera Cruz.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

September 17.—The United States informs the Nicaraguan Government that it will not countenance the uncivilized actions of the rebel leader, General Mena, and will lend strong moral support to the cause of good government. . . . An attack upon Italian troops near Derne, in Tripoli, by Turks and Arabs, results in the defeat of the latter in the bloodiest engagement of the war.

September 19.—Konstantin Theodor Dumba is appointed ambassador of Austria-Hungary at Washington. . . . Ratifications of the copyright treaty between the United States and Austria-Hungary are exchanged at Washington.

September 20.—The American forces in Nicaragua reach Granada and relieve the city from the danger of famine.

September 21.—The American ambassador to Mexico demands the immediate release of W. C. Nichols, an American fruit-grower, who has been in prison for six months on an unsubstantiated charge of killing a bandit. . . . The Chinese Minister of Finance refuses the terms offered by the six-power group for a \$350,000,000 loan.

September 24.—The United States decides to send to Santo Domingo, under the treaty of 1907, two commissioners and 750 marines, to reestablish the orderly collection of customs.

September 25.—The Nicaraguan revolutionary leader, General Mena, surrenders to the American forces.

September 30.—The governments of Bulgaria, Servia, and Greece order the mobilization of their army reserves, to force Turkey to institute reforms in Macedonia.

October 2.—Bulgaria and Servia suspend passenger traffic with Turkey.

October 3.—It is announced at Peking that a \$50,000,000 loan has been arranged with a Belgian syndicate.

October 4.—Four United States marines are killed, and five others wounded, in the capture of a position held by Nicaraguan insurgents near Masaya, which menaced railroad communication with the coast; forty of the insurgents lose their lives.

October 5.—Several minor engagements on Turkish soil are reported between Turkish troops and Montenegrins and Bulgarians.

October 6.—The town of Leon, in Nicaragua, said to be the last stronghold of the revolutionists, surrenders to the American forces; two American sailors and a marine are killed during an attack by drunken rebels. . . . It is announced at Paris that Great Britain, Germany, Russia, and Austria-Hungary have accepted the French proposal for intervention in the threatened Balkan war.

October 8.—Montenegro declares war upon Turkey; the Bulgarian Premier refuses to agree to the plan of the Powers for intervention with Turkey in the Macedonian question, on the ground that it is too late.

October 9-10.—The Montenegrin army, in the first engagements of the war with Turkey, forces the troops of the latter country from strongly-intrenched positions on Mount Planinitza and Mount Detchitch.

October 12.—Italy grants three days of grace to Turkey in which to agree finally on terms of peace. . . . The Turkish army is defeated by Montenegrins near Scutari, with a loss of 300 men.

October 14.—Turkey declines to allow intervention by the European powers in the matter of reforms in Macedonia; the Turkish stronghold of Tusi surrenders to the Montenegrins; 3000 Turkish soldiers cross the Serbian frontier and attack the garrison at Ristovatz.

October 15.—A preliminary peace agreement is signed by representatives of Italy and Turkey, at Ouchi, Switzerland.

October 16.—The Montenegrin forces capture Berana after severe fighting.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

September 17.—Legagneux, the French aviator, ascends in his monoplane to a height of 3½ miles.

September 18.—The price of steers at the Chicago stockyards reaches \$11 a hundred pounds.

September 19.—Armed strikers seize the copper, lead, and silver mines at Bingham, Utah.

September 21.—Two German military aviators are killed near Freiburg, and an English aviator loses his life at Belfast, making thirteen deaths from aeroplane accidents within three weeks.

September 23.—Radium is found by Henri Chagnoux, the French mineralogist, to abound in Colorado in greater quantities than anywhere else in the world. . . . The nineteenth Universal Peace Congress meets at Geneva. . . . President Taft addresses the fifteenth International Congress on Hygiene and Demography, at Washington. . . . Widespread devastation is caused by a typhoon in Japan, said to be the worst in half a century.

September 25.—President Taft speaks at Altoona, at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the meeting there of the loyal war governors, who decided to support President Lincoln and his war policy.

September 27.—The French Minister of War reviews an aerial drill near Paris, in which twenty monoplanes take part. . . . The city of Augusta, Ga., is placed under martial law because of rioting in connection with the strike of street-railway employees.

September 28.—Lieut. Lewis C. Rockwell and Corporal Frank S. Scott, United States army aviators, are killed while flying at College Park, Md.

September 30.—Serious rioting marks a twenty-four hours "demonstration" strike at Lawrence, Mass., on the day of the opening of the trial of the labor leaders Ettor and Giovannitti.

October 1.—An explosion in the turbine of the destroyer *Walke* kills an officer and two men and fatally injures two other members of the crew.

October 3.—Seven persons are killed and forty injured by the derailment of an express train on the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad at Westport, Conn.

October 4.—The British submarine *B2* sinks after a collision off the coast of Kent, only one member of the crew of sixteen surviving.

October 7.—An explosion of dynamite in a warehouse at Tampico, Mexico, kills forty-five persons and injures several hundred others.

October 8.—A new world's trotting record of a mile in 1:58 is established by Uhlan, at Lexington, Ky.



Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

THE BOSTON AMERICAN LEAGUE TEAM WHICH LAST MONTH WON THE BASEBALL CHAMPIONSHIP OF THE WORLD

(Top row, left to right: Trainer Quirk, Speaker, Joe Wood, Cady, O'Brien, Bradley, Lewis)
 (Middle row, left to right: Hooper, Carrigan, Yerkes, Henriksen, Engle, Nunmaker, Hall, Gardner, Collins, Stahl)
 (Bottom row, left to right: Wagner, Bedient, McCarthy [mascot], Pape, and Krug)

October 10.—The Nobel prize for medicine is awarded to Dr. Alexis Carrel, of the Rockefeller Institute, New York City (see frontispiece).

October 11-12.—An explosion on an oil steamer results in the destruction by fire of \$3,000,000 worth of vessels and piers at Bayonne, N. J.

October 13.—A score of convicts break out of the Wyoming penitentiary, at Rawlins, and terrorize the surrounding country.

October 14.—A great fleet of 123 war vessels, assembled in the Hudson River opposite New York City, is inspected by the President and the Secretary of the Navy.

October 15.—The building which will house the Department of Education of New York State is dedicated at Albany. . . . The warship fleet assembled at New York passes out to sea in review before President Taft.



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NEW YORK NATIONAL BASEBALL TEAM ("THE GIANTS") WHICH CONTESTED THE WORLD'S CHAMPIONSHIP WITH THE BOSTONS

(Upper row: Bader, Groh, Robertson, Goulait, Burns, Merkle, Hartley, Crandall, Wiltse, Demaree, Robinson, Wilson, Ames, McCormick, Kirby, Shafer. Lower row: Fletcher, Doyle, Meyers, Snodgrass, Herzog, Mutray, McGraw, Mathewson, Marquard, Tesreau, Devore, Becker, Dick Hennessy, mascot, seated in center)



MR. ELBERT E. MARTIN

(Colonel Roosevelt's secretary who overpowered the Colonel's assailant at Milwaukee. Mr. Martin has in his hands the manuscript of the speech, pierced by the bullet)

October 16.—It is definitely ascertained by the surgeons attending Colonel Roosevelt in the Mercy Hospital at Chicago that the bullet fractured the fourth rib on his right side and lies imbedded in the bone. . . . The Boston American League baseball team defeats the New York Nationals in the deciding game for the world's championship.

OBITUARY

September 17.—Prof. Hermann Friedrich Wicbe, an eminent German scientist, 60.

September 18.—Hernando De Soto Money, formerly Senator from Mississippi, 73. . . . Richard Dale, a prominent Philadelphia financier, 84. . . . Charles Kellogg Atwood, of Hartford, Conn., the oldest graduate of Yale University, 91.

September 19.—Chief Justice Ralph O. Dunbar, of the Washington State Supreme Court, 67.

September 20.—Rev. Dr. Lobert G. Seymour, missionary secretary of the American Baptist Publication Society, 69.

September 22.—S. M. Williams, discoverer of the powder used in taking flashlight pictures. . . . Prince Louis Murat, grandson of the King of Naples, 61. . . . Leon Gandillot, a prominent French playwright, 50.

September 23.—Infanta Maria Teresa, sister of the King of Spain, 29. . . . Duke Franz Josef of Bavaria, who recently toured the United States, 24. . . . Col. Henry Casson, for many years sergeant-at-arms of the House of Representatives, 69.

September 24.—Baron Odolf Marschall von Bieberstein, the eminent German diplomat, 69. . . . Sir Richard Cartwright, Minister of Trade and Commerce in Canada, 77. . . . Rev. Dr. William Nicholas, a well-known Methodist minister of Belfast, Ireland, 72. . . . John M. Pope, promi-

nently connected with the pottery industry of New Jersey, 56.

September 25.—William H. Corbin, a well-known New Jersey lawyer, 61.

September 27.—Dr. Henry Priest, dean of the College of Letters and Science at St. Lawrence University, 65. . . . Loren W. Collins, ex-justice of the Minnesota Supreme Court, 74. . . . John T. Lockman, brigadier-general of volunteers, by brevet, in the Civil War, 78. . . . Arthur Lumley, formerly a prominent illustrator, 75.

September 28.—John J. Patterson, formerly Senator from South Carolina, 82. . . . Sir Frederick William Richards, Admiral of the British Fleet, 78.

September 29.—Major John M. Carson, for many years a prominent newspaper correspondent at Washington, 74.

September 30.—Rear-Admiral John Forsyth Hanscom, U. S. N., retired, an authority on naval construction, 70.

October 1.—Carl C. Anderson, Representative from the Thirteenth Ohio district, 34. . . . Robert Avery, major-general of volunteers, by brevet, in the Civil War, 73. . . . Dr. Petacci, physician to the Pope.

October 2.—Rear-Admiral Lucien Young, U. S. N., 60. . . . Rev. Dr. T. P. Stevenson, of Philadelphia, an eminent Reformed Presbyterian minister, 73. . . . James Munroe Hill, formerly a prominent theatrical manager, 65. . . . Frances Allitsen, a noted English composer.

October 5.—Prof. Lewis Boss, director of the Dudley Observatory at Albany and author of standard works on astronomy, 66. . . . Miss Margaret Boyle Harvey, of Philadelphia, well known as a poet and author of a history of the real Daughters of the American Revolution, 56.

October 6.—Auguste Marie François Beernaert, the Belgian statesman, 83.

October 7.—Dr. John E. Bradley, a well-known educator and author, 73. . . . William A. Peffer, former United States Senator from Kansas and founder of the Populist party, 81. . . . Rev. Dr. Walter W. Skeat, of Cambridge University, an authority on Anglo-Saxon literature, 76. . . . Bradford Torrey, formerly editor of the *Youth's Companion*, 69. . . . Brig.-Gen. Franklin Guest Smith, U. S. A., retired, 72.

October 8.—Dr. Morris Loeb, of New York, a noted chemist and widely known for his philanthropy, 49. . . . Frank C. Bostock, the animal collector and trainer, 50. . . . Wilhelm Kuhe, of London, a prominent pianist and professor of music, 89.

October 10.—Jules Lumbard, a well-known street singer and minstrel of the Civil War, 84. . . . Thomas P. Conneff, holder of many records for long-distance running, 45.

October 13.—Stephen Holman, said to be the oldest member of the Massachusetts bar, 92.

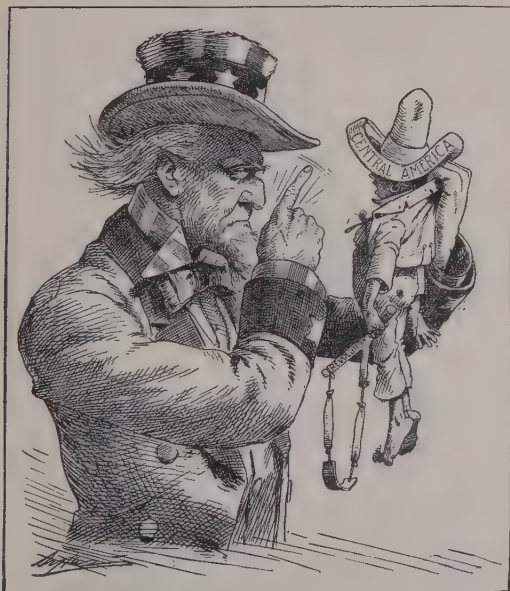
October 14.—Rev. William Radd Ropes, librarian emeritus of the Andover Theological Seminary, 87.

October 15.—Adrian H. Joline, a distinguished New York lawyer, 62.

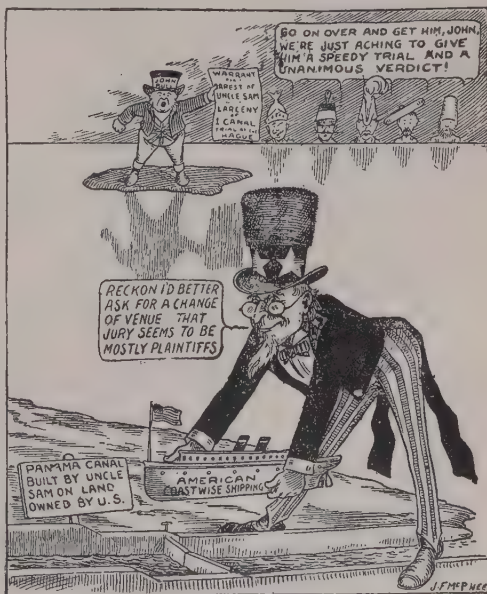
October 16.—Dr. Albert N. Husted, of Albany, a well-known educator, 79.

A political cartoon by H. H. H. depicting a man representing Turkey in a state of panic. He is lying on the ground, wearing a turban and a robe with "TURKEY" written on it. He is holding a scroll that reads "ULTIMATUM FROM THE BALKANS". A large bell is ringing, and a birdcage with a bird inside is visible in the background. A sign on the ground reads "PEACE WITH ITALY".

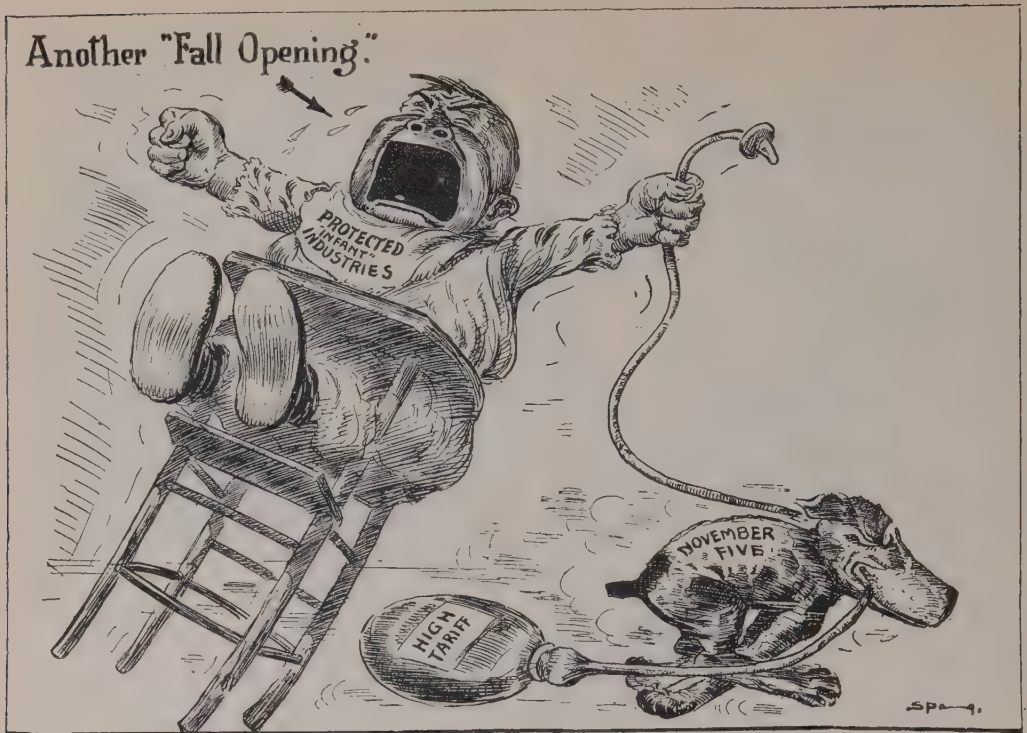
From the *Leader* (Cleveland)



From the *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia)



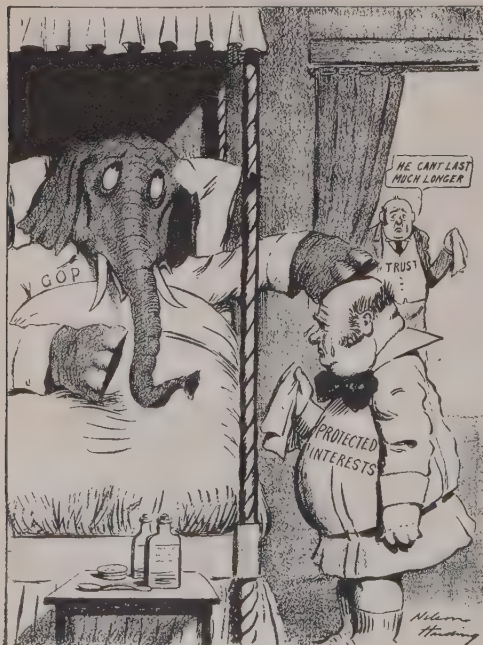
From the *Union* (Springfield)



A DEMOCRATIC PROPHECY OF THE ELECTION DAY RESULT

(The howl of the protected "infant" industry when a Democratic victory threatens to cut off its high tariff nourishment)

From the *Advertiser* (Montgomery)



"THEY WILL MISS ME WHEN I'M GONE"

From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn)



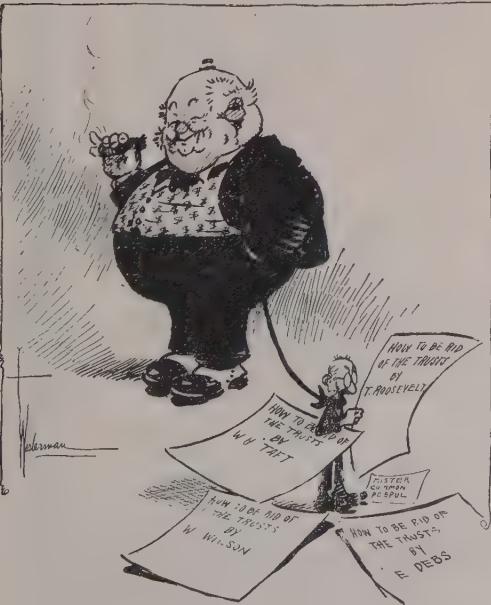
Copyright, 1912, by the International News Service

THE NATIONAL GAME

From the *American* (New York)



COLUMBIA: "I see no reason why I should change! My present chef amply provides for my welfare!"
From the Journal (Detroit)



"HOPE SPRINGS ETERNAL IN THE HUMAN BREAST"
Mr. Common People gets advice from all the candidates on
"how to be rid of the trusts," and hopes a real solution
of the problem may ultimately be found
From the Ohio State Journal (Columbus)



THE GREAT POLITICAL SHOW
There was an Old Man who said, "How
Shall I flee from this horrible Cow?
I will sit on this stile and continue to smile,
Which may soften the heart of that Cow."
From the Evening Journal (New York)



"THAT'S WHAT HE'S DOING!"

From the *Spokesman-Review* (Spokane)



TEMPORARILY "BENCHED"

(The country-wide interest in the baseball championship games last month temporarily side-tracked politics)

From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis)



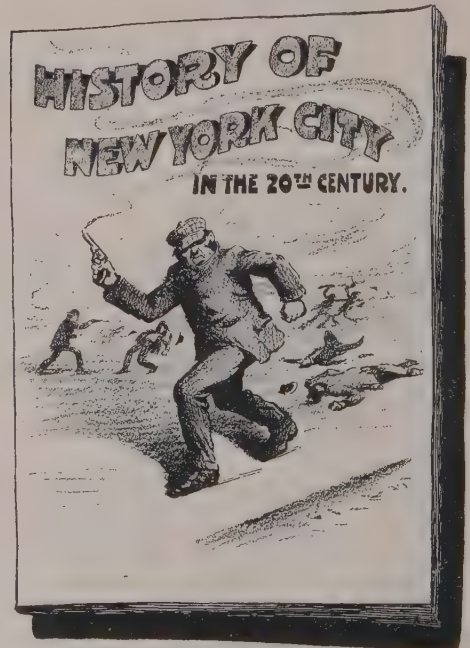
THE PANIC OF 1893 OVERWORKED BY THE G.O.P.

From the *World-Herald* (Omaha)



YOU CAN'T TEACH THE OLD G.O.P. DOG NEW TARIFF TRICKS

From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn)



THE "DIME NOVEL"

(The crimes committed in New York City and the conditions revealed in the police case testimony would seem to justify the above cartoon)

From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn)



"FOR THE LOVE OF MIKE, **DIG!** WE'VE GOT TO GET SOMETHING ON HIM!"

From the *Leader* (Cleveland)

The investigation by the Senate Committee at Washington into the matter of campaign contributions attracted a great deal of attention throughout the country. Among the prominent witnesses called to testify were Ex-President Roosevelt, Mr. J. P.

Morgan, Senator Dixon, and many other men active in official and political affairs.



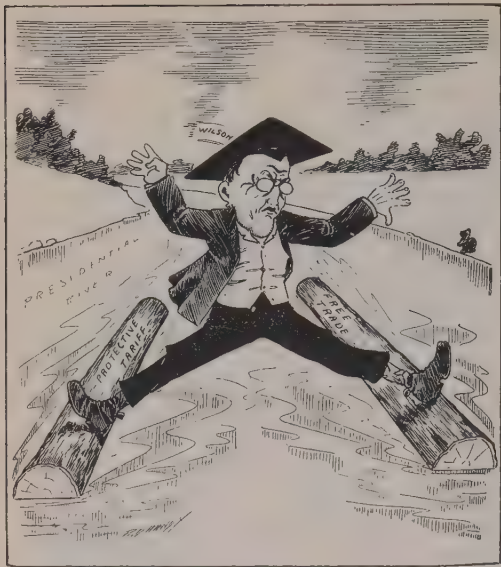
HARD LUCK!

From the *North American* (Philadelphia)

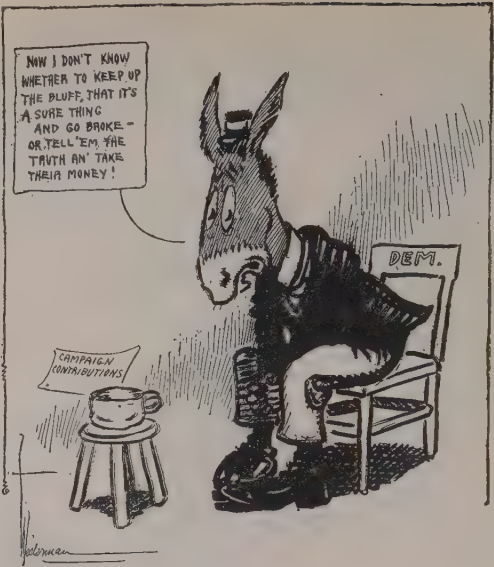


A TIMELY SUGGESTION

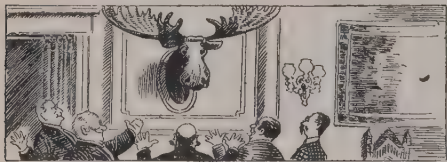
From the *Journal* (Jersey City)



ALL NICELY SPREAD OUT
From the *News-Tribune* (Duluth)



THE DONKEY'S DILEMMA
From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus)



THE TRAGEDY OF MR. SCADSWORTH'S TROPHY

ONE YEAR AGO: "There, my friends, is the possession I value more highly than anything I have in the world. I shot it myself. I spend hours looking at it and it's a source of never ending pleasure to me"

Now: "!!*** !!** !?? ! — ***—!! It may be only my imagination, but every time I look at that moose, it seems to be laughing at me! **——** !!——**!"

From the *Tribune* (Chicago)



YES, CAMPAIGNING IS HARD WORK
From the *News* (Chicago)



HOT ON THE TRAIL OF THE MULE
From the *Inter Ocean* (Chicago)



THE LATE SHOPPER'S CHRISTMAS MARATHON
MORAL: Do your shopping early
From the Star (Kansas City)



From the Oregonian (Portland)



UNCLE TRUSTY!

Copyright, 1912, International News Service

"Well, Theodore, I see old John L. Sullivan has joined your Moose-fest. I was expecting it. I knew your refined and delicate methods would appeal to John. Now, if you can get Bob Fitzsimmons and Terry McGovern into line you can march proudly to victory. William has got a new way of getting over the golf links without fatigue. He slides along on a trolley. He can sit down all the time. If there is anybody in the country can beat William sitting down I don't know who he is. I am raising a new kind of pumpkin, called the Bonehead variety. Every one has a funny face on it"

From the American (New York)



THE KING OF MONTENEGRO, AFTER HIS CORONATION, WALKING IN THE PROCESSION WITH THE QUEEN OF ITALY, THE KING OF ITALY FOLLOWING WITH THE QUEEN OF MONTENEGRO

THE BALKAN UNION AGAINST TURKEY

BY E. ALEXANDER POWELL

IT would be an easier task to explain the intricacies of the tariff than to make clear in all its complexities the Macedonian problem which is the center of the Balkan war question. Pared down to its core, it is a result of rivalries among Bulgarians, Servians, Greeks, and Montenegrins, who are severally striving, by both education and intimidation, to obtain ascendancy in Macedonia, the population of which is composed of all four races in varying proportions and inextricably mixed. Churches have been the most powerful political engines in this long-standing dispute, the raw, primeval passions of the Balkan peoples having found their bitterest expression under the cloak of religion.

The scene of the present hostilities covers the whole of that part of Europe lying south of the Danube which is usually called the Balkan Peninsula—a convenient though vague expression which is generally assumed to include Rumania, though, geographically speaking, this extension of the term is

scarcely permissible. The word Balkan means mountain, or mountain-pass, and is justly applied to a peninsula almost the entire surface of which is crumpled up into a series of ridges so numerous and irregular that it is impossible to reduce them to definite mountain ranges or systems. Lying north of the Danube (though possessing some territory, called the Dobrudja, on the southern bank near the mouth) and therefore not in the Balkans at all, is Rumania, a peaceable, prosperous, fertile, and exceedingly well governed kingdom formed by the union of the two older principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. Rumania has always kept aloof from the perennial Balkan disputes and regards with a good deal of contempt her turbulent and quarrelsome neighbors. Lying squarely across the line of a Russian advance on Turkey, occupying a position of great strategic importance on the flank of Austria-Hungary, and possessing an admirably equipped and highly efficient army, Rumania



1. KING PETER OF
SERVIA



3. CZAR FERDINAND
OF BULGARIA



2. KING NICHOLAS
OF MONTENEGRO

4. KING GEORGE OF
GREECE



unquestionably holds the balance of power in the Balkans. In the present complications she has thus far carefully refrained from taking any part.

Immediately south of Rumania, on the other bank of the Danube, is the four-year-old kingdom of Bulgaria, formed by the union of the principality of Bulgaria and the former Turkish province of Eastern Rumelia. Should Rumania throw in her lot with Turkey, as is possible, though scarcely probable, Bulgaria would thus find herself in an extremely uncomfortable position, being sandwiched between two hostile nations. To the west of Bulgaria, and, like it, bounded on the north by the Danube, is the kingdom of Servia, a country having an area equal to that of New Hampshire and Vermont combined. Of all the Balkan nations, Servia occupies the most dangerous position, for she lies across Austria's path to the Egean, and to the Egean, sooner or later, Austria intends to go. A Slavonic population, whose language is either Servian or closely akin to it, occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina, those two provinces lying between Servia and the Adriatic, which Austria, four years ago, formally annexed. Below them lies the tiny kingdom of Montenegro, about three-fourths the size of Connecticut, completely hemmed in by Turkey on the south and by Austria on the north, and with its few miles of seacoast at the mercy of Austrian guns. The extreme southern part of the Balkan peninsula is occupied by Greece, or, to give it its proper name, the Kingdom of Hellas, having an area, a comparatively small part of which is cultivated, about equal to that of West Virginia.

In the center of this ring of Balkan kingdoms lie the territories which comprise European Turkey. They are officially divided into six provinces or vilayets: Scutari, Janina, Kossovo, Monastir, Salonica, and Adrianople, besides Constantinople and its environs, which have a separate administration, while the little tongue of Turkish territory lying between Servia and Montenegro, and forming, as it were, a causeway between the Austrian province of Bosnia and the Turkish province of Kossovo, is known as the Sanjak (sub-province) of Novi-Bazar. This bit of mountain land, scarcely half the size of the State of Connecticut, forms the real crux of the Balkan situation, for through it, when she is fully prepared, Austria intends to make her way to Salonica, and on it, for the benefit of the Balkan states, she has already placed a sign: "No trespassing permitted here." In ordinary conversation, the

official Turkish names of the various districts of European Turkey are generally replaced by older and more historical designations. The northern portion of the Adriatic littoral below Montenegro is commonly called Albania (though no such political division exists) and the southern part above Greece, Epirus. The district immediately south of Servia, including the Sanjak of Novi-Bazar, is called Old Servia, and that between Adrianople and the Egean, Thrace. The term Macedonia is most correctly applied to the region north and west of Salonica, stretching from the Greek to the Bulgarian frontiers, but of recent years it has been so extended that the phrase "Macedonian question" is now taken to mean all the problems created by the existence of Turkey in Europe.

To comprehend the present situation, it must be understood that the population of Macedonia is composed in about equal parts of Greeks and Slavs (Bulgarians and Serbs) strongly tinged with Albanians, the Turks being in a decided minority. Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs, and Albanians each consider themselves the only rightful heirs to Macedonia and each of them has for years past been engaged in strengthening their claims in their own peculiar way. Bulgaria bases its claim to Macedonia on the fact that, from 893 to 1277 it was almost wholly under the sway of the old Bulgarian czars, and that a majority of the present inhabitants of the region are of Bulgarian blood or sympathies. The Servians point to the fact that the great Servian czar, Dushan, who reigned from 1336 to 1356, included all Macedonia in his vast dominions, calling himself "Czar of Macedonia and Monarch of the Serbs, Greeks, Bulgars, the coast and western parts." They also assert that that portion of Macedonia known as Old Servia is largely inhabited by people of their own race, and that they will consent to no scheme for the partition of Macedonia that does not provide for handing this district at least over to them. From a purely historical standpoint, the Greek claim to Macedonia is by far the strongest, for Alexander the Great and Philip of Macedon included all of Macedonia within their empires centuries before Bulgaria or Servia were ever heard of, and the population of Macedonia—so the Greeks will tell you—is overwhelmingly Hellenic to-day.

As a result of this racial rivalry, the Balkan nations, particularly the Greeks and Turks, have for more than twenty years waged a bloody warfare in Macedonia by means of armed bands of desperadoes. Greek bands,



THE THEATER OF WAR IN THE BALKAN STATES AND TURKEY

(The shaded sections are Macedonia and Novi-Bazar)

slipping into Macedonia from the south, have murdered every Bulgarian on whom they could lay their hands, destroyed the crops of the Bulgarian inhabitants, chopped down their orchards, and burned their villages. Then the Bulgarian bands, sweeping down through the northern passes, would retaliate by committing precisely the same atrocities on the Greek inhabitants of Macedonia, the operations of both factions being characterized by fiendish cruelty and wholesale destruction of property. As a rule the Turkish

Government has made but little effort to bring this intolerable state of affairs to an end, shrewdly perceiving that as long as the various Christian races were engaged in fighting each other they could not combine against the Turks. At intervals, however, the Turks, exasperated beyond endurance, would take a hand in their turn, and woe to the Christian, be he Bulgar, Greek, or Serb, who fell into their hands. From my own investigations in Macedonia, however, I think it safe to say that, in recent years at

least, for every atrocity the Turks have committed in Macedonia, the Greeks, Bulgarians and Serbs have committed four. These guerilla campaigns in Macedonia were planned solely in the hope that the horrors which they caused would compel the Powers to intervene, the Greeks believing that in the event of such an intervention Macedonia would be turned over to them, while the Bulgarians were equally confident that they would receive the prize. It will be seen, therefore, that the cry of humanity, so powerful in 1877, when the Turks themselves were the chief actors in the Macedonian tragedy, has been practically taken away from the Christians by the horrible atrocities perpetrated by both Greeks and Bulgars in recent years.

Now the remarkable thing about the present situation is that the four Balkan kingdoms, which have hitherto been at each other's throats, have suddenly and secretly formed a combination—pooled their interests in Macedonia, as it were—and have evidently come to an agreement that, if they are victorious in the hazardous adventure on which they are embarking, they will share the profits between them. We have, therefore,

the sudden appearance in Europe of a new and most formidable corporate power—the Balkan Confederation. Despairing of obtaining the partition of Macedonia through European intervention, and tardily appreciating that the game they had been playing was as foolish as it was wicked they suddenly decided that the only hope of getting what they were after lay in their joining forces, a union which has been effected with a secrecy and celerity almost unexampled in the history of European diplomacy. Whether the allied kingdoms are sufficiently powerful to defeat the Turk is, however, a matter of grave doubt. Even if they should succeed in doing so, it is almost a certainty that they will not be permitted by the Powers to annex a foot of Turkish soil.

The most dangerous factor in the present conflict is Bulgaria. The Russian General, Kuropatkin, attending the maneuvers of the Bulgarian army some years ago, by way of being complimentary, remarked that the Bulgarians were the Japanese of the Near East. They have never forgotten that remark. Like the Japanese, they take themselves very seriously, and like them again, they firmly believe that they have a large



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

THE CAPITAL OF MONTENEGRO,—CETTINJE



THE BULGARIAN PARLIAMENT HOUSE AT SOFIA

place on the scroll of destiny. Ever since it declared its complete independence in 1908, Bulgaria has been preparing to fight Turkey. The Turks know this. A Turkish official recently admitted quite frankly to the writer that Turkey had no wish to fight, though not because she was afraid of being defeated. "What good will it do us to fight?" he asked. "We fought and whipped the Greeks, but we lost Crete. We shall fight and whip the Bulgarians, but we will lose Macedonia."

For its size the Bulgarian army is the best equipped and most efficient in Europe, though it has never been tested in actual warfare. It means business, however. Every detail is attended to; every probability provided for. Conscription prevails. Every sixth man in the country is a soldier. Not till he is forty-five years of age does a Bulgarian escape liability to serve. The officers take their profession seriously and the men are hardy, uncomplaining, and enduring. The actual war strength of the army, which is modeled throughout on that of Russia, is probably very close to 250,000 men, with 500 guns. Its strength is believed by military experts to lie, however, chiefly in the defensive. It is doubtful if the Bulgarians

have the qualities most essential for successful attack. Most important of all, it is extremely doubtful if the nation possesses a war chest at all commensurate with the size of the army to be supported. It has cost Italy very close to a million dollars a day to prosecute her ineffective Tripolitanian campaign, and a struggle between Bulgaria and Turkey would prove incalculably more costly. Yet the foreign bankers have unanimously declined to advance Bulgaria the comparatively insignificant sum of a million dollars, not to mention the twenty millions for which she originally asked.

Some one has said of the Bulgars, "they are a practical people and their gratitude is



Photograph by The Trans-Atlantic Co., New York

THE BUILDING IN WHICH THE SERBIAN PARLIAMENT MEETS

chiefly a sense of favors to come." Likewise, they are a perennially dissatisfied people. They are never content with what they possess, but are always reaching out for something more. They are a suspicious people, and do not like foreigners, but this they excuse by saying that they have lived under the Turks for five hundred years. This is their stock excuse for all their sins. Indeed, it is difficult to see what they would do if they did not have the Turk for a scapegoat. The Bulgarians are the most industrious of the

heard of him, monsieur?" he exclaimed, "Why, he's the Prime Minister of Bulgaria!" I might add that when I presented the letter to the Prime Minister he inquired with deep interest after his nephew's welfare, and was in no way apologetic because he had chosen the occupation of a bootblack.

Though King Ferdinand is a shrewd and calculating ruler, he is by no means popular, either at home or abroad. He is haughty, arrogant, overbearing, vain, and pompous, and inordinately fond of display. He is a



THE FAMOUS MONASTERY OF METEORA IN EPIRUS ON THE GREEK-TURKISH FRONTIER

(Showing how the monks guard themselves from the incursion of the Turks)

populations of southeastern Europe. They are not ashamed of any honest form of work, no matter how menial. The last time I went to Bulgaria a bright young Bulgarian, whose bootblackening establishment I was accustomed to patronize, asked me if he might give me a letter of introduction to his uncle, who, he modestly remarked, was a person of some influence in Sofia. Weeks later, when unpacking my belongings in the Grand Hotel d'Bulgarie in Sofia, I came across the letter. Sofia is a small town, and everybody knows everybody else, so, as I was going out of the hotel one day I showed the letter to the *concierge* and asked if he had ever heard of the person to whom it was addressed. "Ever

grandson of Louis Philippe of France and has many of that monarch's undesirable characteristics. Being a scion of the princely houses of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and of Bourbon, he is related to nearly every crowned head in Europe. None of them take him very seriously, however. He lives in a solid, drab-colored palace surrounded by high walls, and rarely stirs out unless escorted by a detachment of cavalry. He is an aristocrat ruling a democratic people; a Roman Catholic set over a Greek Orthodox nation.

The thing that impressed the writer most when in Servia was the great number of officers to be seen wearing on the breasts of their tunics an enameled Maltese cross.



CZAR FERDINAND OF BULGARIA FRATERNIZING WITH WESTERN EUROPEAN MILITARY OFFICERS AT A REVIEW

That cross is King Peter's acknowledgment of the debt he owes to the men who put him on the throne, and those who wear it were the ones who took part in the assassination of King Alexander and Queen Draga on that dreadful night in June, 1903. The officers are proud of this decoration, and those who possess it swagger as though it were the cross of the Legion of Honor.

Peter is a good-natured, kindly, rather weak man, but he feels an outcast among his fellow-sovereigns. As it has never been proved that he was the instigator of Alexander's murder, they give him the benefit of the doubt. But they do not invite him to visit them. He is tolerated by the Servians, but he is not liked. This is largely because he is wholly lacking in tact and because he does not know how to do those little things which catch the popular fancy. He is never cheered by the people as he drives through the streets of his capital, and it is quite a common thing to see officials turn into shops to avoid saluting him. He held a commission in the French army during the Franco-Prussian War and earned the reputation of being a brave and able soldier.

He is exceedingly democratic and so are the people over whom he rules. He could not consistently put on many airs, for his grandfather was a swineherd.

Although Belgrade is outwardly European, its Serb inhabitants are but little changed from the peasant villagers of a century ago. They are simple mannered, kind hearted, hospitable. They have no nobility. Of rich men, as we understand the term, there are none. Country estates do not exist. There are probably not a dozen private houses in all Servia where a dinner could be given to twenty people.

Servia is the most important barrier in the way of an Austrian advance to the Egean. The Serbs recognize the danger of their position and have been steadily strengthening their army so as to meet it. They now possess an army—on paper—of 250,000 men. Cut this in half and you will come much closer to the number of men they could actually put in the field. The infantry is excellent, the artillery mediocre, the cavalry poor. The rank and file of the army is good fighting material, but the officers are not over-efficient. Servia's main object in going to war with Turkey would seem to be to obtain the Sanjak



THE PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE
(The official head of the Greek Church)

of Novi-Bazar. But Austria wants that region also and intends, eventually, to have it. So Serbia will probably bankrupt herself and fill her cemeteries for nothing.

Though the Greek army has recently been completely reorganized by French officers on French lines, those who recall its behavior during the last Greco-Turkish War will not have much confidence in it as a fighting machine. The average Greek is a great talker. He believes that nothing can be done really well without a great deal of noise. He will give an oration on the least provocation and is eternally harping on the glorious deeds of his ancestors. Indeed, Alexander the Great is as much a subject of general conversation in Greece to-day as Theodore Roosevelt is in the United States. If the Greek could fight as well as he can talk he would make the greatest warrior in Christendom. It may be, of course, that the Greek troops will behave better now than they did in 1897. They have several very ugly stains to wipe out. The Greek soldiers were not nearly as much at fault, however, as their officers.

The Greek military authorities confidently state that they can place 200,000 men in the field. To anyone familiar with the condi-

tions, this is obviously an exaggeration. It would be wise to divide that figure by four. The physique of the Greek soldier is excellent. He makes a smart appearance, and he is able to assimilate rapidly what it is necessary for him to learn. But the artillery is poorly and insufficiently horsed, the cavalry is a negligible quantity, the military transport system is badly organized, and the efficiency of the gentlemen who fill the commissioned ranks leaves much to be desired. Still, it is impossible to form a just estimate of the value of any army as a fighting machine until it has shown what it is capable of in actual warfare.

Greece is very far from being as enthusiastic about going to war with the Turk as are her Balkan allies. This is because she has had practical experience with him. That experience cost her a war indemnity of \$18,000,000 and would have cost her Thessaly besides if the Powers had not refused to permit her spoliation.

The Montenegrin army, as Scharnhorst once remarked of the Prussian, is "the nation under arms." There is no organized army, in the generally accepted sense, in Montenegro, but every man who is strong enough to shoulder a rifle is expected to volunteer when the occasion arises. Such an occasion arose four years ago, when Austria



A GREEK SOLDIER IN NATIVE PARADE DRESS

seized Bosnia and Herzegovina and almost brought on a war with Serbia and Montenegro by doing so: I happened to be in Cetinje at the time. Not only did every male Montenegrin between sixteen and seventy respond to the call to arms, but on more than one occasion I saw the women, harnessed to the guns instead of horses,—of which there is a dearth in the little mountain kingdom,—dragging them into position on the mountainsides. That is the spirit which animates Montenegro, and it is a spirit exceedingly difficult to overcome. King Nicholas, moreover, does everything he can to foster this martial spirit. He not only insists that every man in his kingdom shall constantly carry a revolver loaded in all its chambers, and that he shall be proficient in its use, but he also insists that the weapons shall always be in good condition. It is by no means an uncommon thing for him to stop one of his subjects on the street and inspect his weapon. Should it not be in perfect condition the man will receive board and lodging at the expense of the nation for some weeks to come.

Montenegro and Austria are close neighbors—uncomfortably so. If you will glance at the map you will see that the arm of Austria, reaching down, holds Montenegro almost completely in her grasp. That is doubtless the reason why Austria and Montenegro are not congenial neighbors. The diplomatists in Cetinje told me an amusing story in this connection. A few years ago the King of Italy sent to his father-in-law, King Nicholas, as a birthday present, a completely equipped mountain battery. Austria promptly sat up and took notice, and a few days later the Emperor Francis Joseph ostentatiously despatched to his good friend and brother the Emperor Menelik of

Abyssinia, who occupies a menacing position on the frontier of Italy's Red Sea colonies, a completely equipped battery of horses artillery.

Montenegro's quarrel with Turkey is not so much over Macedonia, in which when all is said and done, she takes precious little interest, as it is over a question of boundary delimitation, regarding which Turkey has been exasperatingly procrastinating.

Montenegro, though the smallest of the Balkan kingdoms, is in many respects the least amenable to international discipline. The Queen of Italy is a Montenegrin princess. King Nicholas is an intimate friend of the Czar of Russia, with whom his family is closely connected by marriage. Any pressure which might be brought to bear upon Montenegro by Austria would therefore, arouse greater disapproval at Rome and St. Petersburg than would a similar demonstration directed against Bulgaria, Serbia, or Greece.

The foregoing has been a sketch in brief, bold outline, of the conditions which prevail south of the Danube to-day, of the complexities which go to make up the so-called Near Eastern question, of the nations which have allied themselves against the Turk, with their more salient characteristics, their armies and their resources. Of the Turk alone I have purposely refrained from speaking at any length, because it is impos-



A MODERN FIGHTING GREEK

sible to deal with him adequately in so limited an article as this.

Those who know him best believe that he will defeat the allied kingdoms. Baron von der Goltz, the celebrated German strategist who reorganized the Turkish army and who is probably better acquainted with its capabilities than any other European, recently remarked "The Turk's enemies will witness a wonder before they are finished with

this fight. The empire is in every respect strong enough to accept the challenge which has been offered to it, without foreign assistance of any kind." Not only can Turkey outnumber her foes, for she can, if the necessity arises, put into the field very close to a million and a quarter men, but it is not at all unlikely that she can outgeneral them. The commanders of her armies are soldiers who won their reputations in previous wars; and it is by no means improbable that she can outfight them too, for, no matter how

thoroughly you may drill a Christian soldier, you can never convince him that it is preferable to die in battle than to die in bed, and that the one sure way of gaining Paradise is to die in battle against the unbelievers.

That the Turk will win in this struggle, now that he has obtained a free hand by concluding peace with Italy, is probable. That, win or lose, he will be compelled to give Macedonia a decent government, is certain. That he will, sooner or later, be driven across the Bosphorus for good and all is inevitable.

THE BALKAN WAR: SOME UNDERLYING CAUSES

BY GEORGE FREEMAN

THE declaration of war by Montenegro against Turkey, on October 8, brought matters in the Balkans to a focus, and made that event the starting point of a new departure in the affairs of Europe.

The action of Montenegro, taken against the advice of Austria and Russia acting as the mandatories of the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, together with the tone of the Bulgarian press, makes it apparent that the four confederate Balkan states have combined as much to protect their own independence as to gather in under their respective flags the communities of their races and languages still under Turkish rule. Though they have been warned that they will not be permitted to profit by any disturbance of the *status quo*, it is evident that any arrangement subsequently come to will result in the same way that the temporary separation of East Rumelia from Bulgaria by the Congress of Berlin in 1878 did, and that in due course of time the rest of Turkey in Europe, less the territory bordering the European side of the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora and the Dardanelles, will be partitioned among the four allies. That this is the object of their present move there seems little reason to doubt.

What the character of the people of Macedonia and the part of European Turkey, called, as a whole, Rumelia by the Turks, is, will be interesting to examine at the present juncture. In his book, "Turkey and its People," than which there is no better authority on the subject, Sir Edwin Pears, the au-

thor and many years resident in Turkey, in one of the chapters on Macedonia, writes:

Macedonia is a geographical term used to signify different extents of country. Sometimes it includes the whole of the Balkan Peninsula excepting Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro and Greece, but even including that portion of European Turkey which comprises Adrianople and the country west of a line drawn from that city to the Struma, the ancient Strymon. Others would exclude Albania and the whole of the district between Constantinople and a line drawn roughly from Serres to the most southerly point of Eastern Roumelia. A Greek author claims that the term Macedonia should be limited to the Vilayets of Monastir and Salonica. Bulgaria, Greece and Servia have each dreamed of a division of Macedonia, and each one has done its best to show that it is entitled to a larger portion of the country than the others are willing to concede.

In this quotation the intricacies of the Macedonian question, which is the ostensible cause of the war just begun, are clearly exposed. There is also the difficulty of harmonizing the rival claims of the confederated states when the European powers decide that the time has come to end the conflict and adjudicate the spoils to each. There would result the formation of several "East Rumelias" which would one day affiliate with the confederation as separate entities, or be absorbed in the particular states to which they might ethnically belong. The only part of European Turkey that may eventually have to be treated as a separate and independent entity is Albania, which may, on account of the peculiar character of its people, have to be erected into a fifth state.

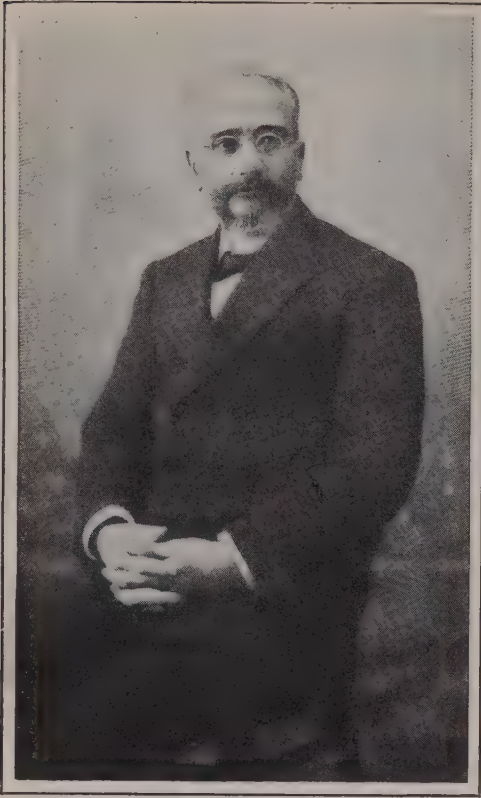


TURKISH SOLDIERS ON THE MARCH

The present administrative divisions of European Turkey are seven, namely: the Vilayets, or Governor Generalships, of Constantinople, Adrianople, Salonica, Monastir, Janina, Scutari (N. Albania) and Kossovo, with the Sanjak of Novi-Bazar, the strip of territory lying between Serbia and Montenegro. Of these the first two, Constantinople and Adrianople, lie outside the Macedonian question, but Bulgaria has made specific demands on her own account regarding the Vilayet of Adrianople. The common interest of the four confederated states lies in the other five vilayets, two of which, Janina and Scutari, with a large part of Kossovo and a portion of Monastir, are inhabited almost exclusively by Albanians, with Servian Christians in the north and Greek Christians in the south, with a scattering of what are known as Koutzo-Wallachs, mostly Greek in their sympathies, in the Pindus Mountains. For the past thirty-odd years an anti-Greek propaganda has been carried on among these nomads, who retire to the mountains with their flocks in the summer, following the melting of the snow, and return to the plains in the winter. The headquarters of it have been nominally at Bucharest but they were really at Agram in Croatia, and derived their inspi-

ration and instructions from Italy. The Albanians themselves are divided into three sections, those in the north being commonly spoken of as Arnaouts, while those in the center are called Ghegas, and the southerners, Tosks. There is little to distinguish the Tosks, ethnically, from the Greeks of the southern portion of Albania, and in spite of the difference of religion there is considerable affinity between them in the affairs of daily life; and there has always been since 1879 a certain leaning toward Greece politically.

But the kernel of the Macedonian question is in the vilayets of Salonica and Monastir, where Greek and Bulgarian have been contending for the mastery since long before the war of 1877, the Bulgarian steadily gaining ground. The treaty of San Stefano, which concluded the war of 1877, gave an immense impetus to the Bulgarization of Macedonia. General Ignatiev boldly threw the western frontier of Bulgaria across it to the foothills of the Pindus range, and turning in a southeasterly direction from Monastir ran it through the Greek and Koutzo-Wallach settlements to the western end of the main street of Salonica, which it followed through the city, giving Bulgaria an outlet to the eastward of it on the Egean, and exclaimed as he



VENEZELOS, THE COURAGEOUS GREEK PREMIER
(Regarded as the strongest and most progressive Prime
Minister of the Balkans. He is a Cretan by birth)

threw down his pen after signing the treaty, "Now let the Greeks swim to Constantinople!"

The causes of the loss by the Greeks of their hold on Macedonia and their substitution by the Bulgarians lay deep down in the difference between the characters of the two peoples. Gradually the young Greeks abandoned the country life for the cities and seaports, or drifted away to Constantinople or freed Greece for education and to enter the professions. The Bulgarians quickly crept over the land, and by their presence far beyond the present boundary of Bulgaria, gave force to the Bulgarian intervention on their behalf.

With the Greeks it is a question of saving what they can for themselves and their people still on the soil of Macedonia, and that part of southern Albania known as Epirus, which was given Greece at the Congress of Berlin in 1878 chiefly through the influence of England and France, and when the time for its occupation came in 1881, withheld through the opposition of Austria and Italy. During

the Hamidian era up to the revolution that dethroned him, the Sultan Abdul Hamid permitted every intrigue and persecution that could drive the Christians of Macedonia, without regard to race, to emigrate, and it was in their defense that the brigandage, of which so much was heard from time to time of late years, was organized in order to call the attention of the European governments to the necessity of ameliorating the condition of the people generally, for the Mussulmans themselves were suffering as much from misgovernment as the Christians.

In 1880 a European commission was appointed to organize Macedonia on the model of East Rumelia, but it came to nothing, the Austrian government resolutely opposing all its provisions. This was confirmed by reports found after the death of Halil Rifaat Pasha, ex-Grand Vizier, who had himself urged on Abdul Hamid the necessity for reforms in Macedonia in order to forestall just what is taking place now, outside intervention. The Greeks have always, until now, been for the partition of Macedonia, the Bulgarians for autonomy, and it is more than probable that Greece has only consented to join the three northern states because there was nothing else to do. Serbia is vitally interested in breaking away from her present dependence on Austria for access to the sea, but just for that reason Austria will necessarily oppose any free and separate agreement between Turkey and the confederated states.

As the situation stands there are now three parties to the pending dispute, namely: the Balkan confederated states, Turkey, and the European powers. The actual situation recalls the outbreak of war between Serbia and Turkey in 1876, which was followed by the Conference of Constantinople that led up to the war of 1877. Then the Pan-Slav party in Russia forced the situation as it is doing now, through the propaganda carried on in the early part of this year by M. Gutchkoff, a member of the Russian Duma, during a tour he made through the Balkan states.

As there is considerable confusion in the descriptions of the religious conditions in European Turkey it may be stated that the different religions in the order of the number of their adherents are the Mohammedan, comprising Turks of Asiatic origin, Bulgarians of the Rhodope Mountains, known as Pomaks, Greeks, and Albanians, with some few Servians. The first of the Christian sects are the adherents of the Greek Church, otherwise called the Eastern Orthodox. To this Church belong the Greek, Bulgarian, and Servian



MACEDONIAN INSURGENTS



OLYMPIC FERRY-BOAT ON THE AEPHEC

Christians. The Greek Patriarch of Constantinople was the head of their religious organization until some years ago when the Bulgarians revolted at the efforts made to denationalize and Hellenize them, and set up their own ecclesiastical organization headed by an Exarch whose permanent residence is at Constantinople. For a long time there was bitter hostility between the Patriarchate and Exarchate, but the events of the past three years have brought about relative harmony between the sister churches politically, there being no religious differences between them.

Then come at a long distance the Greek Catholics, sometimes called Uniates, who take their doctrines from Rome but use the vernacular languages in their liturgy. This church has the peculiarity that the priests marry, but the bishops are taken from the monastic orders.

Next to these are the Armenians, whose national church is the Gregorian, so-called from its founder, St. Gregory the Illuminator, and one of the oldest of the early Christian Churches. The head of the Church in Turkey is the Armenian Patriarch at Constantinople, but the national head is the Catholicos, sometimes spoken of as the "King of the Armenians," whose seat is at the celebrated Monastery of Etchmiadzin near Eriwan and not far from Mount Ararat in the Russian Caucasus. There are also a certain number of Armenians following the Roman rite whose headquarters are at Constantinople, with a college at Venice where many of the young Armenian Catholics of Turkey receive their education.

Lastly come the Protestants, few in number and mostly Bulgarians and Armenians, converts to the American missionaries in Turkey, and the Jews, about half of whom are found in Salonica. Of these there are some ten thousand who profess Mohammedanism.

But no notice of the religions or educational institutions in Turkey would be complete without a few words on that admirable offspring of American thought, the Robert College at Constantinople on the western shore of the Bosphorus and once described by a Russian as the greatest enemy of Russia in Turkey. From it came some of the men who may be said to have created modern Bulgaria, working in conjunction with others from Kieff in Russia and from other European countries. The present prime minister of Bulgaria, Mr. John Gueshov, was a graduate of Robert College, as was Mr. Stoilov, one of his predecessors now dead, and many others

who sprang to the front when the young nation needed leaders and organizers. Others of the various Christian races of Turkey derived their inspiration and education from the same source, and when the time comes will no doubt be found serving their people and country as the Bulgarians have theirs.

Turning to the events of the hour, the men who are at the head of affairs in Turkey and the Balkan states are for the most part men of capacity rising into statesmanship. At Constantinople there is the veteran of the war in Asia in 1877, Ahmed Mouktar Pasha Ghazi, who has spent a number of years in Egypt as Turkish High Commissioner, with whom there is associated Kiamil Pasha, one of the many grand viziers of the Hamidian era. Experienced and astute and versed in oriental statecraft, Kiamil and Mouktar are the leading force of the cabinet of Sultan Mehmed V., and with the admirable army they have at their orders, should be able to bring Turkey with credit through the present crisis. To Mr. John Gueshov in Bulgaria allusion has already been made, and it may be said that his task is not an easy one. King Ferdinand, with all his merits, is not popular with the Bulgarians who are capable in a moment of frenzy of overthrowing their present rulers if matters should go wrong, and establishing a republic. Both he and his Prime Minister are, in spirit, conservative, but, as the history of Bulgaria, since gaining its independence shows, there is a dangerous instability in the political character of its people which must always be taken into account by their rulers. They must swim with the current or drown.

In Servia constitutional government partakes somewhat of opera bouffe. The sovereign and cabinet for the time being are the creatures of circumstances, greatly under foreign influence and enjoying little prestige with a people essentially democratic and perhaps the most independent economically of any of the people in European countries, though their well-being may not be reckoned in money value at a high figure. The present Prime Minister, M. Pasitch, is one of the stop-gaps who figure off and on at Belgrade as heads of cabinets or some ministerial department, but they know nothing of what is called power. The people are too wise or suspicious to trust them with it; and besides there remains much of the old Byzantine spirit of intrigue and method in the conduct of Servian affairs. The murder of King Alexander and his consort and the course of Servian politics since are examples of this.

Of Montenegro little is to be said. To all



Photograph by The Trans-Atlantic Co., New York

SERVIAN SOLDIERS ON GUARD

intents and purposes, King Nicholas stands for Montenegro with a group of advisers generally under some foreign influence. Intrigue, accompanied occasionally by assassination, has always prevailed in the Black Mountain and the Russian influence has ever been paramount.

Lastly come the Greeks. Their constitutional government is still in a state of transition, and it is only the certainty that foreign warships would blockade Greek harbors and foreign troops occupy Greek soil that has prevented more than one revolution in the past thirty years. The war with Turkey was undertaken by the government to escape a revolution at home, and Europe made Greece pay for it. King George and M. Venezelos, his Prime Minister, are both averse to war, but like King Ferdinand and M. Gueshov, they have to walk warily. The Minister of Greece at Constantinople, a pupil of the greatest and wisest statesman Greece has produced, M. Tricoupis, now dead, is M. Gryparis, who understands the situation perhaps better than any of the others, but he too has to swim with the tide, and join in the present demonstration or war as events may prove it to be.

As regards the armies of the confederated states, they vary much in quality. The populations from which they are drawn number

about ten millions, giving an average of 6 per cent. of conscripts. This would bring the combined forces up to about 600,000 effective fighting men, of whom the Bulgarian army would contain rather more than half. In quality it stands easily first, and is the best equipped and trained of the Balkan armies. The only war in which it has been engaged was that with Servia, in which it displayed high qualities, though the Servian defeat has been attributed to the incapacity, and some say worse, of King Milan, who directed affairs in that campaign. It has been doubted whether the Bulgarians would make an equally good showing against the Turks, their old masters, but the generation from which the present army is drawn never knew the Turk except by tradition and then only to hate him. The Servian army, taking it all in all, cannot be rated high, and made poor showing in the war of 1876, as later at Slivnitsa against the Bulgarians. Only actual contact with the Turk now can show whether it has improved since.

The Montenegrin army has the advantage of traditional prestige, and may be said to include the whole able-bodied male population of the country. As a means of defense it has hitherto proved invincible, but whether it could undertake a serious invasion beyond its own borders is open to doubt, and if the Turks should arm and let loose the Albanians

against them they will probably not go far. But they have little to lose, so that the advantages and disadvantages of the step for Montenegro may be equally balanced. On the other hand, they may have something to gain, which time will show. The Greek army may be put in about the same category as the Servian, though some of its troops are excellent for mountain warfare. The trouble in these two armies is the want of the true military spirit in the officers as a class, while at best the higher leaders cannot in any of them be anything but theorists in the military art.

The Turkish army, of some 750,000 men, to which they are being opposed, stands high, and with all the disadvantages of insufficient training, poor equipment and almost poorer command, except in one or two instances, did wonders in 1877, both in Europe and Asia. Now all that is changed, and taking it all round, the Turkish army, man for man, is perhaps equal to any it may have to fight, and in the opinion of competent critics is



BULGARIAN OFFICERS

superior to several of them. Among the high commanders of both the Turkish and the Balkan states' armies there are none who have a war record, so that no estimate can be formed as to their relative capacities. Only time and opportunity can test and reveal their merits. Meantime there remains the question whether arms or diplomacy are to settle the dispute; for the appearances are that Europe has no desire for a general war at the present time.



MONTENEGRIN SOLDIERS



NICARAGUAN SOLDIERS DRILLING IN THE OUTSKIRTS OF THE CAPITAL, MANAGUA

THE REVOLUTION IN NICARAGUA

[Last month in our editorial pages we set forth the general situation in Nicaragua, which has now developed so as to involve actual American military participation. The following article, which supplies the details of the situation, is by an American who has lived many years in Nicaragua and is thoroughly conversant with conditions there. He is, at present, Collector of Customs for the Nicaraguan Government.—THE EDITOR.]

THE revolution of the past few weeks in Nicaragua was such a savage affair, filled to the brim with the killing of able-bodied men, the slaughter of women and children, the starving of several cities filled with people, murder, loot, sack, wholesale imprisonments, the destruction of property, and the upheaval of business, that one wonders whether this is China or America, the sixteenth century or the twentieth.

To state the causes of the Nicaraguan revolution the start must be made with the reorganization of the government by the successful Conservatives when they drove Zelaya and his Liberals from power as the result of the revolution of 1909-10. Four men were at the head of that revolution—the two military chiefs, Emiliano Chamorro and Luis Mena, and the two leaders of the provisional government which carried through and financed the struggle, Juan J. Estrada, the President, and Adolfo Diaz, the Treasurer and experienced man of affairs. To form a new government it was agreed (in August, 1910) that Estrada should continue as President of the Republic until December 31, 1912, a new constitution in the meanwhile to be adopted. Diaz became Vice-President and Minister of Finance. Chamorro was the leading general and the hero of seven-eighths of the Conservatives. He belonged to a family which had been prominent in Nicaragua for seventy-five years. He was offered the Ministry of War. Being already a presi-

dential candidate he declined after consulting his friends, they arguing that he could conduct his canvass better if not in the cabinet. The war portfolio was then tendered to Mena, the hero of the remaining Conservatives, a successful, self-made man, of considerable Indian blood, who promptly accepted. It was there Chamorro made a great mistake. For the Minister of War controls the army, the fortresses, and the arms, and in a revolutionary country might only is right.

A WAR MINISTER'S RISE TO POWER

From that time everything has revolved around the game of presidential politics as played in Nicaragua. Mena filled up the army with his followers and became a formidable candidate. So strong did he become in governmental affairs that he began to overshadow the President. Estrada tried to remove him by a coup. One night in May, 1911, when Mena was away from the fortress and his troops, he was arrested by Estrada's order and thrown into prison. It was only through the intervention of American Minister Northcott that he was released. The army was very indignant and wished to make Mena President. But he had promised the American Minister not to disturb existing political conditions. President Estrada, however, thought it better to resign and retire from the country, and the Vice-President, Adolfo Diaz, became President. He was a



THE AMERICAN CONSULATE AT CORINTO, NICARAGUA, WHERE THE MARINES FROM THE UNITED STATES WARSHIPS WERE LANDED

friend of Mena. The latter's power was increased in many ways. About this time he gained control of the National Assembly. In the fall of 1910 an Assembly was called together to formulate and adopt a constitution. It was controlled by the Chamorristas. By another shortsighted political policy they fell at outs with Estrada by presenting a constitution greatly enhancing the legislative branch at the expense of the executive. Estrada refused to accept the constitution, dismissed the Assembly, and ordered another one convened. Its election (which is a misnomer, for there is no such thing, popularly, in Nicaragua)—its selection, was made by Mena. He filled it with his adherents.

Mena had become the most powerful man in the country. President Diaz, without a following himself, necessarily had to remain on good terms with Mena, and do what the latter wished, or resign. Mena gradually worked his supporters into many national, provincial, and municipal offices.

REFORMING THE FINANCES,—AID FROM THE UNITED STATES

While this political juggling was going on the finances of the country had to be attended to. When the new government took possession in August, 1910, it found a country practically bankrupt. The money was debased to a ratio of one to twelve and later fell to one to twenty. The revenues were not

sufficient to meet current expenses, to say nothing of paying those of the war. Claims for supplies furnished or property damaged during the war were pouring in, some from foreigners, with absolutely nothing in the treasury or in sight to meet them. The interest on the foreign debt was defaulted, and trouble with England and other countries where it was held rose over the horizon. None of the new officials had ever had public experience. In its dire straits the government appealed to the United States for advice and aid. The States responded by sending the late Thomas C. Dawson as Minister to Nicaragua, fresh from similar experiences in Santo Domingo, Panama and South America. He got all the four leaders named and another not now so prominent, to agree in writing, signed by all, to create a new monetary system based on gold, to refund the foreign debt if possible, to adjudicate all war and other claims by a mixed Nicaraguan-American commission, to establish a national bank, to pledge the customs for the money necessary to accomplish these reforms; and in the same agreement to pledge that the five would agree on the candidate for the presidency in 1913, to be confirmed by the vote of the people at an election.

The financial regeneration of Nicaragua, as thus agreed, has been partly accomplished. The new gold currency has been established and likewise the national bank to carry it through. The foreign debt has been re-



GENERAL LUIS MENA
(Minister of War)

PRESIDENT ADOLFO DIAZ

GENERAL EMILIANO CHAMORRO
(Military hero)

THE THREE BIG FIGURES IN THE NICARAGUAN CIVIL WAR

funded at a lower rate of interest. The other features of the plan to pull Nicaragua out of its financial slough are waiting the action of the United States Senate on the treaty. The Senate's delay has been very bad for Nicaragua, and greatly distresses its government.

ELECTION IN 1911 FOR A TERM BEGINNING IN 1913

Although Mena was pledged to the Dawson pact concerning the presidency he "slipped one over" the other candidates by having the Assembly elect him (in October, 1911) to the presidency in 1913. This was a deliberate violation of the agreement and a breach of faith with the United States, which was acting only in unselfish interest to help Nicaragua to its feet politically as well as financially, and had no concern for either candidate, but sought only to secure fair play and a choice by the people. Mena was notified by the American Minister in January, 1912, that he would be expected to stand by his pledge made to Mr. Dawson, and therefore decline his illegal and premature election by the Assembly. Mena not only did not do so but "rubbed it in" by having inserted a clause in the constitution adopted in March, confirming his election.

Mena knew he would have little chance at a popular election. Three-fourths, if not

seven-eighths, of the Conservatives were for Chamorro. The Liberals would have their own candidate and would probably not be expected to vote. To become President Mena had to resort to some such political jugglery as he did make use of.

During all this time President Diaz was doing the best he could. He had had more commercial and financial experience than any of the leaders or his cabinet. Many believe him the shrewdest, if not the ablest, of them all. But he had no political following. He had reorganized the cabinet with two strong Chamorro leaders and two neutral Conservatives, besides Mena. He helped through the financial regeneration and was giving good government. He was friendly with Mena, and agreed with the latter on current matters. It was noticed he and Chamorro were more and more in each other's company. What the inside politics is can only be surmised. The outcome shows that Diaz had determined to throw Mena over and side with the Chamorristas.

THE BREAK BETWEEN DIAZ AND MENA

The government leaders say it had been discovered that Mena was about to depose Diaz and seize the presidency himself, and he was forestalled. Friends of Mena deny it. The public does not know the real



PEDRO RAFAEL CUADRA
(Present Minister of
Finance)

J. ANDRES URTECHO
(Sub-Secretary of Foreign
Relations)

TWO PROGRESSIVE NICARAGUANS WHO ARE TRYING
TO BRING ABOUT REFORMS.

inside story. It is a mesh of Nicaraguan politics.

On July 29 President Diaz issued a decree deposing General Mena as Minister of War, appointing a civilian instead and General Chamorro as general-in-chief of the army. The latter seized the Campo de Marte, Managua's fortress, by the acquiescence and connivance of several of the officers obtained by Diaz, the troops going over with them.

Mena fled the city that night with several hundred followers, although he had promised the American Minister that there would be no fighting. Mena went to Masaya, not far from Granada, and, calling in recruits, armed them from that fortress, commanded by his son, where with keen foresight he had stored the chief part of the country's arms, guns, and ammunition. Ten days of negotiations all failed, notwithstanding a generous offer from the government, messages from the American Minister, a visit from the Salvadorean and Costa Rican Ministers,—all in the interest of peace to avoid bloodshed.

THE LIBERALS BECOME AGGRESSIVE

Mena broke his promise and severed the connections of a lifetime by making an alliance with his old-time enemies the Liberals, exchanging arms for men and promise of support to the presidency. But as luck would have it he fell very sick and was incapacitated from that time on. The Liberals

seized direction of affairs, the chief being Benjamin Zeledón, once Zelaya's Minister of War. Supplies were obtained by exactions from haciendas, by looting the stores and even the houses of the Conservatives of Granada and Masaya, and money by forced "loans,"—Zelaya's favorite expedient.

Two leading Conservatives of Granada who refused the demands of the Menistas for more supplies and for money were thrown into prison and fed on bread and water every third day, held for a ransom of \$150,000 gold which was demanded of their brother, Pedro Rafael Cuadra, the Minister of Finance. Other Conservatives were also similarly arrested. In Managua the government threw several hundred Liberals into prison without warrant or trial, but it fed them. The government all through paid and supplied its troops without making exactions.

THE BOMBARDMENT OF MANAGUA

Events followed fast. The insurgents marched against Managua. On the evening of August 10 Zeledón sent a demand for the surrender of the capital and the resignation of the government, under the alternative of attack and bombardment in twelve hours, the latter unprecedented in Central American revolutions. The diplomatic and consular corps each sent protests in the name of humanity and civilized war against a bombardment of a city filled with women, children, and other non-combatants. At noon Sunday the bombardment with explosive shells began and continued till early Wednesday morning. Attack followed attack, being especially severe Tuesday afternoon and evening. All were more or less easily repulsed except the last after dark, Tuesday, which drove the government troops back to the edge of the



THE RESIDENCE OF EX-PRESIDENT ZELAYA,
IN MANAGUA



THE PENITENTIARY OF MANAGUA

(It is here that political suspects are jailed. Hard fighting took place in this vicinity during the recent attack on Managua)

town and almost entered the streets. It nearly succeeded. Both sides had machine guns on the lines and cannons behind, and both fought well, the government with four thousand troops and the insurgents somewhat less. The severity of the fighting can be judged by the fatality of one thousand—that many good men killed or maimed in a political game!

HORRORS OF THE SIEGE

But the worst phase of the tragedy was in bombardment. The shrieking shells fell everywhere, bursting on the streets, in homes, in hotels, in public buildings, and two hitting the principal church. No one was safe. It was the strange luck that the innocent, helpless women and children were the chief victims. A woman with her babe in her arms, running across the street for safety, was hit and both were killed. A child entering a house was cut in two. A mother and five children in one home were all wounded. Another shell struck the hospital, killing a nurse and a child already wounded. And there were dozens of similar instances. Girls and young women seemed to be especially selected by the flying pieces of shells, a number being killed in their homes. It was horrible. Thousands fled on trains and foot on the side opposite to the attack, but thousands of others could not get away. Many bombproofs were built in houses in which the women and children and even men stayed for safety.

Prisoners taken told that the Liberal leaders had promised their soldiers several hours of sack and loot if they took the city. This news, whether true or false, spread around and added to the fear, especially after the attack of Tuesday night. The shells shrieked and exploded all that night. Another fierce attack was made at three o'clock in the morning, almost succeeding. Wednesday morning the entire city was panic-stricken. The people feared that another attack would secure entrance—and all would be over. They feared the aroused savagery of the Indian,—loot, rape, killing. If they had known what was true—that the government troops had but little ammunition left, the fear and panic would have been intense. But the insurgents had expended their last ounce. They retired in disorder, unpursued, the government not daring. The people and city were safe, but the funerals continued for a week!

LEÓN'S INSURGENCY

Then León, the old-time antagonist of the Conservatives, rose against the government, armed by Zeledón and Mena from the latter's arsenal. León and Granada, the respective centers of the Liberals and Conservatives, are ancient enemies. There has been constant warfare between the two for decades, filled with cruelties and exactions, first on one side, then on the other. To keep León subdued the government sent a force composed mostly of Honduran mercenaries and commanded

by Gen. Durón, of Honduras, who had fought in numerous Central-American revolutions, and in Nicaragua once before against the Liberals. He marched into the sullen but quiet city and camped on the plaza. An American who was in León four days later was told that Durón began arresting and killing leading citizens and permitted his soldiers to commit some outrages. Whatever the cause, on the night of August 16 the troops were attacked by the people of León, surrounded, and after a horrible fight in the streets, nearly all massacred. Gen. Durón and two American adventurers, machine-gun men, were killed. Another government force two days later was inveigled into the city and likewise slaughtered. Those who saw describe it as awful. The bodies were burned in great fires, there being no time to bury them. Another thousand sacrificed to this revolutionary game of politics!

On August 21 a portion of the guard of the legation, fifty sailors, were returning to Corinto on a special train. At León a mob of 5,000—men, women, and children—each with some weapon in hand, forbade their passing through the city. Two of the officers and General Manager O'Connell of the railway were invited uptown for a consultation with the insurgent leaders. They were hissed and reviled, and only the efforts of the insurgent officials prevented an attack. The leaders advised them they could hardly restrain the mob from attacking the party, as it would if they attempted to continue their journey. Meanwhile the engine had been detached from the train and run off. Its American flag was however returned. The sailors being on peaceable mission returned to Managua, escorted out of town by the insurgent officers who kept the mob back. No comments are necessary! Another revolutionary episode!

FOOD SUPPLIES CUT OFF

By the uprising of León the railroad and telegraph lines, and postal service between Managua and its port at Corinto, were severed on August 16 and remained so until reopened by the American marines. A number of stores in León were sacked. Other towns were attacked. The insurgents took food supplies at Granada and Masaya from the stores and even the homes, and the people of these two cities were reduced for days and

even weeks to the utmost expedients to obtain food of any kind. Managua was not much better, food becoming scarce and prices soaring. There was much suffering in all those cities, especially by the innocent women and children—another phase of the Central-American revolution in the year of grace 1912!

THE BANE OF REVOLUTION

The outcome of this month of Nicaraguan woe will be another story. Conditions will be restored first by force, later by diplomacy and peaceful methods. Nicaragua in July was beginning to lift its head from the slough of financial, commercial, and industrial bankruptcy. Its finances were reorganized, its revenues were increasing, its debts settled or in process of settlement on terms favorable to all. For the first time in years Nicaragua could see ahead stability, industry, peace, and order. How much of a setback this August revolution has given the struggling country cannot yet be said. It is hoped, but a few months. As I write the American marines are coming to relieve our beleaguered condition and restore peace, order, and individual safety, and to give the country another chance. And they come because invited, nay, rather prayed for and demanded by the government and orderly citizens of Nicaragua.

Nicaragua is full of resources. If its men were at work instead of fighting revolutions, the nation and its people would gradually become thrifty and prosperous. There is plenty of opportunity for capital, for various industries, and for business, if there were but the stability of peace and order. The revolution not only injures Nicaragua, but all the neighboring countries of Central and North America.

So we who have seen the horrors and feel the dire effects of this revolution believe it is time in the interest of the peace and order which countries and peoples are entitled to demand of their neighbors that steps be taken by a stronger, more orderly people to consign the Central-American revolution to such depths it will never rise again. This should be done for the preservation of that independence which self-respecting people are entitled to, but cannot always maintain by unaided efforts, and for the protection of life, property and individual liberty unsacrificed to selfish politics and to savage penchant for revolution.

THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS

THIS is the sixth of a series of seven articles on the general subject of "The People and the Trusts" now appearing in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS. "Big Business and the Citizen" (two articles), "The Money Trust," "The Efficiency of Labor," and "The Investor" have already appeared. The series will close next month with a study of the "Captain of Industry," that is to say, with Big Business itself.

In the present article Mr. Atwood (whose sane and instructive study of "The Money Trust" appeared in August) shows that excessive competition is one of the causes of the high cost of living. He presents a plan for legalizing certain agreements among these competitors which would enable them to cut their excessive costs of doing business, and in many cases prevent the development of monopoly.

THE MIDDLEMAN

BY ALBERT W. ATWOOD

TWENTY-TWO different delivery wagons from as many different grocery stores stood in front of a large New York City apartment house one day. George W. Perkins, whose prominent part in the formation and direction of several of our great industrial combinations is well known, heard of these twenty-two wagons and remembered the incident. The next time he spoke on the subject of combinations and trusts, which was before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, he drove home his argument with that very illustration of the economic waste involved in many of the present methods of bridging the gap between producer and consumer.

The question of the high cost of living has been discussed until it has become tiresome, but the subject is one which must remain engrossing until it is solved. While the fact is ascribed to many causes, the man on the street points most insistently to the trust and the middleman. Let us lay aside trusts for the present and examine the Middleman.

Even the most superficial observation at once reveals an astonishing discrepancy between what the producer receives for his products and what the ultimate consumer pays for them. Many figures on this subject are haphazard, it is true, but there are enough reliable data to establish beyond a doubt the fact that present facilities for bridging the gap between producer and con-

sumer are an expensive makeshift, without orderly plan or system. Grapes which sell for forty cents a basket in the city have been known to return the grower but seven cents. A ten-cent bottle of milk in New York returns the dairyman about three cents. The difference between what the wholesaler pays for creamery butter and what you and I pay is $17\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., on cheese it is 27 per cent., on eggs $56\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and on poultry 25 per cent. On food products as a whole, in New York City and other large cities in the Empire State, the producer is receiving only about 40 per cent. of the retail price. "That is absurd," says the New York State Food Investigating Commission, "he should receive from 60 to 70 per cent."

Not long ago when sentencing several dealers in live poultry to jail for combining in restraint of trade, the judge said: "Between the farm and the kitchen a chicken has six separate profits fastened on it. Six separate profits must be paid when a chicken is bought over the retailers' counter. Is it any wonder that the poor are getting poorer?"

Wasteful Distribution of Food Products

Fresh, abundant, and cheap food can only be had by encouraging production. The present excessive cost for transportation, storage, selling, and delivery, that is, for all the various processes of distribution which the

so-called Middleman performs, simply discourages the producer. Under present conditions the near-by sources of food supplies for many of the great cities are dormant or drying up. New York gets its fresh vegetables from the most distant points; Buffalo is fed very largely from the West; Albany does not receive one-quarter of her butter, eggs, chicken, or veal from the excellent farm lands around that city. The final absurdity is reached when far better apples than those which cost five cents each at the fruit stand, rot on the ground within a hundred miles of a great city, as the writer has seen them do.

Clearly there is a tremendous amount of waste in this whole process. New York City's annual food supply, which costs \$350,000,000 at the terminals, rises to \$500,000,000 when the consumer gets it. Each inhabitant of the city pays his share of this \$150,000,000. Either the profits are excessive or else the flow of food supplies from producer to consumer is hindered and stopped by inexpressibly poor facilities. Is the Middleman fattening upon the consumer? Should every wholesaler, jobber, dealer, commission man and retailer go to jail?

Cutting Out the Middleman's Profits

What light, for example, do certain recent doings of a picturesque and spectacular, if not almost hysterical nature, throw upon the subject? A clergyman in one city and a mayor in another attracted an astonishing amount of attention some months ago by opening markets and selling food products at less than the retail store prices. Mayor Shank, of Indianapolis, and the Rev. Madison C. Peters, of New York, both declare that the middleman, that is, the retailer, as much as any of the other agencies engaged in the distribution of food products, is the party responsible for high prices. Mayor Shank sold fruit, vegetables, and poultry at far lower prices than the scale prevailing elsewhere in his city. The reverend gentleman in New York sold potatoes at several cents a pound below prevailing prices.

These extra-vocational activities of mayor and clergyman, petty as they were, are nevertheless incidents in a mighty train of events connected with the protest against high living costs. Not long afterward, a Housewives' League in New York City undertook to show women how to buy food cheaply. Then there were meat boycotts and riots in many cities. Coöperative stores have been started in suburbs of New York City. Markets are

being formed for the despised push-cart peddlers. The organization of large municipal markets has been urged. "More terminal markets!" is one cry, and it is pointed out that because of poor handling and defective arrangements for the reception and distribution of food there is an unnecessary damage each year of \$75,000,000 to eggs and poultry.

Railroads and steamship lines are being blamed for affording inadequate terminal facilities as compared with those of such model cities as Hamburg. The express companies come in for their share of censure, and the Parcel Post is expected to lower living costs. Fruit growers of the Northwest have formed selling agencies to wipe out the Middleman. In Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Cleveland, and Chicago federated marketing clubs of consumers have been organized. Consumers' coöperative buying societies are springing up everywhere, in the army and navy, and among postal clerks. Village improvement societies are studying the question. Then there are those who think the lack of roads in the country districts is mainly responsible. There are a thousand and one explanations and proffered remedies. The air is surcharged with bitterness against the Middleman. The one fact which men have firmly fixed in their minds is this: *Of the sum which consumers of this country pay for agricultural products less than one-half goes to the farmer.*

But what does this bewildering medley of fact and fancy, protests hysterical and protests well considered, passing incident and significant tendency, all go to prove, if it proves anything? Does it prove that the Middleman is fattening upon the consumer? Look about you. Are the little grocers and butchers growing rich? There are 11,000 grocers in New York City and the State Food Investigating Commission says that high operating costs make their elimination inevitable. "He is now slowly wearing out." Of the 33½ per cent. which this class of stores adds to the wholesale price, less than 5 per cent. is profit. Referring even to wholesalers and jobbers, the report of the commission declares that no class is making an undue profit, whereas the smaller dealers are "merely making wages."

Distribution Must be Paid For

What, then, do these attempts to solve the problem of high living costs prove? Well, they prove there are indispensable functions which some one must perform. They prove

that distribution is costly, no matter how you arrange it. They prove that as civilization grows more complex the cost of getting an article to the consumer in the shape he wants it is proportionately greater than the cost of the article itself. *It is possible by some artificial or mechanical change of plan to do away with the shipper, the commission merchant, the jobber and the retailer, but it is impossible to do away with the services they perform.* We can eliminate the Middleman, but it has been well said that if we do so there will be sore hands, aching backs, and tired heads after he is gone.

Let us return for a moment to the activities of Mayor Shank and the Rev. Mr. Peters, but let us not jump at conclusions. These men had free advertising, free rent, and abnormal "good-will" to begin with. They had practically no clerk hire, extended no credit, delivered no goods, cashed no checks for customers, accumulated no bad debts, and paid no taxes or insurance. A prominent jurist of New York City complained recently that he paid \$1.80 for a basket of potatoes. But the learned judge neglected to tell his interviewer that his residence is on Fifth Avenue, and that any grocery store, to be near that thoroughfare, must pay an enormous rent, which can only be gotten back by charging the consumer proportionately large prices.

Conveniences Pile Up the Costs

Let us be quite honest about this matter. The retailer not only has to pay high rents to be near your home, but he has to light, heat, and man his store from daylight to late at night so that you can go to him at any time of day that may please your fancy. He maintains expensive teams, or else pays wages to delivery boys, and buys carts. He sends solicitors to your door to learn what groceries you wish for the day. He will deliver to you a five-cent package of matches at any time of day. He sends you your articles carefully done up in nice packages and carefully wrapped. It is a costly process.

The delivery charge for the average grocery, or corner store, averages nearly one-half the total expenses for the establishment and adds from 10 to 15 per cent. to the cost to the consumer. The fancy packages add from 50 to 100 per cent. to the cost of the goods, and the public seems unable to withstand the bombardment of advertising by the large firms dealing in package goods. Then, again, the telephone has greatly increased the

expense of doing business, while it has often lowered the quality of goods received by the housekeeper. With telephone at her elbow she does not take the trouble to prepare a list of her needs in advance, give one order and have it sent up with a minimum of expense in delivery, but sends in three or four separate orders a day.

There are few if any facilities for storage of food in the modern city apartment, so that the meals are of the hand-to-mouth variety, and this tendency is further emphasized by the increasing number of women who go out to work, and who, upon their return, find it necessary to prepare hasty meals. Their purchases, especially of meats, are of the chop and steak variety, which can be quickly cooked, and there is a decline in the use of the cheaper but equally nutritious stew meats.

How Can the Consumer Help Himself?

• For all these comforts, conveniences, and luxuries, performed as they are by the Middleman, the consumer must pay. "It is about time for him to stop playing the part of a man with a grievance," says Mr. Holmes of the Department of Agriculture. "Nearly all the grievances that can be corrected at all can be corrected by himself. He can buy with greater economy through coöperative efforts, and by paying cash, and also with greater economy in forms, preparations, and varieties of things." If consumers are willing to go to market instead of expecting the market to come to them, if they are willing to carry the purchases home, and even wrap and tie the bundles themselves, then they may fairly claim the profit which now goes to the Middleman.

Let the women buy as their mothers used to do. Let them send their own crock to the grocer's for lard, and bring back for 65 cents what will cost them \$1 in a can which they will throw away, or ruin in the opening. Let them buy their crackers from a box by weight and they will get sixty to the pound, instead of about forty in a pretty package for the same money. Instead of buying package oats at the rate of one-half cent per ounce, let them buy in bulk and get 10 cents' worth for 7 cents. Instead of buying sliced bacon in a glass jar, let them buy a "side" and cut it as wanted at half price.

But will women buy as their mothers did in these days when their interests have become so much greater and more diversified? Have they the time? As for fancy packages, probably they are more sanitary than the old

barrel. Milk in bottles is more expensive than in the old tin can, but who wishes to return to the dirty can? *The waste of many delivery wagons, expensive locations, and extension of credit are the natural results of competition!* Ordering by telephone and by means of servants—are merely time-saving devices, and, while they cost a great deal of money, this is a time-saving age.

What Can the Producer Do?

The consumer demands far more than formerly, and the Middleman is supplying the want. Greater demands mean greater cost which the consumer must pay. But why, you may ask, cannot the producer himself perform some of these middle functions? Why can he not reach the consumer directly? In many cases this is possible, but there is no sweeping panacea in that direction.

An acquaintance of the writer's has a dairy farm near Washington, D. C. He would be glad to sell directly to the consumer, and if he could do so without increase of expense he could probably afford to sell the richest of milk and cream to consumers at lower prices than they now pay for an inferior product. But there is no way by which the dairy farmer can have his empty receptacles returned if he sells direct to the householder. Then in order to get trade of a desirable class he would have to advertise extensively, have a distinctive mark for his product, and put the milk into expensive bottles. This is too much for a single farmer to do. He prefers to sell to middlemen even though he knows the consumer pays as much again for the milk.

My acquaintance already spends much money in producing milk, without entering upon the still larger expenditures necessary to reach the consumer directly. The health authorities of the District of Columbia have adopted new and strict regulations. They require from each dairy a veritable bill of particulars. There are regulations as to whether the cows shall be on wood floors or cement floors. Frequent examinations and reports are the rule. This all takes more capital, even though it raises the standard of the product. My friend, in order to be abreast of the best methods of dairy farming, has actually taken away from the Department of Agriculture the best expert to be had, a graduate of an important agricultural college. This man was obtainable only by paying a large salary, the expense of which must be spread over many quarts of milk and

pounds of butter. All this makes for cleaner, better milk and butter, but it makes their cost so much the more.

Big Stores Are More Effective than Small Ones

But suppose our dairy friend were in close coöperation with a hundred other dairymen, or suppose his business were a hundred times as great as it is, and his capital in proportion. Would he not then be able to reach the consumer more directly and with an appreciable saving in costs? Undoubtedly, as has been shown many times. Experts who have investigated food conditions in New York City declare that if there were 200 great food stores for the entire city, instead of 20,000 small stores as at present, there could be effected a saving in retail prices of \$60,000,000 a year. Perhaps the consumer would not get all the saving, but the possibility is there. The books of a few of the big department food stores show that their cost of operation is about half that of the small retailer.

Mr. Perkins was right when he pointed to the wastefulness of twenty-two grocery stores catering to one apartment house. Those who have purchased in small shops and in great department stores need no argument to prove the economy of large-scale business. Of course the mere fact that a corporation is large does not prove it efficient. We are learning daily that mere size does not mean efficiency. It may merely indicate the possession of special privileges or the employment of predatory and piratical methods. But up to a certain point there is efficiency and saving in doing things on a large scale, a fact which the investigations of experts and daily, common knowledge and experience, as well as the theories of economists, prove beyond question. A distinguished economist recently enumerated thirteen distinct economies which might follow combination and concentration.

The Consumer Pays for Duplication of Service

To many men, however, these economies mean nothing. Their belief in the blessings of competition is so fixed that it cannot be dislodged. They lose the substance in grasping for the shadow. They think that two telephone companies or two gas companies covering the same field are better than one. They refuse to see that almost invariably the public is inconvenienced by poor service and that it pays the excessive cost of construction, operation and upkeep. Generally it

does not pay profits, for there are seldom any. They do not see the waste involved in a half-dozen concerns all attempting to cover the same territory and offering the same service. Gradually, however, the consumer is beginning to see that he pays for all this duplication and that a great part of his trouble arises from this fact. *Whenever two salesmen are paid for doing an amount of work one could easily do, when two delivery wagons or teams are kept where one would be sufficient, the consumer pays.*

Why then should not we, the consumers, urge with every means in our power the formation of combinations, coöperative arrangements, and agreements? But do you realize that the moment men begin to make agreements they must employ a lawyer to see that they do not violate the Sherman Anti-Trust Law? It is all very well, for example, to point to the citrus-fruit growers who by agreement and coöperation among themselves have wonderfully improved the handling of their product in the great cities. No doubt they are within the law, but there are hundreds of associations and agreements not so widely different in their purposes, the members of which do not know whether they are within or without the law.

Trade Agreements Attacked Under the Law

The average citizen has no idea to how great an extent mere associations or agreements in contradistinction to formal trusts have been held responsible for the high cost of living. In 1911 there were forty-four cases either decided or pending under the Sherman Law, all of which had to do with alleged efforts to control the prices of commodities. No less than 107 suits have been brought under this law, and the great majority have been directed at mere trade agreements, associations, and pools of business men.

The range of these prosecutions has been astonishing. The mammoth steel, oil and tobacco trusts were sued, but so also were the kindling-wood, plumbers' and bill-posters' trusts, the existence of which was never before hinted at outside the comic papers, and now the Horseshoe Trust is threatened. Go over the list of suits brought under the Sherman Law. *It reveals the striking fact, not generally known, or heretofore anywhere emphasized, that the Law has been directed not so much against the great, formal, single trusts as against individuals and moderate-sized and even small concerns in agreement one with another.* Besides the plumbers, bill-posters,

and kindling-wood dealers, there have been grocers, a dozen associations of lumber dealers, coffee merchants, moving-picture men, wire manufacturers, wall-paper manufacturers, milk dealers, egg and butter dealers, meat dealers, cotton operators, manufacturers of enamel ware, a score of steamship lines, railroads in agreement as to rates, railroads in agreement as to the production of soft coal, railroads in agreement as to the production of hard coal, railroads in agreement as to the use of a terminal station, hide and rendering companies, magazines, manufacturers of lamps, and companies controlling towing facilities on the Great Lakes. Many of these associations were formed to fight a great trust which was attempting to monopolize the field. Now absurd as it may seem to invoke the mighty engine of the Sherman Law against the petty dealers in kindling wood, there is involved in suits such as these a principle of vital importance to the nation.

Most of the suits which have been pushed to a termination have spelled victory for the Government, and the defendants have been compelled to give up old practices. Many combinations have agreed to change their ways merely on threat of a suit, although the most expensive lawyers were on their side. What the Department of Justice has attacked are the agreements among numerous concerns, in no way connected by stock ownership, but all desirous in some way of regulating the expensive and wasteful competition previously existing among themselves.

In almost every case, either where a suit has been fought to successful conclusion, or where the trust has come down like Davy Crockett's coon, the point at issue had to do with methods of selling goods. It is unnecessary to go into details here, but suffice it to say that many methods of reducing or destroying competition have been stopped by the enforcement of the Sherman Law.

"Regulation by Lawsuit"

But the present method of attacking combinations which work against the public welfare is most unsatisfactory. To the Attorney-General is left the discretion of bringing suit. So wide is the range which the suits already brought have taken, and so unlimited is the discretion of the Attorney-General as to what trade agreements he may attack that no business man can tell from day to day when he may be haled into court. At best regulation by lawsuit is sporadic and unfair. There is room for too much favoritism. One

Attorney-General may be high-minded and wholly devoted to the public interest, but another may not. Regulation by lawsuit will not suffice. The country is too open to the evil of shifting policies. There is involved in this method no well-ordered or scientific system of regulating combinations.

The Dilemma of the Business Man

Reference has already been made in an earlier article in this series to the hearings before the United States Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce held last winter. The testimony given before the committee cannot be neglected by any serious thinker upon our present day economic problems. Perhaps the most striking feature in all this mass of testimony is the bewilderment of the business men; and by this term is meant the really constructive factors in our industrial life and not the speculators or the parasites. These men declare that they are in a quandary. They cannot tell whether or not they are violating the law. No matter how honest their intentions, at any moment they may be charged with crime. Naturally they are afraid to extend their business.

This is no slight matter, and the accuracy of the statement is confirmed by other testimony. One of the distinguished lawyers in the country with large experience as legal adviser of corporations, declares that he is unable to advise his clients with any degree of assurance. Where one concern may be haled before a court and another with apparently similar organization and methods is untouched, no wonder there is unrest and uncertainty.

But this is far from being the only objection to the one hundred and seven law suits. The country is fairly honeycombed with trade agreements—with informal trusts—if you will have it that way. Practically all business is carried on by means of trade agreements, more or less strong, and the business is usually prosperous where the agreements are strongest. Business men say they cannot prosper without these agreements. Cut-throat competition will ruin them. They must associate one with another. But what are they to do with the terror of the Sherman Law with them by day and by night?

Our Present Methods Ineffective and Slow

Moreover, where the Department of Justice has broken up one old agreement, there are hundreds which it has not reached.

Samuel Untermyer, the corporation lawyer, has gone so far as to assert that not one in a thousand has been touched. It is true that many of the old-style agreements have gone,—those that were made hard and fast in writing. Since the Sherman Law has been so extensively enforced most of these have become as dead as the old pool arrangements of two or three decades ago. There are safes in New York stuffed with the written evidences of these "conspiracies," and with "big" mens' signatures attached to them. These agreements are no longer in effect, but how about the associations for the betterment of trade, the dinner and luncheon clubs, the reunions and general understandings, the gentlemen's agreements, and the telephone messages?

In one of his campaign speeches Governor Woodrow Wilson remarked that the trial of the meat packers had developed some very interesting things. "We found out," he said, "that you did not have to form a great combination, that all you had to do was to be polite, that all that the meat packers did was to meet without forming a legal or illegal union of any kind, and consult together as to what price they would like to have meat sell at. Then a very nice young gentleman, whom they employed for the purpose as their secretary and spokesman, would write a very prettily phrased letter to all of them suggesting that perhaps it was desirable to quote meat at such and such a price and they felt bound by the etiquette of perfect gentlemen to observe that price. That is all."

There are undoubtedly dangers and evils lurking in the trusts, but much greater are the evils and dangers in the many forms of trade agreements, for they are vastly more numerous. At present the public has no protection against secret agreements except an occasional long drawn out lawsuit. But these suits with their revelations of the inside history and methods of American combinations show conclusively the remarkable similarity of many of these combinations to the long discarded pools of twenty and thirty years ago, and demonstrate beyond a doubt that combination through agreement or pool arrangements, where there is no merging of ownership or ownership interest of one concern in the other, is a persistent feature of modern industrial life. If further proof of this were required we need only look to Germany where combination and concentration has reached an even higher degree than in this country. (An Austrian Consul reported to his government that fifty men controlled the finances

and industries of Germany solely through the form of cartels and syndicates, in other words through trade agreements.)

Statute Law Cannot Override Economic Law

It is hopeless, then, absolutely to forbid business men, or any other class of men, to agree. The more intelligent and efficient a man is the more likely he is to reach an understanding with others engaged in the same profession or trade. Try it on yourself. How would you like to be haled to court just because you had agreed on some detail of business policy with other men? The Congressmen who so suspiciously questioned prominent business men who appeared before them as to just how far these and other business men were in the habit of agreeing among themselves went out from the committee rooms and reached understandings with other Congressmen as to pending legislation.

The Sherman Law strictly construed, would prevent an association of merchants from exchanging information valuable to every member. It has been held to be unlawful for a number of mills to have a common selling agent. Associations of farmers having for their purpose more systematic marketing of their products have been threatened with the terrors of the law. It is probably unlawful for fire insurance companies to maintain a common survey office to report upon the construction of buildings and the hazards, physical and moral, involved in insuring them. Coal and ice dealers, who, in order to lessen the costs of delivery, have divided the territory, have been branded as criminals. The purpose of all these agreements is the elimination of waste. If they are not allowed the cost of doing business is increased, and in the long run the consumer pays.

What Would Publicity Do?

It is human nature, and especially modern human nature, to reach understandings, or agreements, with our fellow men. But when these understandings adversely affect the lives of countless other fellow men what is to be done about it? Publicity is the thesis of these articles. We have seen that the tendency in large affairs is toward publicity. Why not allow business men to make agreements, provided, however, that these agreements, to be legal, be filed publicly with some government body? One thing is certain, that great benefits would follow from the

mere publicity given to the filing of these instruments.

It may be objected that to permit business men to file trade agreements would merely be licensing them to raise their prices to the already overburdened consumer. But do these men not get together now and exact all they can? How much better it would be if their agreements, now wholly secret, were made public? For if all these agreements are made public they cannot exist very long unless they are legitimate and needful. In any industry the weak member, who is living on credit, who is reckless, and has nothing to lose, is the one who cuts prices to the bone and forces the others to follow. No one wants ruinous competition. In the case of one of the combinations now under attack by the government it is admitted in the government's own papers that before the combination was formed goods were being sold below cost, so ruinous was the competition. Such competition must necessarily result in agreement or in monopoly. In cases such as these, agreements of a certain nature are needful and reasonable. But if business men feel they must put a brake upon the laws of ruinous competition, let them do so openly and present their agreements to the government for inspection and supervision.

But would it not be possible for men to continue to form secret agreements in addition to those submitted to the government for proper publicity and reasonable supervision? Such a thing is conceivable, but the great present motive for doing it would be gone. Any study of the corporation and economic history of this country will show that the chief motive for pools and agreements has been to prevent ruinous competition which is necessarily wasteful and expensive. But the Sherman Law does not recognize the legality of agreements even to this end. If such necessary agreements were legalized, there would be little motive for forming other agreements; and moreover, a strong Federal Commission on Interstate Trade would be able to ferret out such secret compacts as might be made, a task which is beyond the powers of the Attorney-General.

It may be suggested that this body would be overwhelmed with agreements. But these agreements are now in force. The public would not suffer more if they were made openly. There are less than 500 corporations doing a business of \$5,000,000, and a vast number of combinations of various descriptions are purely local. These could be

cared for by state and city. Certainly if the Federal Government set the pace by requiring complete publicity in regard to all interstate agreements, the states and cities would follow its examples in regard to combinations within their own borders. Meanwhile the Commission would be passing judgment upon them.

The Neglected and Under-estimated Power of Public Opinion

It is secrecy which works for evil. If business men form a pool or syndicate which is not unfair to the public then it can stand the light of day. If it is harmful, the publicity attending the filing of details would so arouse public opinion, even if there were no supervisory power to operate against it, that the agreement would soon become void. The force of public opinion would work more or less automatically to keep trade agreements within wholesome lines.

What Publicity Alone Has Already Done

Even under the present haphazard method of regulating combinations by law suit the element of publicity has proven of great value. The mere threat of the Department of Justice to sue certain combinations after investigating their practices and telling the public through the newspapers of the essential features of such practices has served in several instances to end the evil practices. The electric-lamp pool did not carry its case to the highest courts after the fact that its members discriminated against buyers had been brought to the light in the lower courts. It is further reported that the photographic supply trust, against which no suit at all has yet been brought, has agreed to give up its practice of forcing customers to buy all or none of their supplies from it. Publicity brought about this result.

Publicity is a sharp sword that cuts deep. In a great city where the dealers in food products were supposed to have an agreement to keep up prices, a semi-public body saw to it that for a period of time the prices of all foodstuffs were regularly published in the newspapers. The result was a sudden drop in prices on the part of the dealers.

The Condition Which Confronts Us

The problem of cheap production of manufactured goods has, broadly speaking, been solved. Improvements in farm machinery and better methods in farming tend toward cheaper production of agricultural products.

The problem of to-day is to secure cheaper distribution of these products to the consumers. It cannot be solved by throwing hindrances and obstacles in the way of the producers. On the contrary, every consideration of policy and good sense demands that they be permitted to eliminate all possible waste and duplication of service.

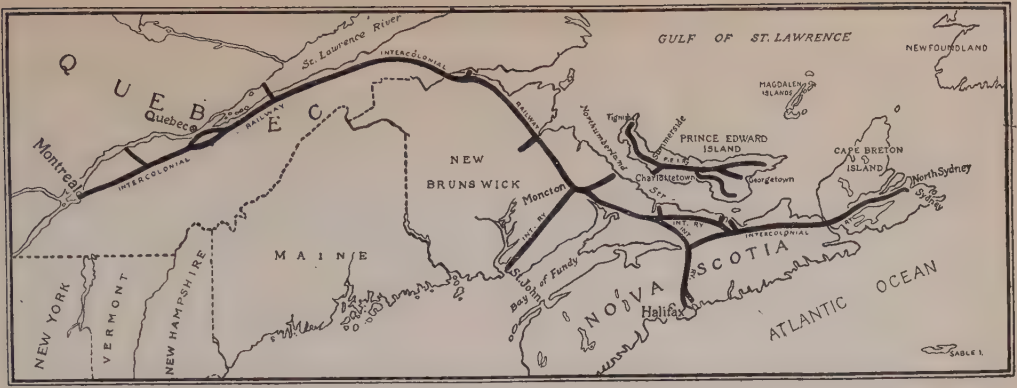
The trust problem is a big one. Men are afraid of it. They tremble before it. Many believe combinations must increase and wax greater and greater. But many of the greatest combinations in this country have waxed mighty, not because of natural advantages or increased efficiency but because of special privileges or because of predatory or piratical methods.

If competitors were permitted to make reasonable trade arrangements in regard to prices and output, the same to be supervised by a competent public body, "it could no longer be claimed," says Samuel Untermyer, "that the trust, with its attendant evils of stock watering, closing of factories, oppression of competitors, and the many other attendant wrongs of permanent combination, is the only alternative. The temporary character of these agreements, the fact that each party continues to operate his own plant independently of the others, and gets exclusively the benefit of his own economies and superior management, and that competition on prices between the parties may be resumed at the expiration of the agreement, all assure the use of the most modern methods and the continued effort to cheapen production and to improve the quality of the product."

Unfairness Can Not Live In the Light

Many of the trusts have been defeated in the courts when the Sherman Law was invoked against them, and many have made overtures to the Government to give up methods which were piratical and predatory and reestablish fair play and open markets. These overtures came after the Government had given the fullest publicity to the unfair methods. But the Department of Justice can reach only a fraction of these combinations, for, as a rule, a lawsuit requires years to settle. This objection is serious, if not fatal.

Publicity must be applied by a commission, and it will then be found that as wrongful methods of competition disappear before the light, in which they cannot thrive, much of the dreaded tendency toward the concentration, consolidation, and centralization of our industries will dissolve into thin air.



THE INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY OF CANADA

CANADA'S GOVERNMENT RAILWAY

AN EXPERIMENT IN PUBLIC OWNERSHIP AND OPERATION

BY ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE

(Formerly United States Senator from Indiana)

THIS is not a preachment, it is a statement. It is not an argument for a theory; it is a report of the facts. The question of government ownership, settled in republican Switzerland and monarchical Germany, is freshly aroused in the United States by the necessity of our government building and operating an Alaskan railway to the coal fields. Thus, Canada's experience in this important matter is invaluable to us.

Over two thousand miles of railway, main track and sidings, owned and operated by the government—that is the most striking political and economic fact in the Dominion. The Intercolonial Railway, running from Montreal to the ocean ports of St. Johns, Halifax, and Sydney (and the narrow gauge serving Prince Edward Island), is purely a governmental affair.

With the exception of perhaps 120 miles, which the government bought from the Grand Trunk many years ago, every foot of this railway system was built by the government, provincial or national, precisely as our government now is building the Panama Canal. All but an insignificant part was built by Canada's national government.

TWO THOUSAND MILES OF GOVERNMENT RAILROAD

The main track alone of the Intercolonial (exclusive of sidings and of the Prince Edward Island Railway) is longer than the distance from New York to Kansas City; longer than from New York to St. Paul; longer than

from New York to New Orleans; and about the same distance as from New York to Omaha. If you will imagine our own government owning and operating a railroad between New York and either of the points named, you will have substantially what the Canadian Government has done, and is doing, in the case of the Intercolonial Railway, so far as sheer distance is concerned.

NATURAL HANDICAPS

But such an American railway between these points would traverse a country with dense population and almost infinite resources, both in richness and variety, compared with the country served by the Intercolonial Railway of Canada. For the country through which the Canadian Government road runs has scanty population and its resources are extremely limited in richness, variety, and development compared with the country which any railroad serves running from New York to any of the points I have named.

The Canadian line runs through and taps an exclusively agricultural and lumber country, with some mining in Nova Scotia, and, therefore, the freight it carries is overwhelmingly of the products of the field, forest, and mine. But even these are small compared with the output of the region tapped by any American line I have mentioned.

Add to these great natural disadvantages of this Canadian Government road the fact

that, for reasons flowing from its historic origin, it is built in a meandering manner which applies to no other road; and finally, the weightiest circumstance of all, that from its three eastern ocean termini to its western river terminus at Montreal it is subjected to the severest possible water competition, and you have some of the physical and commercial disadvantages to which no other similar length of railway in the world is subjected.

Yet, in spite of all this, and in spite of what is called its "political" management, this great railway enterprise of the Canadian Government is not a failure. Indeed, it may be said to be a success in its cost of construction and equipment, in its comparative rates, in the efficiency of its operation, in the excellence and safety of its service, and in the items of peculiar accommodation it affords the people which a commercial road never would give.

IMPORTANCE OF THE RAILROAD TO CANADIAN UNION

How did the government happen to build this road? Its history is interwoven with that of the Maritime Provinces of Canada, and of the present Dominion itself. Railways, as government enterprises, seem to have been in the minds of the people of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick almost from the beginning of steam transportation.

The people of these provinces, through their governments, built railways for themselves and operated them as a public matter before our Civil War. When the great plan for uniting all the provinces of Canada into one dominion was launched in 1867 there was much difficulty in getting the provinces together. The same small jealousies and prejudices, the same little provincialism, the same fear and short-sightedness, the same insect ambitions of miniature men which confronted our nation builders in trying to weld the States in a consolidated union under our Constitution before its ratification in 1789, also confronted the Canadian nation builders in getting most of the provinces of Canada into the present Dominion before the consummation of that historic project in 1867.

To get them to come into the union which now forms the Dominion of Canada, the new national government had to agree to pay the debts of the provinces; and to pay semi-annually to each of the provinces a bounty of so much for every inhabitant. Even then what are called the "Maritime Provinces,"—that is, the provinces bordering on the Atlantic Ocean,—would not come into the

Canadian union unless the new national government agreed to build a railway connecting these provinces and their Atlantic ports with the more thickly settled provinces of Ontario and Québec. (The same was true of British Columbia, whose reluctance to join the union caused the building of the Canadian Pacific.)

LOW CONSTRUCTION COSTS

What, then, of this extensive and long-continued experiment in government ownership and operation of railways on this side of the Atlantic?

While, as we shall see, the construction and equipment of the Intercolonial Railway are above the ordinary American road, if inferior to the best railways in the United States, yet its total cost has been less than the average cost of similar lines in this country. Up to the present year the Intercolonial Railway has cost \$92,273,073.51. That is to say, this sum of money is the total amount that has been spent on building and equipping the road—from preliminary survey clear through to the smallest item of rolling stock.

Most, if not all, American roads, having like grades, have required far greater sums of money for an equal amount of mileage and equipment. It is hard to make exact comparisons between the cost and equipment of privately built, owned, and operated roads and this Canadian Government built, owned, and operated railway. For, in the case of the Intercolonial, the actual cost is known to a cent; there are no stocks and bonds; there have been no receiverships; there have been none of the complexities of railroad financing which makes it so hard to find out exactly what the building and equipping of any American road actually has cost, or even how much money has been put into the enterprise from first to last. Yet, even with these handicaps, we know that the Intercolonial Railway of Canada has cost materially less than the same amount of railway construction and equipment in our own country, with very few exceptions.

CHARACTER OF ROADBED AND EQUIPMENT

So much as to comparative cost. What now of the comparative excellence of construction? Certain portions of the Pennsylvania, New York Central, Chicago & Northwestern, and American roads of like character, are better ballasted than this Canadian Government railway; but the roadbed of the Intercolonial

is better than the average of our American lines. Practically all of it is of large gravel well laid. Its bridges are of steel and stone. On its whole length there is not a single example of those wooden bridges, which, until yesterday, were the unsightly and dangerous characteristics of so many privately owned railroad lines.

The commercially unscientific route of this government railroad, due to its historical origin, is, to say the least, no greater than those eccentricities of direction in our American railways built a generation ago. Indeed, not until the constructive genius of a Cassatt or a Harriman wrought a revolution in the straightening, shortening, and leveling of our railways, were we in a fair position to scorn the route which the Intercolonial Railway takes.

This government railway uses eighty-pound rails, precisely as do all other standard lines, whether in the Republic or in the Dominion. I heard the frequent charge that the rails are not well fastened to the ties, and especially that the ties themselves are of poor material. In every instance, these charges came from the opponents of the government in power at the time I went over this railway; and it was said that this serious matter was one result of "political" operation of the road—which important subject I shall examine in a moment.

An inspection of the ties and rails at many stations did not sustain this charge. I found the ties as good material and the rails as securely fastened to them as you will find on most American railways, though not on our very best lines. Neither does the smooth running of the trains of the Intercolonial indicate this grave defect. And finally, the capital fact that the accidents on the Canadian Government road are no more numerous than on any other Canadian road, and fewer than on the average American lines, tends to prove that rails, ties, and fastenings, as well as the roadbed itself, are as good as on the majority of privately owned roads.

To be sure, neither on the Canadian Government road nor on any other road on this continent does the record of accidents anywhere make so good a showing as that of the government owned and operated railways of Switzerland and Germany—and especially of Germany. Germany has the lowest record of railway accidents, considering the number of passengers carried, with Switzerland hardly an inch behind her. In 1907 (the last year I have data for the three following countries) the number of persons killed or injured from

all railway causes was, in the United States, 122,855; in Great Britain, 27,186; in Germany, 3940.

However, in Germany and Switzerland the government operation of railways has been reduced to a science. Were this Canadian government owned and operated road conducted with the same skill and precision as are similar roads in these European countries, a different tale would be told, not only as to accidents but as to economy, efficiency, and income. Nevertheless, with all the defects in operation of this Canadian Government road, it compares favorably, in the respects I have mentioned, with other Canadian and American lines.

Its rolling stock is, of course, precisely the same as that of other Canadian and American roads. So are its shops and, indeed, its whole equipment. Its passenger service, too, equals the average of other roads, whether in this country or the Dominion. Its sleeping-car service is very good and its dining-car service is excellent—better, indeed, than our American dining-car service, except on a few of our crack trains.

AN UNPROFITABLE ENTERPRISE

This Canadian Government railway cannot be said to be profitable. Usually there has been a deficit which the national treasury has had to supply. This is due to the nature of the country through which the road runs, the unscientific route it takes for commercial purposes, the peculiar local accommodations which it gives the people, the severe water competition from which it suffers, its lower rates for passengers and freight, and, until recently, the inability of the government to maintain the strictest business management on account of the "politics" with which it has been shackled.

Yet, with all these serious drawbacks, the net earnings of the road, paid by its managers to the receiver-general last year, came to more than \$600,000; and this in spite of unusual expenditures on betterments and increase of employees. For example, within the last three years the wages of the road's employees have been increased \$300,000 and the number of men in the road's shops have been doubled. Of course, in computing this net revenue, no interest was charged off against capital account. If the road had had to pay interest on bonds and dividends on stock on its more than \$90,000,000 that have been spent in its construction and equipment, the revenues of the road would not nearly pay its expenses.

LOW FREIGHT AND PASSENGER RATES

What now as to the rates? By taking the actual receipts and the exact ton mileage, and dividing the former by the latter, the precise rate per ton mile is found. According to this method, which is that adopted by all railroads, the rate per ton mile on the various Canadian roads is as follows:

Intercolonial.....	.553 cent
Canadian Pacific.....	.778 cent
Grand Trunk.....	.672 cent
Canadian Northern.....	.734 cent

This was the statement made by the Minister of Railways to the Canadian Parliament in March of this year and not questioned. So it appears that the Canadian Pacific rate per ton mile was 40.6 per cent. higher than that of the Intercolonial; the freight rates of the Grand Trunk were 21.5 per cent. higher, and those of the Canadian Northern 32.7 per cent. higher than those of the government owned and operated railway.

The Canadian Pacific, in the year 1909, earned on its freight business, \$58,904,060. Had this great railway derived the same income per ton mile on freight as the Intercolonial did on the freight it carried, the Canadian Pacific would have earned \$17,035,236 less from its freight business than it did. Conversely, if the government railway had received the same income for freight per ton mile that the Canadian Pacific Railway received, the former would have earned \$2,485,000 more than it did earn.

Apply the same method of computation to passenger rates and we have the following result for the year 1910:

Intercolonial.....	1.691 cents
Canadian Pacific.....	1.821 cents
Grand Trunk.....	1.767 cents
Canadian Northern.....	2.184 cents

That is to say, the passenger rates of the Canadian Pacific, Grand Trunk, and Canadian Northern are from 4.5 to 29.1 per cent. higher than the passenger rate on the Intercolonial Railway. In 1910 the Canadian Pacific earned \$24,428,282 for carrying passengers; but if it had carried passengers at the rate charged by the government railway it would have received \$1,743,918 less than its income from this source. Or conversely, had the Intercolonial Railway charged the same passenger rate as the Canadian Pacific, it would have earned \$203,968 more than it did earn on its passenger service. In short, had the government railway charged the same

for passengers and freight that the Canadian Pacific charged, the former would have earned \$3,389,246 more than it actually did earn, or enough to pay expenses, a small interest on its more than \$90,000,000 invested and have a fair surplus.

LOW OPERATING COSTS

Remember that this government road has not as much freight or passengers to carry as the other roads; that the freight is of low grade; that the road is burdened by the most rigorous water competition; that, in competing with the Canadian Pacific from Montreal to St. Johns, N. B., it must carry passengers and freight 250 miles for nothing because its route is that much longer than that of the latter road between these points. Considering these and other drawbacks it is surprising that this government road makes as good a showing as it does.

The cost of running a train one mile is the universal railway standard of measuring the expenses of railway administration. According to this method, it cost less to operate this Canadian Government railway than any other railway line in the Dominion. The cost of running a train one mile on the Intercolonial and on the three great private railway lines in Canada, is as follows:

Intercolonial.....	\$1.300
Canadian Pacific.....	1.504
Grand Trunk.....	1.817
Canadian Northern.....	1.581

In presenting these figures to Parliament, the Minister of Railways stated that they were "taken from the sworn returns of the railways indicated and are not open to question."

THE SERVICE RENDERED

The road is not run as a commercial enterprise, but merely to serve the people. And it does serve them in ways which a purely commercial railway enterprise would not tolerate. An illustration: There are some trains on this Canadian Government road which make stops at points two and five miles apart—this to accommodate passengers, shippers of milk and other products. On the other hand, its fast trains make as good time as similar trains on other roads.

Yet there is criticism of the road's freight service. In the present year a member of Parliament complained, in debate on the floor of the House, that he could not get cars—that they came irregularly, too few at one

time, too many at another. And it seems that this particular criticism is general and well founded.

But it is explained by a curious circumstance. The Intercolonial, it appears, sends hundreds of its cars into the United States especially during the season for moving wood pulp, and these cars then go all over our country. You will find Intercolonial cars in California and Florida, in Oregon and Virginia, in Iowa and Maine. There are 4000 Intercolonial freight cars now in the United States. And the American roads send no cars back because the Intercolonial is not an international road. When the cars of other Canadian roads go laden into the United States, American cars are brought back in their place; for all of them either enter the United States at various points or else have direct traffic connection.

The principal objection to the government operation of this road is the interference of "practical politics" in its management. While, as I shall show, this is being overcome, still it has existed—still exists in diminishing measure.

"POLITICS" IN RAILROAD MANAGEMENT

Just how have "politics" influenced the road's operation? Suppose a new section hand is needed, or any man in the lower grades of the road's service,—porter or sleeping-car conductor. In some places he is "recommended" by a member of Parliament who belongs to the party in power. In other places he is recommended by the local patronage committee of the dominant party. And when so "recommended" he is employed.

"How did I get my position? Why, through the Member from my home, of course," said a frank and bright young man in the road's service.

"Did you work for him in his election?" I asked.

"Why, certainly I did; and besides he liked me. I wanted this job, and he said he could get it for me and he did."

This is a concrete illustration within my personal observation of how "politics" *even now* influences appointments on this road.

It is only fair to say that at the present time most of these employees are competent men. I hear that this always has been true, especially as to engineers. These and other employees, the nature of whose services requires it, undergo an examination as to eyesight, hearing, etc., exactly as the same classes of men must do on other roads. The

higher grades of the service are filled by promotions from the lower grades.

One result of this political influence was the employment of too many men. Another, it is charged, was the excessive use of passes; also the practice of conductors failing to collect fares was habitual.

A politician of influence would come to the station with several friends. Perhaps the conductor owed his employment to this man. At all events, the conductor would consider him a person to placate and favor. So he would pass by this man and his friends—he would not see them.

"Then, too," said one in authority, whose information is absolutely reliable, "this practice worked curiously on the conductor's personal pride. He came to feel that, in a certain sense, he was a part owner of the line. It pleased him to show his power and importance. This feeling helped along the conductor's desire to show his personal favor to this politician and his friends."

However, this evil of issuing passes and conductors permitting their friends to ride free is not peculiar to government operation of railways. Consider our own experience in the United States. Not until 1906 were we able to abolish the use of passes. Until that time members of Congress (with a very few conspicuous and praiseworthy exceptions) and other government officials habitually traveled on these accommodating little cards. Even their families went to and from Washington without paying a cent.

Our politicians usually journeyed on dead-head transportation. The pass evil was one of the methods by which our State legislatures, and Congress itself, were corrupted and controlled almost up to the present day. Even now free passes are employed by railways to be used exclusively within the State where they are issued. In countries where government ownership has been thoroughly tried and established on strictest business principles the pass evil is absolutely unknown. Take for illustration Switzerland and Germany.

It is charged that "politics" has much to do with this Canadian Government road's equipment. "For example," said an informant, "many useless stations were constructed—stations where there could not possibly be enough business to justify them. These were built on the demand of some person in that locality."

"Yes, that is true," I was told by an official high in authority. "But we have closed up a great many such stations within the last three years."

"As another illustration, notice the number of trucks at the stations," this man continued. "It is a little item, but it is illuminating. Sometimes you will find three or four times as many trucks as are needed." Personal inspection confirmed this. You may count from fifteen to twenty trucks at the station of a comparatively small town.

RAILROAD SUPPLIES AND CAMPAIGN FUNDS

Much graver charges are very freely made. It is said that no matter which party is in power, and therefore in control of the road's management, unnecessary sums will be expended, especially in the election years—which in Canada are every five years—for supplies. These supplies, it is declared, are not bought directly but through middlemen, and are, in many instances, of inferior quality.

"Of course, these orders are placed where they will do the most good," said one critic of the road. "No one who is not a supporter of the party in power ever gets any orders for supplies of every kind that are given by the Intercolonial Railway."

It is said that out of the profits made by those who thus sell supplies to the Intercolonial Railway, contributions to the governing party's campaign fund are expected to be paid and are paid—no matter which party is in power.

Yet these supplies are sold on bids. It is supposed that the lowest and best bidder gets the contract. Also, the letting of the contracts for supplies is subject to vigilant and hostile party scrutiny in open debate on the floor of Parliament. So is every item and detail of the road's expenditures and management; and this critical public examination is becoming sterner every year.

Not only do members of Parliament take the greatest liberties in asking questions or criticizing the government on any detail of the management of the road, but the people themselves do the like. During the debate in Parliament this year on one item of the road's operation, an honorable member wanted to know how much a freight car cost and why it was that the government road did not charge more than twenty-five cents a day for the use of its cars in the United States.

THE GOVERNMENT IS HELD TO STRICT ACCOUNT

So you can see that the management of the road, for which the prevailing party is responsible, is harassed by the opposition to the extent of their utmost ingenuity and

vigilance. They hang like Cossacks on the flanks of the government every moment.

For, in a certain sense, the party in power runs this government railway. Under the Canadian system, so unlike ours, the party in power is literally and actually "the government." So it is responsible for the road's management.

The opposition party holds the party in power to the strictest possible accountability. It is hard to see, therefore, how dishonesty or political trickery can seriously affect the road's financial transactions.

It is a profoundly significant fact that the management of this road is rapidly becoming non-partisan in spite of its origin, in spite of the peculiar fierceness of Canadian partisan politics, and notwithstanding the Canadian party system of government.

MAKING AN END OF SERIOUS ABUSES

The road's management is in the hands of the Department of Railways and Canals, primarily. By orders in council in 1909 a managing board was created to operate the government railways. Four men constitute this board—each one a practical and experienced railway man appointed solely for his ability, experience, and general efficiency. This board is purely a business body. It has been in active charge of the road for less than three years. Yet in that time it has made great progress toward eliminating "politics" and other abuses from the road's management.

For example, when the present management began to put this policy into effect detectives were put on the road to discover the extent of the practice of not collecting fares. Fourteen conductors were caught at this the very first week.

The conductors, it appears, were only too willing to drop this political method of passing men on the road free of charge. Indeed, I think it never was the conductor's fault; it was the fault of the politicians who demanded that they and their friends should be carried at the people's expense.

It is said quite freely that "politics" entered into the freight business quite as much as into the passenger service. As an illustration, you will be told that underbilling of freight was quite as common as carrying passengers for nothing.

Suppose that the limit allowed in the loading of any car is 24,000 pounds. Suppose the station agent has been appointed to his position through the influence of some man

who ships his freight at this station. The shipper loads the car very much heavier than the limit allowed; but the station agent makes the bill show merely the regulation limit.

Even if this charge be true, all of us know that it is not confined to government owned and operated roads. Remember the serious abuses from which American business and, indeed, our whole people suffered in the matter of rebates. This was one of the scandals of American railway management; and, although all of our ninety millions of citizens were thoroughly familiar with it, yet we were not able to free ourselves from it until four or five years ago.

Also, the prompt furnishing of cars to some shippers and the willful withholding of cars from other shippers by the managements of our various American railways is a circumstance fresh in the minds of every American shipper. Our own railway abuses went even further—remember the shocking facts revealed in the investigation of the Pennsylvania Railway management within the last few years. Even if every one of the charges, in respect to free passes, underbilling, and political favoritism made against the Canadian Government road were true and then multiplied by ten, they do not approach the facts admitted in like matters by American railway managements up, almost, to the present hour.

These charges against the Canadian Government road are indignantly denied by the government; but even if, heretofore, they have been true, it is certain that these abuses are being ended rapidly, if lately they have not been eliminated altogether.

It would be utterly impossible for the following incident to occur to-day. A powerful newspaper in Halifax made this charge: The railway needed a certain tract of land for its shops; instead of buying it directly from the owner, it bought it from an influential politician who supported the dominant party. This man got an option, from the owner of the land, to purchase it for about \$20,000. He instantly sold the land to the railway for some \$45,000 and did not pay a cent for the land until he had gotten his check from the government.

Thus, the paper charged, in this single case a profit of about \$25,000, was made by this middleman without any effort or expense on his part. And this \$25,000, of course, came out of the pockets of the people. A libel suit was brought against the editor of this paper by the person whom he accused of having made this deal; but the editor won the suit.

The facts, substantially as charged by the Halifax paper, were regretfully admitted by a prominent official of the railway. "It was bad, inexcusably bad," said this man, "but, while no excuse can be offered for it, one must admit that it was a small matter compared to the shortcomings of the same nature which have occurred in many of your American privately owned roads; some of them supposedly of the highest character in their management. But," said he, "just because this is a government owned and operated road, the enemies of the government railway ownership have magnified this incident a million times."

So well intrenched, however, has the new business management become in the short space of its brief existence, and so rigidly alert and aggressive is the party scrutiny in Parliament of every detail of the road's operation, that such a case of graft is now impossible. Should anything of the kind be proved to-day, it would cause the instant dismissal of the whole managing board of the road if, indeed, it would not overthrow the party in power.

EMPLOYEES ALL UNIONIZED

We now come to perhaps the most important feature of the road's operation,—the employees. In the case of a railway, the employment of whose men was so largely influenced by "politics" as the Intercolonial Railway, one would suppose that the employees would be inefficient. Very emphatically this is not the case. The great bulk of the employees take pride in their work. One does not hear any complaints of carelessness or shirking of duty by brakemen, firemen, or engineers, by section men, shopmen or telegraphers.

All employees on this government road are organized just as they are on the Swiss Government railways. The road is run exclusively by men who belong to some labor union. There is not an employee, I believe, in the whole service who does not belong to his appropriate labor organization.

Every brakeman on the Intercolonial Railway is a member of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen; every engineer is a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; every fireman is a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen; every conductor is a member of the Order of Railway Conductors. All these unions are American labor organizations,—organizations first formed in the United States and with their heaviest membership in the United States.

Then, in addition, a new union has been formed called the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees. This union was formed for the purpose of taking in all railway employees who were not eligible to join any other union. So the sleeping-car conductors, the men in the dining-car service, etc., belong to this union. This Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees was first organized on this government railway.

"The organization of the laboring men who are employed on the Intercolonial Railway has had an excellent effect," said one informant, himself an employer of labor and none too friendly to the principles of trade unionism. "It is very certain," said he, "that organized labor has corrected many of the grosser abuses which 'politics' has injected into the road's operation."

"For example," he explained, "after the unions were thoroughly established among the railway's employees, it was impossible for politicians longer to cause the discharge of an efficient employee on political grounds. This had been practised before to a degree which, in the present day, would be scandalous.

"The labor unions sternly insisted that no employee of the Intercolonial Railway should be discharged except for a genuine cause. He had to be at fault. So the party in power—and this means the real power that runs the railway—was confronted with a civil service among the railway's employees and a militant civil service at that."

"Then, too," said the Premier of a province who belonged to the dominant party, "it was found to be bad politics to discharge men merely for the reasons of politics. The man discharged for that cause would become very bitter against those who discharged him and so would all of his relatives and friends. All these would enlist their friends and so a public sentiment would spring up. Thus, it was found to be bad politics to discharge a man except for good cause."

It always has been impossible to touch engineers or telegraphers, except for inefficiency. That would be too dangerous as a sheer matter of safety in the operation of the road. But the net result of the organization of the employees on this government road has been to abolish politics in the discharge of men. The management of the road would not (even if it could) destroy the labor unions into which all its employees now are gathered.

Curiously enough there has been only one considerable strike on this government owned and operated road—and it was local and of small importance compared with the great

strikes on our roads. More than once the men have applied for an increase of pay, but always the government and the men have agreed. Speaking by and large, the employees get about the same wages and are paid in about the same way as in the case of other roads.

The only case where the management of the road did not agree with the men who applied for increase of pay was in the case of the telegraphers. The railway management refused to increase the telegraphers' pay as much as they asked. They demanded, I believe, an increase of \$70,000 a year. The management offered \$25,000.

On the refusal of the men to accept this, both the management and the men agreed to ask for a board of conciliation under the Industrial Disputes Act and refer the whole matter to this board. The board was appointed, both sides heard, and speedily an award was made increasing the men's pay \$35,000 a year. With this award, both the men and the railway management were satisfied. So that this dispute was settled easily and speedily.

The older employees are being retired on pensions. The fund from which this pension is paid is contributed half by the railway and half by the men, and is quite generous in its amount.

CLAIMS FOR INJURIES

The practice of business principles also is appearing in the accident department. With very few exceptions, the road promptly settles with those who are injured.

Heretofore, it would seem that "politics" influenced the settling of accident claims. The management of the road did not want to offend. The party in power wanted all the favorable opinion it could get. It did not care to have any community incensed by sympathy for an injured person. And so the settlement for the injury was as generous as was the desire of the party in power to be popular.

But under the new policy all this is changed. Excessive claims are being refused. For example, there is the recent case of a Miss Hamilton, a trained nurse. She was seriously injured; but the railway contended that this was through no fault of the railway or any of its employees. The young woman demanded \$10,000. The railway flatly refused to pay it. So the matter was taken to the Exchequer Court at Ottawa, which is the only court in which the Intercolonial Railway

can be sued. The railway brought to court Miss Hamilton's witnesses free of charge. After the case had been heard, the judge (for there is no jury in this court) awarded Miss Hamilton \$5200.

THE GOVERNMENT RAILROAD KEPT OUT OF INDUSTRIAL UNDERTAKINGS

When it comes to entering into profitable business enterprises, which pay other Canadian roads so well, the government road is manacled hand and foot. One notable feature of the Canadian Pacific and Canadian Northern is their system of hotels. By far the best hotels in Canada are railway hotels, and some of these are quite as good as any hotels in the world. This would be a profitable business for the Intercolonial Railway to undertake.

"But it does not do it," said a keen student of Canadian politics in general, and the Intercolonial Railway in particular, "because of politics. The management of the road, which in reality is the party in power, does not want to get the hotel-keepers down on it. If the Intercolonial should propose to go into the hotel business as the Canadian Pacific has done, every hotel along the route would instantly become opposition headquarters."

"But even if the operation of the road was thoroughly purged and cleansed of politics,

there yet is a great and fundamental defect," said an unusually intelligent and well-informed business man, who is the president of the board of trade of one of the various cities served by the Intercolonial Railway. "That defect," he explained, "is this: The officials and management of the line cannot risk any of the government's money in developing a mine, for example: They cannot go into the lumber business. They must be very careful about extending their branches. They merely are salaried government officials earning their living by running the road and liable to have even that living stopped if they undertake any enterprise or do anything subjecting them to considerable criticism for a year or two."

"But," said an earnest defender of this government owned and operated railway, "after all, is this not right? You Americans seem to think so; for did you not pass a law only three or four years ago prohibiting your interstate railways from doing other than railway business—such, for example, as the owning and operating of coal mines?"

It was the opinion of the practical business man, as it is that of many others in Canada, that while the government ownership and operation of railways may be all right for a thoroughly settled country, whose resources are fully developed and systematized, it is a bad thing for an undeveloped and thinly settled country.

A WORLD'S CONGRESS ON HYGIENE

BY GUY ELLIOTT MITCHELL

DISEASE is not a natural condition. It seems to be almost solely the result of the formation of people into groups and their gradually congested form of living. With this congestion and with ignorance prevailing for many generations and centuries as to the nature of disease it is no wonder that habits of slothfulness have formed and the laws of health have been violated flagrantly and continuously by men of all stages of civilization. The task of the health authorities of to-day is to overcome the inertia of these many years, to teach the lesson of individual responsibility while setting up officially created safeguards.

No longer do people consider the subject of hygiene one to be relegated to the specialists and the scientists. They are taking an intelligent interest in matters of food purity

in the protection of water supplies from pollution, in the destruction of noxious insects that carry disease, in the establishment of higher sanitary standards in places of dense living, in the maintenance of protective measures among children in schools, in the spread of information to arouse the ignorant from their disregard of health laws. All of these features were strongly emphasized and illustrated at the Fifteenth International Congress on Hygiene and Demography which met at Washington, D. C., during the week beginning on September 23,—the first of these congresses to be held in America.

The 2000 or more delegates included men known throughout the world as authorities on the safeguarding of health. Dr. Simon De Unterberger, surgeon-in-chief of the guard corps, privy councilor and honorary physician

of the court of the Emperor of Russia; Sir George M'Crae of Edinburgh, vice-president of the Local Government Board for Scotland; Dr. Axel Holst of the University of Christiania; M. Melis, principal director attached to the general health service in the army of Belgium; Dr. Jacques Bertillon; Sir Thomas Oliver, of the University of Durham College of Medicine, England; Dr. Wilhelm His of the University of Berlin; Dr. Brieger, a pupil of Dr. Koch, discoverer of the tuberculosis bacillus, and himself the discoverer of the ptomaine bacillus; Dr. Loeffler, discoverer of the diphtheria bacillus; Prof. Herman Straus, head of the Jewish Hospital at Berlin; Drs. Jacques Loeb and Simon Flexner of the Rockefeller Institute; Professor Goertner of the University of Jena; Nathan Straus, the founder of the Straus laboratories for pasteurization of milk; Prof. Dr. Alfred Pettersson of the national medical corps of Sweden; Dr. A. Jacobi, the celebrated specialist on children's diseases, besides many of our own leading scientists, were among the many prominent delegates in attendance.

IMPORTANT DISCOVERIES MADE KNOWN

Announcements of many medical discoveries were made which may rank in importance with the von Behring announcement of diphtheria antitoxin at the Congress of 1893 and the Pasteur anti-rabic treatment in 1889, and which should give a mighty impetus to the rapidly growing movement for better sanitary conditions, bringing about a better popular understanding of hygienic principles and accomplish a standardization of hygienic methods through the world.

Sir Thomas Oliver, of the University of Durham College of Medicine, England, announced the discovery of a chemical compound that will reduce the coal-dust evil in mines to the minimum—a practically certain preventive of coal-dust explosions which now cause enormous loss of life.

Dr. Frederick G. Novy, of the University of Michigan, announced the discovery of a micro-organism with which he expects to wipe out bubonic plague. This minute organism is peculiarly fatal to rats, the bearers and disseminators of the plague. It is, however, so pathogenic to rats that a dose of one one-hundredth-millionth part of a cubic centimeter is instantly fatal.

Drs. Joseph Goldberger and John F. Anderson, of the Hygienic Laboratory, United States Public Health Service, announced the discovery of the method of transmission of

measles and of typhus fever. Measles, they declared, are transmitted when the sufferers sneeze in the earlier stages of the disease, not by the scaling off of the patient's skin. Typhus fever is transmitted from person to person by body parasites—common body lice they declared are the only transmitters of the disease.

Dr. Jacques Bertillon, of Paris, declared that in his belief, after long-continued and careful investigations in three great countries of Europe, the use of alcohol as a beverage is, if not the chief cause, at least the principal contributing cause, of tuberculosis. Liver diseases, Bright's disease, paresis, locomotor ataxia, insanity and even cancer, he declared, find twice or three times as many victims among drinkers as non-drinkers.

NEW FACTS ABOUT HOOKWORM AND OTHER MALADIES

Dr. C. W. Stiles, of the Army Medical Corps, described the methods of hookworm treatment. The most famous case of hookworm disease in medical annals formed a living exhibit at Dr. Stiles' lecture. "This boy," he explained, "came from the sand belt district of the South. He was brought into the government hospital a year ago in a dying condition, and at the time of his reception was regarded largely in the light of scientific material; it was thought nothing could save him. His condition was 14 per cent. of par. Under treatment he became 54 per cent. of par within six weeks, and to-day he is 98 per cent. of normal. He is now seventeen years old, and though still short for his age, he has grown four inches within the past twelve months." By way of contrast, Dr. Stiles then brought forward another boy still suffering from the disease. "This boy," he said, "is fourteen years old, but mentally he grades only nine and one-half years old. I found him in a school containing sixty-three pupils, and if there was a healthy child among them all I did not see him. This boy can be entirely cured of his disease in from four to six weeks. He is now 32 per cent. of par." Dr. Stiles said that the methods of prevention and cure are both simple and cheap.

Prof. Albert Pettersson, of Stockholm, Sweden, announced the discovery of the specific bacillus that causes infantile paralysis. The bacillus is so extremely minute that it has hitherto escaped the meshes of the finest bacterial filters devised. With the discovery

of the germ that causes the disease, it was stated that a certain remedy and cure for it will speedily be found.

That trachoma, an eye disease which prevents the entrance of thousands of foreign emigrants into America each year, which afflicts other thousands of American school children, and which rages with peculiar malignancy among the Indian tribes of the West, often causing blindness, is caused by an extremely minute bacillus, was the discovery announced by Dr. Anna W. Williams of the research laboratory of the New York Department of Health. The isolation of this bacillus, it is expected, will result speedily in the discovery of a method of combating the disease.

One of the most interesting facts for the sanitary workers in the south was told by Dr. C. C. Bass of the medical department of Tulane University, New Orleans, La., who has succeeded in growing the malaria parasite outside the human body. Such a parasite was exhibited at the exposition hall. The laboratory cultivation of this parasite has hitherto always been regarded as an impossibility by scientists for the reason that the creature is "an intracellular" organism. Dr. Bass's announcement produced a sensation, as no previous inkling of the successful outcome of his work had been made public. The next step is the remedy.

AN EXPOSITION OF HYGIENE

In connection with the congress there was also held an exposition on hygiene representing all phases of hygienic activity in the United States. This exhibit opened on September 16 and closed on October 5. Many of the federal departments had exhibits, about half the States, and a number of cities. New York had exhibits in several of the sections. There was an exhibit by the New York Bureau of Education, one by the New York Department of Health, and the New York Department of Labor had one of the largest and complete exhibits. One of the most striking exhibits was that of the Department of Public Health of the American Museum of Natural History. It showed by means of new and very beautiful models many phases of the manner in which water becomes polluted and the methods of purifying it and of treating sewage.

Two of the newest hygienic developments attracting the greatest attention were exhibits on mental hygiene and on sex hygiene. The exhibit on mental hygiene showed the great improvements that have been made in

the care and the treatment of the insane and of children below normal in intellectual development. The sex hygiene exhibit showed in much detail methods of instructing mothers in teaching children on that subject. The theory is that children should be taught matters relating to sex hygiene and shown the dangers of certain diseases and vicious habits before they have arrived at the age where they can contract them. There seemed to be no doubt that knowledge of this character should be imparted to children in the proper manner rather than that they should be allowed to gain such knowledge by association with vicious companions; but there was division of opinion in the discussions as to whether such subjects should be taught in the public schools and by general lectures, or whether a general propaganda should be launched to urge parents to impart such instruction.

This was the first opportunity that has been given in this country for sanitarians and other workers in hygiene to show what has been accomplished since about 1880, when modern sanitary methods may be said to have gained their first foothold in Boston. The exhibit showed that great advances have been made and that the practical results due to sanitation have been largely the outcome of original research carried on by State boards of health and medical organizations.

THE ARMY'S CREDITABLE SHOWING

No work stands out more distinctly than the researches by the officers of the medical corps of the United States army. Many people assume that the medical corps of the army is organized solely for the purpose of treating the sick and wounded in battle, but as a matter of fact investigations conducted by this corps into methods for the control and reduction of such widespread and terrible diseases as typhoid fever, hookworm, beri-beri, and yellow fever, were considered so noteworthy that a Diploma of Superior Merit was awarded to the army for its investigations on these subjects. The Medical Corps established the mode of transmission of yellow fever by the mosquito and therefore the fact that it was possible to stamp out the scourge. In hookworm investigations this corps in Porto Rico first established the reason for the economic inefficiency of the natives of the island—over 90 per cent. being affected—and found the means of cure, and applied it. To-day the industrial efficiency of the people of Porto Rico has probably been doubled, and

there has followed a widespread propaganda throughout the Southern States, where the disease is prevalent, under the joint direction of the Rockefeller Institute and the United States Public Health Service, associated with State boards of health.

Beriberi is particularly prevalent in the Philippines, and it was found to exist among people who subsisted largely on rice—milled rice where the outside covering has not been removed. By changing the rations among the people and putting a prohibitive duty upon white milled rice, the disease has been practically eradicated among the Philippine scouts.

In typhoid fever compulsory vaccination was first adopted in the United States Army and as the result typhoid has been eliminated therein; the troops stationed in Texas during last year's maneuvers had no such fever, whereas the death toll from typhoid during the Spanish-American war enormously exceeded the number of killed and wounded in battle.

DEMONSTRATION CARS

Exhibits which attracted considerable attention were the demonstration cars equipped with various apparatus and models used by the State boards of health of California and Louisiana to illustrate to residents of the small cities and towns of the States the most modern methods of preventing diseases. In the California car an exhibit of special interest was the model farmhouse, showing the conditions resulting from overcrowding and lack of ventilation. Mounted specimens of disease-carrying flies and mosquitoes and diagrammatic charts showing their anatomy were important factors of the exhibit. The two Louisiana cars contained five sectional exhibits on child hygiene, pure food, pathological illustrations, and anatomical specimens.

Hawaii showed wax models illustrating the effects of leprosy on the natives of that territory. The models are the work of a priest who has devoted his life to work among the lepers of Molokai.

The United States army and navy showed the methods of cooking followed, the army being represented by one of its cooking schools, which was moved bodily and put

into full operation in the field next to the exposition building. The cooking school consisted of fourteen ovens and half a dozen tents, most of which were used to store the foods cooked. With incidental equipment the school comprised a plant said to be large enough to feed an army of 50,000 men. The navy exhibit of housekeeping was a kitchen and crew's mess table, shown exactly as they appear on a warship. In addition, the navy had a full-sized model of a warship operating room.

A striking feature in the section devoted to child hygiene and infant mortality was an electric light that flashed and went out every ten seconds, day and night. This light, according to statistics compiled through the coöperation of health officials in every country of the civilized world, marked with each flash the passing of a baby life. Somewhere in the world, according to the health authorities, a baby under one year old dies every ten seconds, a total of 8640 infant lives snuffed out in each twenty-four hours.

An exhibit of a large number of patent medicines, so-called skin foods, etc., was shown, together with chemical analyses of the articles exhibited. A well-known "beauty cure" was shown by analysis to contain large quantities of a salt of mercury which, used continuously, is capable of producing malignant facial disfigurements. Patent medicines that are widely advertised were shown, by analysis, either to be absolutely worthless or to contain highly harmful habit-forming drugs. This exhibit was presented by the American Medical Association, which for many years has been active in its campaign against patent medicines of all kinds.

The Bureau of Chemistry of the Department of Agriculture showed the methods by which foods are adulterated and colored with harmful dyes, while the Bureau of Animal Industry of the same department exhibited in a refrigerator fresh portions of meat that had been rejected by its inspectors because of the presence of such diseases as tuberculosis, hog cholera, etc. In another case which was highly illuminated were shown eggs that had been in storage for varying lengths of time and had been kept under improper conditions before being stored.



WATER CONSERVATION BY CITIES

BY EDWARD W. BEMIS

WE have heard a great deal of late, although not too much, about the conservation of natural resources as applied to rivers, forests, irrigation, etc., but we have heard little about the possibilities and needs of such work within our large cities. The problem has burst upon us suddenly.

With our absorption in what is to many the far-away problem of Alaskan coal lands and Rocky Mountain irrigation schemes of the federal government, and the preservation of our forests and undeveloped water powers, we have overlooked the conservation problem at our very doors. While we are rightly concerned to irrigate our Western plains, we spend vast sums in the unneeded irrigation of the subsoil of our cities with the costly leaks and waste in our public water supplies.

VAST SUMS EXPENDED FOR MUNICIPAL WATER SUPPLIES

In the special report of the United States Census Bureau on the statistics of cities, in 1907, it was shown that the ninety-one cities of over 50,000 population had paid out for waterworks systems \$617,000,000. Since then New York City alone has expended over \$15,000,000 for extensions within the city limits, and is paying \$2,000,000 a month toward the vast Catskill project, whose first installment is estimated to cost \$112,000,000 for a daily supply of 300,000,000 gallons, through a hundred-mile aqueduct.

Los Angeles, in June, 1907, voted a bond issue of \$23,000,000 to bring 259,000,000 gallons daily from a point 225 miles away, and is now spending millions more to utilize electric power from the aqueduct. Cincinnati has been spending over \$10,000,000 recently on her water department, Buffalo over \$5,000,000, and Philadelphia over \$30,000,000, while the enormous expenditures at Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Chicago, Washington, and elsewhere, for either more or purer water, during the past few years, need only to be referred to here. To provide such enormous supplies, the credit of the city has to be strained and heavy burdens have to be imposed upon the water consumers or the taxpayers for operating expenses, sinking fund and depreciation charges.

Even where the indebtedness for waterworks purposes does not affect the legal borrowing power of the city, nevertheless the magnitude of the water debt may, as a matter of fact, lessen the ability of the city to borrow for other purposes. This is especially true where there is a suspicion that the investment in the water department is made unusually large by poor business methods, or by waste.

IMPORTANCE OF THE WASTE ELEMENT

For every million gallons of daily use or waste of water in our cities, we must have an investment of \$226,000. This is easily computed from the government report on statistics of cities for the year 1907. About \$100,000 of this cost of construction is required for pumping stations, gravity systems, filtration plants, and the larger street mains, all of which are vitally affected by the amount of water used. The new Catskill supply will cost New York about \$300,000 per million gallons of daily use. One-half of the annual operating cost of over \$600,000 for filtration and pumpage in Pittsburgh, and one-half of the pumpage expense of \$800,000 in Chicago could be saved if those cities wasted only the amount of water per capita that is wasted in Milwaukee and Providence.

Let us consider, for example, two places of 100,000 population each, or two districts of that population in a large city. Let us assume that in the one there is a use and leakage or other waste of 150 gallons daily per capita, and in the other only 75 gallons per day per capita. The one will require a daily supply of 15,000,000 gallons of water, and the other of one-half that amount, or 7,500,000 gallons. The second city or district will save an investment of at least \$750,000, or \$37.50 for every family of five, and in some of the cities it will run far beyond this amount, to say nothing of the saving of operating expenses for pumpage or filtration, where either is required.

Could not this extra \$750,000, now so obviously doing good to nobody, be far better spent in our schools, public buildings, parks or playgrounds? The question is well worth our consideration. The cost of the waterworks systems in our 158 largest cities exceeds

the cost in these cities of all their school-buildings, libraries, art galleries and museums, city hospitals, jails, almshouses, reformatories, and fire departments combined. Is it not time to study the why and wherefore of this?

THE MENACE OF EXHAUSTION

The problem has still another aspect. The existing supply of water in a city may not cost a large amount per million gallons, but the supply may be so limited in quantity, especially in dry seasons, that great loss and suffering may result from waste and leakage. The pressure of water is often so reduced that the third and fourth floors in large sections of cities like Chicago or New York fail to secure any water at all at certain hours of the day, in both summer and winter, because the mains, and still more the services and fixtures, are leaking and wasting in innumerable places. The valves in the water mains of Brooklyn have been at times throttled at night so that leaks may be stopped by greatly reducing the flow of water in the mains. The result in case of fire, unless the water department reaches the spot in time to open the valves, is easily imagined.

So imminent is becoming the exhaustion of our supply of fairly pure water, that at a recent meeting of the New England Water Works Association, prominent engineers seriously discussed the question whether a further diminution of the supply might not force them to go to the enormous expense of a duplicate system of pumps, water mains, and house plumbing, so as to supply only a small amount of pure water at high metered rates for drinking purposes, while furnishing an inferior, undrinkable supply "doped" with chlorine for other uses.

The summer of 1911 brought home to millions of American citizens the danger of a shortage of water. Its use was restricted or refused altogether in many places for such important purposes as the sprinkling of streets, lawns, and parks. Serious shortages were reported all the way from California and Texas to New York and Massachusetts. Temporary expedients, such as house-to-house inspection and the imposition of fines and penalties, were adopted, and for the time being these checked the waste somewhat and relieved the situation. But with the return of popular indifference after the fall and winter rains, and with the impracticability of continued house-to-house inspection, and of fines and penalties, former conditions of waste have been rapidly restored.

REMEDIAL MEASURES

Fortunately we are not in the dark, as in the case of cancer, with respect to fundamental remedies. The engineering profession is well aware of two lines of attack that insure permanent and decisive victory. Action only awaits the wider dissemination of this knowledge. These two remedies are not antagonistic to each other, but go hand in hand. The first is the metering of every service, *i. e.*, every pipe bringing water into a building, and the second is the detecting and stopping, in various ways known to engineers, of nearly all the leaks and waste at the pumps and street mains and in service pipes leading therefrom to fire hydrants and buildings.

While these two lines of action are simple in theory, their application to modern American cities requires much time and a large amount of tact and skill. A considerable amount of money, also, is necessary, in order that the water department may own and control, set and repair, at its own expense, all meters and all valves at the curb, as well as the piping in the streets. But so great is the return on the investment, and so important is the advantage to a community in an assured supply of water, pure in quantity and sufficient in pressure, without large increase in bonded indebtedness, that there would seem to be no excuse for a moment's delay.

RESULTS OF METERING

The writer has elsewhere shown the results of universal metering, combined with proper investigation and checking of waste in the street mains and at the pumps, in scores of our prosperous cities of all sizes and characteristics of population and business. Many cities have reduced their daily consumption of water, outside of the use for business purposes, to somewhere between thirty gallons and fifty gallons per day per capita. Business use, if entirely metered, will usually bring the total reasonable use for all purposes, including unavoidable leakage and waste, to from sixty to eighty gallons, in most cities, and in nearly all of the few remaining cities, to from eighty to one hundred gallons, daily per capita. The total use is below sixty-five gallons a day in St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minn., Madison, Wis., Topeka, Kan., Covington and Lexington, Ky., Utica, N. Y., Lawrence and Lowell, Mass., and in many other largely metered cities.

Washington, D. C., is just waking up to

this, and has decided to meter all her services during the next six years, at an estimated cost of \$819,000, in order, as the Commissioners of the District have just reported, that the necessity for increasing the water supply by the construction of an additional aqueduct at an estimated cost of \$5,000,000 may be postponed indefinitely.

PREVENTABLE LEAKAGE

The entire metropolitan district of Boston and its many suburbs will be metered within the next few years. In a few cities proper efforts are being made to investigate and stop the stealing of water, and also to stop the various underground leaks. Some New York City engineers have held that there was not much preventable waste in that city, yet in the Borough of Manhattan during the past year by the exercise of only part of the methods introduced by the writer when Deputy Water Commissioner in 1910, the consumption was reduced 25 per cent.,—a reduction sure to prove largely temporary if the other details that were part of the original plan are not carried out.

Yet in the face of all this, millions of dollars continue to be appropriated in most of our cities for an increase of supply, while less than one-tenth as much money is grudgingly given for stopping preventable and absolutely needless waste. In most cases the problem of waste prevention has not been seriously studied. No engineer who has given much study to the question doubts the wisdom and urgency of a great campaign for water conservation if four out of five of our cities. Why is the country still asleep?

PURE WATER CANNOT BE "FREE AS AIR"

There are several reasons for this. In the first place, outside of the engineering profession there has been, until of late, dense ignorance on the subject. We often hear it said that water should be free as air. And so it is, in lake or brook or mountain spring. But pure, clean, soft water, at a pressure sufficient for the modern home, can never be free as air. The lake or river a few miles distant that gave us satisfactory water ten years ago is now polluted by the summer tourists or the permanent settlers on its shores. Because water is as free as air as it flows by the door of the farmer, or rises in the well of the village householder, we do not realize how much it costs in the modern city. Along some rivers, even in cities, the

residents may still obtain water free if they are willing to transport it from a nearby supply and are indifferent as to its quality. But for a pure supply we must go farther and farther away, and bring water from distant lakes and mountain streams, or pump it from deep wells, or filter, at great expense, the waters that were once our joy and tonic. The expense thus entailed, which the user must help to bear, is great enough at best. If the present ratio of waste and leakage continues, the problem will indeed be serious.

INEFFECTIVE PUMPING

With the usual lack of knowledge of civic matters in this country, we have hardly as yet realized this change. But our ignorance goes still farther. It is not even known, in most cities, how much water enters into the distribution system from day to day. Although three-fourths of the pumps of Chicago's water department are comparatively new, the city engineer of that city has reported within a few months that 15 per cent. of all the water pumped from the lake slips through the pumps back into the lake without ever reaching the mains at all. In Milwaukee, recently, one pump was found to be putting into the mains only 59 per cent. of the water it raised from the pump-well. The average slip of the pumps for the year was estimated, from a series of tests, to be 9.5 per cent. of the total water pumped, instead of less than one per cent. as the department had previously supposed. In Philadelphia, five years ago, a comparatively new highgrade pump, supposed to be pumping 30,000,000 gallons a day, was actually delivering into the mains only 9,000,000 gallons a day. Few of our water departments have any measuring devices upon their mains running from the reservoirs or pumps, and consequently they have no clearer idea of how much water they must account for than they have as to what becomes of it after entering the mains.

THE QUESTION OF HEALTH

Again, it is assumed by many ordinarily intelligent people that if a meter is placed in the basement, the people will use too little water for health and cleanliness. Yet the healthiest large city in this country last year was Cleveland, which meters all its water, and has done so for several years! From a careful study of this matter, the writer is prepared to challenge the production of any

evidence that the metered cities in this country are inferior in health and cleanliness on the average to those cities that are unmetered. Surely the physicians and social workers would have observed it if there had been any difference in these respects, caused by meters. The idea exists only in the imagination of the people in unmetered cities. In many of our large cities water does not cost over 15 cents per thousand gallons, and in many of the smaller cities not over 30 cents. Even at 40 cents per thousand gallons, however, one gets twenty-five gallons of water, or two-thirds of a barrel for one cent. At this price even the poorest learn to be as free with the use of water for drinking and cleaning and other necessary uses as if they did not have a meter.

To overcome and entirely vanquish this imaginary objection to meters, as well as to prevent too large a reduction of revenues, it is customary to make a minimum charge against every building, which must be paid whether the full amount of water covered by this minimum is used or not. Even with the minimum charge, most people save money on their water bills by having a meter, while the minimum amount for which they must pay exceeds the requirements of sanitation and decent living.

PLUMBING REPAIRS AND WASTE PREVENTION

Where the community owns the plant, and where the water department puts in and cares for all the meters free of charge, the popular ignorance and prejudice against meters and water conservation would be soon overcome if certain selfish interests, few but powerful, were not vigorously, though sometimes secretly, misleading the people.

One of these influences, sometimes hostile to waste prevention in any form, is that of the landlord of large tenement blocks. He sees that with proper municipal housekeeping he would have to pay dearly for neglecting, for any considerable time, the leaks in his plumbing, which is often poor and old and out of date. In the great majority of buildings, however, the expense of keeping the plumbing in order, in metered cities, is not found to be a serious matter. One evidence of the fact that this and other popular objections can be met was shown by every Cleveland alderman voting in favor of the meter appropriations during the completion of universal metering from 1906 to 1910.

In New York City a large number of landlords have shouted themselves hoarse over the

claim that with universal metering tenants, either out of spite or through ignorance that could not be prevented, would deliberately waste great quantities of water by leaving faucets running when no water was needed. Experience elsewhere has shown, however, that this fear is mostly imaginary. Isolated cases of such action on the part of the tenant, through spite, may occur, but landlords are able usually, either directly or through their agents, to educate the ignorant and prevent the vicious in this matter. A tenant may, it is true, out of spite, smash the windows or doors, carry off the keys, or deface the walls, but that is hardly an argument against providing either windows and doors, or keys, or paint and paper. Experience has shown that the number of cases of spite work in the matter of wasting water under a meter system is infinitesimal.

Many people in unmetered districts let water run to prevent freezing of the pipes in winter and to avoid the use of ice in summer. The Albany water department has discovered that a cold winter night increases the pumpage nearly twice as much as did the great Capitol fire of March 29, 1911. It does not appear to be any function of the water department, however, to supply deficiencies in either ice or plumbing. It is, moreover, astonishing to note how quickly, under a meter system, landlords and householders find it practicable to stop most of the waste from all these sources, without resulting in any hardship on the part of the community. The number of property owners who lose, directly and indirectly, more than they gain by meters and other forms of waste detection and prevention causes, must be a very small percentage of the population, or more complaints would be heard from them in the hundreds of metered cities all over this country.

Another opposing factor, and one working secretly, is sometimes that of large contractors seeking to build or enlarge pumping stations, reservoirs, filtrations, etc. While these men are securing large contracts which someone must pay for, they are occasionally loud in their assertions that water should be free as air,—or are getting someone else to say it for them. They present their bills, all the same, for the contracts they perform in bringing this "free" water to the consumer.

CHEATING THE METER

There is sometimes, also, opposition from a few large consumers who, under a flat rate

system, are paying less than their rivals for the same amount of water. In other cases a by-pass is boldly placed around the meter, and the specious claim is set up that it is there merely for possible use in case the meter should fail to work. Again, secret taps are made in the street mains, and hidden pipes are run from them into buildings. It is little wonder that firms or individuals that are capable of such acts as these are averse to any conservation policy that may lessen their ability to cheat the water department by such means.

GREATER REWARDS FOR SPENDERS THAN FOR SAVERS

Again, the pride of some officials and engineers in building monuments to their names in the shape of great constructive works, is often greater than their civic pride in leading a movement which would indefinitely postpone the construction of many of these monuments. To spend millions of dollars in new pumping stations and watersheds, seems to some engineers and heads of departments as better than the expenditure of one-third as much money for prevention of waste which necessitates these constructions. Apparently it often requires less energy to keep filling the leaky barrel than to mend the leaks. Cities offer larger fees to the man who spends their money than to the man who saves it. The rigid inspection of mains and valves and the installation of the small but effective water meter bring far less fame and far more complaints than does an enlargement of the source of supply at an enormous expenditure of time and money. But fortunately fame is also beginning to attach to the promoters of conservation and efficiency. Pioneers in securing a wise use and saving of these necessities of life may soon be as highly honored and as well paid as are those who provide for extravagant waste.

A DEFINITE CONSERVATION PROGRAM

The metering of all business supplies at once, the gradual extension of meters to house supplies, the best attainable supervision of the meters actually in use, a constant, systematic, thorough investigation of leaks in street mains and services and all supplies, whether metered or not, are demands of the hour. The city that cannot

trace to actual use by private consumers and to reasonable use by charities and by the city, at least 80 per cent. of the water entering the pumps and distributing reservoirs, will ere long be as deeply disgraced as is a gas company to-day that cannot reduce its unaccounted-for gas below 20 per cent.

In conserving these water supplies, which are becoming of almost priceless value, our cities will not only secure great, direct, and lasting benefits, but will be attaining administrative experience that will be of vital importance in handling lighting and traction and other problems that are rapidly coming to the front. The question of water conservation is not only comparatively new, but it differs from most of the problems before us. The majority of our cities own their waterworks. Barring exceptional cases, in these municipal plants, there is no special privilege concerned in fighting the public interests. There are no would-be owners of lumber, coal lands, and water rights for power and irrigation purposes, to be opposed. The opposition of the small minority of contractors and property owners above considered, can be easily swept aside by an enlightened public opinion. The engineering profession and the superintendents of our water departments advise,—often feebly, but on the whole unitedly,—the restriction of water waste. The chief obstacle in the way of water conservation in our cities is the ignorance and therefore the indifference of the people on the subject. But the light is breaking.

The report just received from the Metropolitan Water and Sewerage Board, of Boston and suburbs, shows how the steady increase of meters has brought down the daily consumption and waste of water in 1911 to a lower amount than any year since 1903, and within 3 per cent. of any year since 1901. All this has occurred without any appreciable change in either the health or cleanliness of the people or increase of friction between landlord and tenant. In short, the experience of Cleveland is being repeated, where, through universal metering and other methods of waste detection and prevention, the writer effected a reduction of nearly one-half in the daily pumpage, from 1901 to 1909, with substantially the unanimous endorsement of physicians, social settlement workers, and members of the city council.



WATER WASTE DETECTION

BY HERBERT T. WADE

PROFESSOR BEMIS has shown in the preceding article how serious is the enormous wastage of water in American cities, and quite properly indicates how this can be remedied by the installation of meters and the elimination of inefficiency and leakage in pumping plant and distribution system. The application of meters to service pipes and their utility is, of course, obvious, and their general use is simply a matter of municipal administration, for these instruments are now supplied in numerous satisfactory forms. But the actual detection and prevention of inefficiency and waste in a waterworks system, taking place as it may at any point from the source of supply to where the service pipe enters the consumer's premises, is rather a broader matter, involving engineering of a special character.

Every study of water consumption must depend upon methods of measurement and their results. These require the determination of water flowing in city mains without interfering with its use or creating inconvenience to the consumers. It is necessary to ascertain the amount of water flowing into a given main or district and from it subtract the amount that is found to be leaving the main or district under investigation. If every consumer in this district is provided with a water meter the total registration should correspond with the measurements of the engineers and any discrepancy obviously would be due to underground leakage.

The first essential, therefore, is to provide some means of determining the flow of water in the mains with requisite precision, and this is found in the pitometer—an instrument which readily can be applied to any main through which water is flowing under pressure. This device figures most prominently in leakage investigations and the determination of pumping station efficiency, where, as Professor Bemis has shown, and instanced in the case of the Milwaukee pumping station, an abnormal amount of slip or other element of inefficiency may develop. A simple instrument, when once installed, it may be left with its photographic recording mechanism, and without other attention than the daily removal of the sensitized paper and rewinding, it will supply data from which may be com-

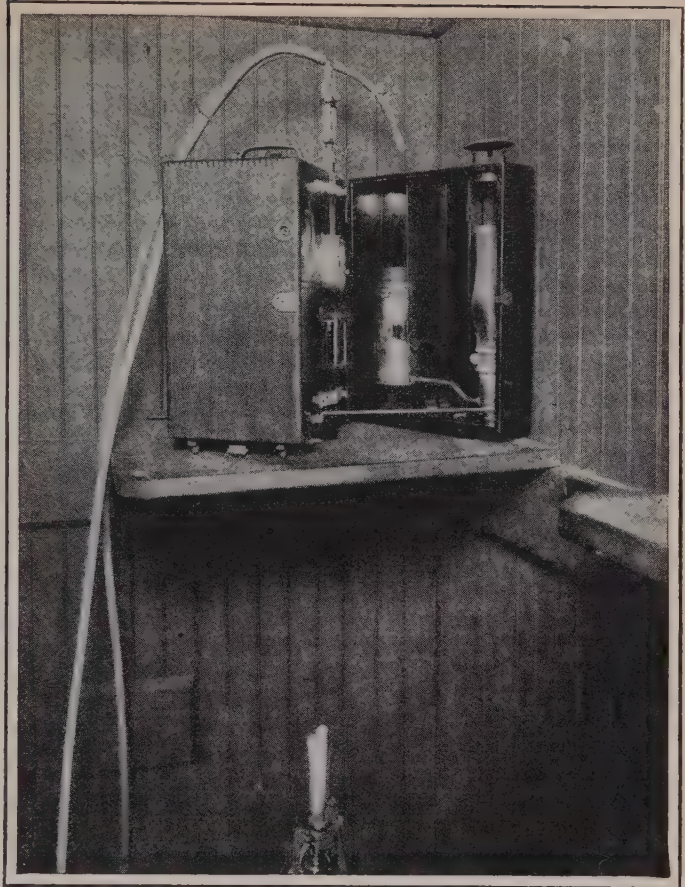
puted the amount of water flowing through the main under investigation with an accuracy of about 2 per cent.

In essence the pitometer of the water engineer is based on the old Pitot tube, originally devised about 1732 by a French engineer of this name. Here an L-shaped tube with a short horizontal arm was placed in a flowing liquid, this horizontal arm being arranged in the direction of the current and terminating in an orifice open toward the approaching flow. The vertical arm being filled with the liquid, the height of the column will depend upon the velocity of the current and will of course rise above the position it would assume were the liquid at rest. Now in the instrument employed for measuring the flow in mains under pressure a second and similar L-shaped tube is also placed in the flowing liquid but with the short arm turned in the direction of the retreating flow so that there will be a corresponding lowering of level equal to the rise in the first tube. Combining two tubes and supplying a means for reading the difference in level with the aid of a mathematical formula we can readily measure the velocity of the water in the pipe. Then, knowing the area of the cross-section of the pipe and multiplying by the velocity, we have the amount passing in a unit of time.

From the simple tubes of Pitot various hydraulic engineers through many years of experiment and research have evolved a practical instrument for current measurement which finds wide application in the investigation of the flow of water in closed pipes. The size and shape of tubes and orifices have been studied and perfected, recording mechanism has been developed, and the whole apparatus has been so arranged that it can be applied at any point on a main of any size with no greater trouble than would be involved in making a simple service connection. The two tubes, with the appropriate orifices, are mounted on a rod which can be inserted in a main through an ordinary 1-inch standard corporation cock. The rod containing the Pitot tubes by means of a coupling and gland is inserted through the outlet and is adjustable so that the orifices may stand at any height in the main. Rubber tubes connect the upper ends of the Pitot

tubes with a long glass manometer or U-tube containing a colored liquid. If the water in the main is flowing there will be of course a difference of pressure in the two Pitot tubes which will be indicated by the red liquid in the U-tube.

To obtain a series of readings over a considerable interval of time the pitometer is employed with a photographic recording apparatus where light from an illuminated slit shines through the U-tube upon a revolving drum of sensitized paper, the fluctuation of level of the red liquid being duly recorded. Such an instrument can be mounted wherever a pipe is uncovered, but usually it is installed in a small temporary house. These recording pitometers may be placed on the mains entering a city or leaving a pumping station and the entire supply determined, or they may be used for a single district or line of mains where the supply can be isolated if desired by valves or otherwise, and at the same time the amount



HOW THE FLOW OF WATER IS MEASURED,—RECORDING PITOMETER MOUNTED IN TEMPORARY HOUSE ON ONE OF THE LARGE MAINS SUPPLYING NEW YORK CITY

of water leaving the district or mains under observation may be measured by a second set of pitometers. Thus in 1911 the Division of Water Measurement and Waste of the New York City Department of Water Supply making a series of pitometer measurements of the flexible joint pipes crossing the East River to Blackwell's and Ward's islands found in the case of the former a daily leakage of 4,000,000 gallons and for the Ward's Island pipe a loss of 1,700,000 gallons daily. Both sets of mains were straightway repaired and this extraordinary leakage stopped.

Where the mains are old and maintenance has not been good it is necessary to isolate a single section and study it in detail. If the consumption between 11 P. M. and 5 A. M. in a district does not show a marked decrease over that of daytime, when use should be maximum, then it is obvious that the mains are leaking or that there is a large amount of leaky fixtures. This is detected by gradually

narrowing the area under examination and studying the consumption by meter readings, where possible, or by examination of plumbing and other conditions.

Where separate house tests are required an instrument known as the aquaphone is employed. This is a form of sensitive telephone receiver with a long steel rod which can be brought into contact with a service pipe or main either directly or through the curb cock whose stem comes to the surface of the street or sidewalk. Any sound of the flow of water in a main under pressure such as is caused by the escape of water through a leak or flowing through a service pipe or partially opened valve will be heard at the receiver. Now in testing a service connection it is usual to see that all cocks, faucets, valves, etc., in a building are closed and if the plumbing is in good condition there must be leakage along the service pipe. This instrument is usually employed by the inspectors at night.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE COUNTY PROBLEM

BY H. S. GILBERTSON

THE misdeeds of aldermen and legislators have a way of bursting forth out of a picturesque, heroic setting. They break into the headlines; the Grand Jury takes notice; public sentiment drives along the prosecution and there follows a general cleaning up, and perhaps some real constructive reform. Even under normal conditions, the possibility of attracting public attention is likely to be a useful preventive.

But what of a government which does not make such an appeal to the imagination and the dramatic sense? The county falls in this category. It has no big franchises to give away and no Senators to raise a "jack-pot." It runs along in its dull, prosy routine, filing records of real-estate transfers and court proceedings, making surveys, executing court processes, and keeping prisoners. Barring, here and there, the activity of a vigorous district attorney, there are few visible and physical evidences that the county is at work at all—except in the tax-collecting season.

But for all that the county is not the center of the problem of modern civilization, it is beginning to be a field of interesting discovery. Particularly is it being brought into sharp and unfavorable comparison, in many instances, with the city governments within its own confines, and especially is this true where commission government has gained headway. The denizens of these cities have witnessed the passing away of the city council, with its petty ward bickerings and its noisy inertia, and of a hopelessly ineffective system of administration; they have seen the foundations laid for efficiency and economy and secret councils abandoned for the policy of the "open road."

THE CONTAGION OF POLITICAL SIMPLICITY

The inference is natural: If commission government could encompass these changes for cities, clearly there is a chance for similar revamping of the county system. And so it happens that in half a dozen widely separated States where the new simplified city government has been in operation for a few

years its first by-product is now a demand for the reconstruction of the wider political unit. In Iowa, the County Clerks' Association has broken into the situation by going on record in favor of a method of selection which would relieve them of their elective independence and place them under the authority of the district judges. New Jersey has caught the idea of simplicity, and has enacted an optional law which would permit the abolishment of the big, cumbersome board of supervisors and substitute a small commission vested with broad powers of control.

But more notable than any of these, and entirely original in its conception, is the constitutional amendment in California, which was adopted in October, 1911, and which is now being brought into use in the counties of Los Angeles and San Bernardino and seriously discussed in several others. This is the measure by which home-rule in matters of local self-government was extended to counties, in somewhat the same form in which it had been enjoyed by the cities for a period of over thirty years. Its primary object is to bring within reach of the people of the counties the advantages of the short ballot and the consequent fixing of responsibility which it entails without imposing upon diverse communities any hard and fast form of organization.

Proceeding from a still different point of view, the group of Oregon Progressives, of which Mr. W. S. U'Ren is the leader, have worked out a most interesting suggestion for county reform. This is part of a radical reconstruction of State government toward which the Initiative and Referendum movement in Oregon had been tending. But the details of the Oregon county plan come in for discussion at the end of this article.

WHAT WAS LEARNED ABOUT NEW YORK COUNTIES

And not only has the county been coming to the fore as the result of the constructive measures taken in cities, but in a number of localities, on its own account, it has achieved an unenviable reputation for eating into the finances of the tax-payers without showing

commensurate benefits. Some five years ago several counties in New York began to contribute to the high cost of living by sending the tax rate leaping and bounding from thirteen dollars per thousand valuation to amounts varying from twenty to thirty dollars. The State Comptroller sent his examiners successively into five or six counties where they disclosed administrative conditions which were astonishing, even in comparison with the revelations which have been made public in affairs of great cities,—so very astonishing in fact that the examinations came to a sudden stop.

Literally, the Comptroller found a wide-open treasury, which could be picked at the instance of half a dozen elective officers, with no one raising a dissenting voice. In one county, by a series of resolutions spread upon the minutes, and directly contrary to law, the board of supervisors had actually abdicated its principal function as auditor of county bills to an appointee who served without bonds and was subjected to no check whatever beyond a perfunctory annual examination. Vouchers for public expenditures were sometimes burned, sometimes stuffed away in barrels and other receptacles without reference to order or sequence. Officers like the county clerk and the county treasurer for years had been pocketing fees which the statutes plainly stated were the property of the State, not because they were dishonest but because their predecessors had done so and that was the only law they had to be guided by, and because there was no one by to tell them any different way.

Incidents like these have their local causes and their local significance. But when they come from a hundred isolated localities throughout the country they picture the chief influence which has molded county government, and influence no better called than by the name of neglect. Neglect on the part of the public and of publicists; neglect on the part of everybody but professional politicians, who have given the subject, in their own peculiar way, the most continuous and solicitous care.

A MEDIEVAL INSTITUTION

The county, even now, is essentially a medieval institution, with modifications at special points to meet the pressure of modern life, and rarely has the slightest regard been given to the incongruities and absurdities of some of the combinations in making the adjustments. For how else could anything

short of a species of medieval-mindedness persuade us to take seriously such an officer as the sheriff? Modern political organization has reduced this erstwhile powerful officer to the dimensions of a court messenger. Once he was the personal representative of the King in the county and the "Keeper of King's Peace." Now, especially in populous centers, he has been displaced by well-equipped municipal police forces and State militia; and in rural sections he is a joke. But while the office itself has atrophied, its outward dignity is hardly less prepossessing than formerly. If in any of the forty-seven States in which he is now an elective officer, a proposition were made to reduce him to his proper subordination to the judicial establishment, a storm of protest would arise from ten thousand outraged democrats. So highly is the sheriff regarded in some of the larger cities that he is permitted to extract an income estimated at \$50,000 per year, part of which, of course, is added to the "costs" of litigants for extra quick service of processes and is hidden away in lawyers' fees.

And the coroner! Surely there is a vast amount of humor in our solemn march to the polls to select the gatherer-in of dead men's bones. Why has not some one suggested that this officer be made an attaché of the local health department?

This backwardness and conservatism in dealing with county officers has been shown, in less ludicrous ways, by comparison with some of the typical developments in the cities. To illustrate: the idea of the merit system of civil service which was provided for the cities of New York State in 1883 was not extended to counties until 1900. Massachusetts, which has had a mandatory State-wide civil service law for cities for many years, has not yet touched the problem in its own civil divisions; this, notwithstanding that precisely similar reasons for this sort of protection are present. However, it may be scored on the side of progress that Cook County, Illinois, is now about to install a most complete and up-to-date system, while in New Jersey, the three counties of Essex, Mercer, and Hudson, containing, respectively, the cities of Newark, Trenton, and Jersey City, have recently adopted the State civil service law by popular referendum.

Likewise, the principle of non-partisan elections for local officers, now in vogue in hundreds of cities and recognized in these units as a practicably incontestable proposition, has made little or no headway in counties, although the reasons for applying

the principle here are doubtly cogent. The obscurity of county officers, the uninteresting character of their work, and the consequent lack of publicity which surrounds their activity make for dark passages and by-ways of politics which directly favor any sort of bad political and business practice of which irresponsible individual officers or county rings are capable. And, incidentally, these same "rings" are important component parts of State machines.

THE LONG COUNTY BALLOT

From the standpoint of efficient citizenship, the really serious side of county politics is the effect which it has upon the unwieldiness and confusion of the ballot. It usually happens that the county officers are chosen at the same time as the State, judicial, and sometimes even city ticket. As Mr. Roosevelt said in his Columbus speech:

You cannot get good service from a public servant if you cannot see him, and there is no more effective way of hiding him than by mixing him up with a multitude of others so that they are none of them important enough to catch the eye of the average work-a-day citizen.

If the district attorney were not mixed up with twenty other county officers of decidedly less importance, his office would undoubtedly be stronger for standing in the concentrated rays of public opinion. If the supervisors could stand out from the county surveyor, the coroner, and the county clerk, the citizens would not have to distribute their attention over a long line of meaningless names. Aldermanic candidates in Chicago are no longer mixed up with a multitude of unknown and unimportant county candidates, and no doubt this fact has much to do with the higher tone of Chicago's governing body in recent years. The Los Angeles ballot in the November election in 1910 contained a list of forty-five sets of candidates, more than half of whom were for county offices. This situation, by the way, is being dealt with by the present county charter framers, who plan to put through drastic reduction in the number of elective officers.

FAULTY ORGANIZATION

But in the last analysis, the county problem arises from its bad ground plan of organization. Some time ago the consolidated laws of New York State were searched to find out the legal relations of county officers to one another and to the State government.

Without attempting to influence the result, but simply drawing his lines through the most convenient open space, a draftsman got the picture of unutterable confusion which appears on the opposite page. A perfect switchboard for tangled lines! And what is the meaning of it all? Simply that there is no positively real administrative headship and subordination in the county organization.

The statutes contemplate that the board of supervisors shall be responsible for the county's financial management. But this board is a large body, consisting of one member from each town and each ward of a city within the county; and, like county boards of supervisors in other States, it convenes only at certain stated intervals. Its members have no special qualifications for administrative work. There is no continuous supervision of the county business.

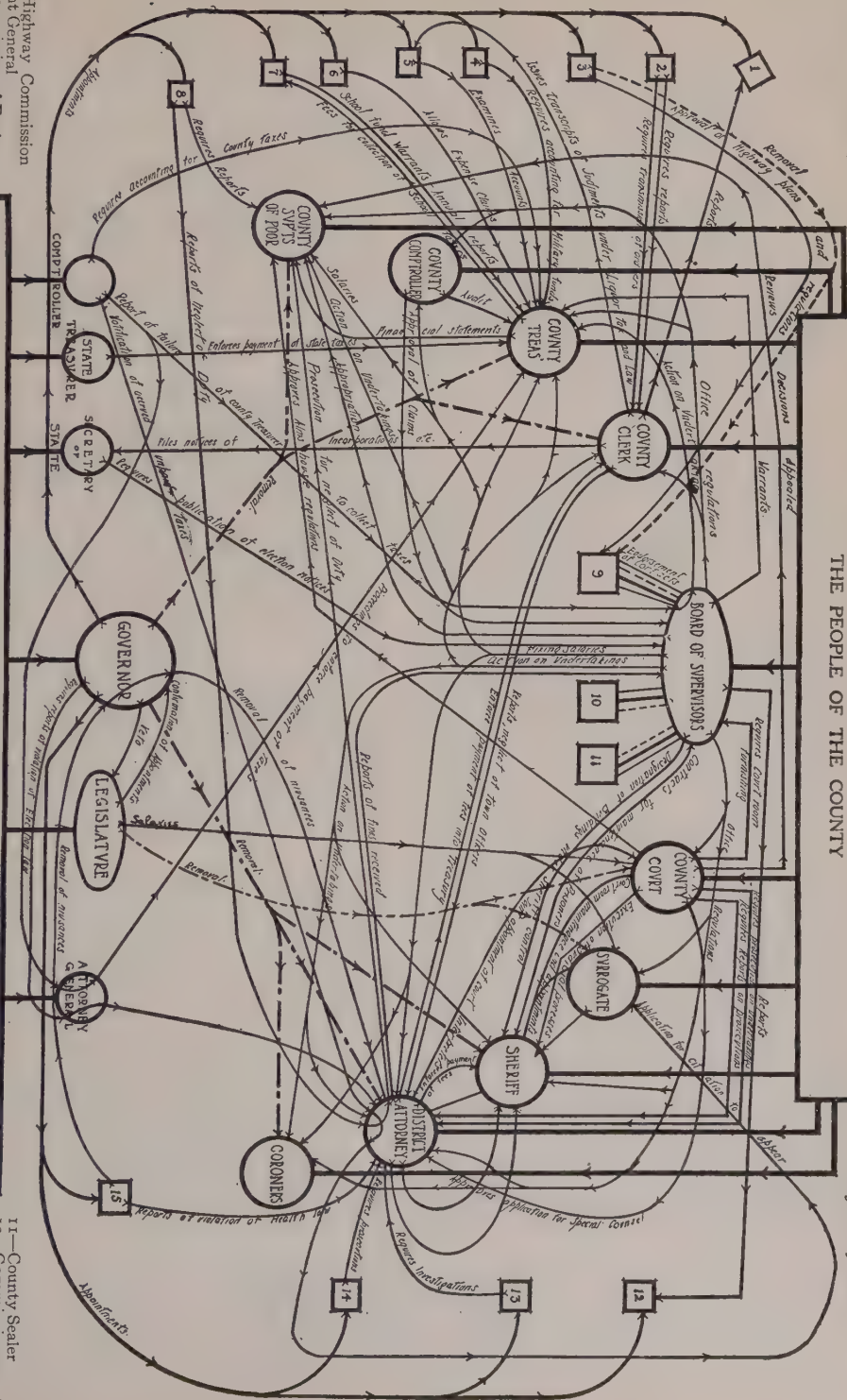
The other administrative officers of the county, like the treasurer and the superintendents of the poor, are independent of their direct control because of their separate election and are removable not by their putative superiors themselves, but by the distant governor, who may or may not act when his attention is called to local conditions. In cases of actual malfeasance the supervisors may recover on the treasurer's bond, or the Attorney-General may take such action at the instance of the Comptroller. But this is not that constant and instant control which is one of the first essentials of practical administration.

To demonstrate that this absence of administrative control is open to more than academic objection, let me cite the attitude of the treasurer of Cook County, Illinois, an official who handles funds to the amount of \$50,000,000 a year. His is a fee office, and according to the constitution of Illinois is under the supervision, as to the number of his assistants, of the district judges. During the past year, after several of the other county officials had submitted to the examination of their accounts and their office systems, the Bureau of Public Efficiency undertook, at the request of the judges, to make an examination of the treasurer's office for the purpose of giving the judges data upon which to authorize an increase in the number of clerks. But the treasurer refused to open his office under circumstances which would permit of effective examination. The judges, his legal superiors, had no power to force his hand. He was responsible, as he himself declared, only to his bondsmen, and to them only does he render any report for the annual

- 1—Superintendent of Insurance
- 2—Superintendent of Banking

THE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTY

- 9—County Supt. of Highways
- 10—Jail Physician



- 3—State Highway Commission
- 4—Attorney General
- 5—State Commissioner of Excise
- 6—State Board of Tax Comm'rs
- 7—Commissioner of Education
- 8—State Board of Charities

A NEW YORK COUNTY—ALL OFFICERS ELECTED INDEPENDENTLY OF ONE ANOTHER AND CO-ORDINATED THEORETICALLY BY ELABORATE LAWS, HEADLESS, IRRESPONSIBLE, INEFFICIENT, OBSCURE

THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE

- 11—County Sealer
- 12—Commissioner of Agriculture
- 13—Prison Comm'r
- 14—Comm'r of Labor
- 15—Comm'r of Health

flow of \$50,000,000. The people elect him. But they do not control him. They have not even the boon of seeing what goes on in his office.

The position of the county treasurer just cited is an excellent illustration of the theory generally underlying county organization. It is a "government of laws," an intricate tangle of checks and balances with positively no human force to drive it. Like a big touring car, with the engine going and the clutch on but no driver in the front seat, it follows a devious path which leads to destruction. No wonder that county government, like the old-fashioned city organizations, inevitably goes outside officialdom and finds a driver in the person of a county boss, or an irresponsible, unofficial form of commission government—the county "ring."

THE OREGON PROPOSAL

In sharp contrast with the typical county ground plan suggested above is the one prepared by the Oregon Progressives. Herein is recognized a principle which most other practical reformers appear to have overlooked. And this is the fact that the county is neither a simple municipal corporation nor a mere civil division of the State, but partakes of the attributes of both. Remembering that the administration of law is a function of the State, the Oregon leaders have consistently planned to keep the judicial machinery distinct from that of functions which are properly the subject of local control. Thus, although the judges, in deference to local sentiment, would remain elective, the district attorney and the sheriff, who constitute the principal agencies in the administration of justice, would be appointees of the governor. All else in the county is regarded as the proper subject of "business" treatment. In the latter department, the principles underlying the commission plan have been brought into play so that the governing board of the county would be a small and "conspicuously responsible" body vested with the corporate powers and duties of the county. But, Oregon-like, the Oregon plan goes just a step further than the commission plan, for, where the latter requires the members of the govern-

ing board individually to supervise the somewhat artificially divided departments of administration, the former arranges for an expert county manager, who would act under the direction of the county directors. This officer would appoint all the local subordinates, such as the treasurer, county clerk, and so forth.

As evidence of the practical basis of this suggestion, witness this statement from Mr. U'Ren:

It is commonly believed that the average farmer and business man, and even the average private corporation, gets as much value in business for from forty to sixty cents as our State and local governments get for \$1. It is not unusual to hear a man of experience say, in speaking of the county, "I could take half the money and get better results if I could run it on business principles like I do my own affairs."

There is experience to justify this opinion. In the period from January to July, 1902, when the business that is now done by the county clerk's office in Multnomah County was done in three departments by an *elected* recorder of conveyances, an *elected* clerk of the circuit court, and an *elected* county clerk, the receipts were \$13,968.50; expenses, \$23,928.97. It cost \$1.71 to do a dollar's worth of clerical work and get the money. In the period from January to June, 1908, with the three offices consolidated in one, the receipts were \$31,355; the expenses were \$20,200.51. It cost 64 cents for the county to do the work and get in one dollar under Mr. Field's management of the business of the three departments consolidated in one.

Multnomah County is getting more work for 38 cents than it used to get under the old system for \$1. The direct nomination law, by elimination of the party bosses and of the machines, is in some degree responsible for the saving, but we believe it is in equal degree due to the concentration of executive responsibility and power in the hands of one man.

And so we shall possibly see in Oregon, replacing the antiquated incoherent anachronism which has passed for county government, a system which at least in the designing is thought modern and scientific,—the direct antithesis of what every reader of these lines has known. Based as it is upon a thorough analysis of all the constituent factors in county organization, it is an embodiment of the generally accepted constructive idea in recent political thought; unity of organization, administration by experts, and simplicity of citizenship through the short ballot.



LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

ELECTRICITY AS A FACTOR OF LATTER-DAY CIVILIZATION

IN an address before the Society of Electrical Engineers of Berlin, Mr. G. Siegel has summarized very succinctly and strikingly the modifications of civilization wrought by electricity within decades few enough to be spanned by the life of a single individual.

We quote from an abridged report of the address in a recent number of the *Revue Scientifique*:

A retrospective view shows that the first important application of electricity was in the field of communication. It is the telegraph and the telephone which enabled us solve the principal problem of communication, the conquest of space and time, in a manner so perfect that the very imagination could scarce surpass it.

The security and rapidity of the transmission of news has attained a development hitherto unknown and hardly dreamed of, and since all civilization rests upon the intercourse of individuals, and this intercourse depends on an exchange as rapid as possible of ideas and experience, we instantly recognize here the civilizing influence of electricity.

We need only recall the miraculous saving by wireless telegraphy of ships in distress, the sure and swift assistance made possible by electricity in cases of catastrophe, the prompt and efficacious advisements and measures of relief in epidemics, to comprehend how electricity furthers the most simple and elementary of all human instincts, that of the preservation of life and health.

Far from confining itself to this defensive rôle, it gives the most active aid to the development of commerce . . . not only by the prompt and exact transmission of news but also by such means as electric lighting, lading devices, turntables, etc. . . .

It is electricity that announces the arrival of trains and facilitates their departure, it regulates signals, governs needles, assigns their paths to trains and arrests them in case of danger. The fine network of wires it demands has become a nervous system, as it were. But necessary as a nervous system is to every living creature, the latter would be inert and impotent without heart and muscles, and electricity assumes these rôles also, first, in the service of tramways. More than any other means of communication these combine safety, rapidity, frequency and cheapness. They permit the centralization of the production of energy, and consequently the maximum of economy, adaptation to the traffic, elimination of smoke, soot, and dirt; acceleration in speed with the consequent possibility of separating homes from factories and offices, assuring on the one hand economy, and on the other convenience, comfort and health. . . . The same advantages are true

in general of longer electric roads, and we see that electricity, more than any previously available resource can serve our needs with the least expenditure of force, energy, and material. . . .

Electricity found agriculture in a precarious state. On the great estates the scarcity of labor had become a permanent affliction. The farmers, lacking a proper motive power, lacked simple and cheap machines capable of accomplishing the intensive culture which only is certainly remunerative. Electricity has remedied all this; it has given agriculture not only a cheap and safe illuminant, but a working motive power, more certain and cheaper than man or beast. . . . The electric motor, docile and sure, attached to the machine, takes upon itself all the mechanical labor, without exacting, like the beast, the least food in the intervals of service.

And the man has only to direct and supervise the work, being thus able to expend his energy in more useful forms of activity.

The lecturer proceeds to give some specific examples, such as electric sheep-shearers, which not only save time by working six times as fast, but annoy the animal less; and milking machines, which have the further advantages of economy and hygienic cleanliness.

THE PROMOTION OF INDUSTRY

But it is in the domain of industry that electricity is most triumphant, because of the concentrated production of the motive power, its simple and easy transmissions and the distribution of the energy to the smallest units.

The impetuosity of the wind finds itself subjected to regulated service; the solar heat accumulated there thousands of years in the coal is transformed into brilliant light, useful heat and creative energy; the raging cataracts must convert their violence into useful labor. . . . By creating a strong and flourishing industry electricity supports thousands of people, facilitates the construction of machines, and so transforms these that they are to those of other days as mighty giants to puny dwarfs.

In brief, electricity may be said to facilitate marvelously the struggle of man with matter. And this is true of the small industries as well as those larger ones such as iron-rolling, weaving, agriculture, and so forth.

The specializing tendency which characterizes modern industry, and the consequent manufacture on a large scale, are facilitated by electricity, while the reduction of expense, of service, the elimination of manual labor and the amelioration of social and hygienic conditions determines an advance such as was never before made in so brief a period in any department of human activity.

The artisan and the small industrial worker, thanks to the electric motor, can benefit in their turn by technical progress. The old-time tailor, working for the great merchants with needle and scissors could with difficulty complete eight suits in a week. But the dressmaker of to-day has at her command under electric power, a sewing machine and pressing irons, enabling her to earn many times as much money with less expense of physical labor and more certainty, while breathing an atmosphere infinitely more salubrious.

Like facts are true of many other trades, such as the baker, the butcher, the carpenter, the cabinet-maker, etc. In brief there exists no occupation whatever where the electric motor cannot be substituted for manual labor, both augmenting the yield and ameliorating sanitary and social conditions, besides improving the wage of the artisan, and thus also the conditions of his existence.

But industry and commerce are so closely interrelated and interdependent that improving the former must improve the latter.

All the progress in industry, the regularity and rapidity of news-transmission, the acceleration and simplification of transportation of men and merchandise, are of equal importance for commerce. . . .

Thus electricity has revolutionized all the branches of commerce by simplifying their service.

A CIVILIZING AGENT

Turning to the field of science we find results of equal importance if less obviously dazzling.

Electricity not only constitutes a very important branch of scientific research itself, but it stimulates its elder sisters and aids them to win new triumphs; it enlarges the domains of chemistry and physics, which it often provides with new means of observation and more powerful weapons. . . . I will cite only the discovery of the Hertzian waves, which in their turn have led to the advancement of wireless telegraphy, electro-chemistry, the determination of high speeds, and of elevated temperatures.

In like fashion it enriches mathematics with new problems, and poses fresh tasks for jurisprudence, the creation of new judiciary conditions.

The enormous gains in medicine due to electricity, both by the application of the X-rays and by various treatments are too well-known to linger over, but the aspects of its social service may be briefly considered.

The telephone has become almost indispensable to our social life and the operation of a modern theater would be impossible without electricity. If we enter the theater with a sense of perfect security it is because we know the qualities of

electric light, which eliminates nearly all danger. We understand too the powerful assistance given by electricity to the complicated technical operations involved in stage-setting and lighting; and to electricity we owe a new form of theatrical spectacle, of constantly increasing importance, the cinematograph.

While the lecturer admits that it has not as yet served as a source of inspiration in fine arts, a circumstance largely due of course to its impalpable nature, while the arts are chiefly concerned with form and color, he believes that when the civilizing importance of electricity is fully realized, electricity will find an artist worthy of its glory.

While its domestic applications are still rather limited this field is constantly widening, and such uses are by no means unnecessary modern refinements or manifestations of exaggerated luxury. On the contrary such uses are in fact, significant of an economy of time, strength, and energy, so conducive to our welfare as to enable us to perform our essential labors more easily and confront the struggle for existence with larger chances of success. Here again the lecturer finds electricity a civilizing agent, since those persons who accomplish their given tasks most quickly and efficiently are more useful members of society than those who waste time and strength on trifles.

Finally, he presents another point of view in the following words:

As long as wind and water were used only in exceptional cases, and while even coal was imperfectly exploited, we were, like the primitive peoples, satisfied with the gifts yielded voluntarily by the sun and without any special effort.

To-day, electricity is more and more subjecting to our service the forces of nature—the wind and the waves; coal and water; gases and oils; the treasures at our disposal find a better and more rational utilization, which creates a surplus of energy, that is, of national wealth. But the more the applications of electricity are generalized, the more will open fires disappear from the household, the studio, and the factory. Fires will continue to flame only in great generating stations.

It is certain that this tendency will bring us closer to the model we find in nature, which needs no flame for the production of light, heat, or power; the rays of the sun are the one inexhaustible force. In examining more closely physical phenomena, we see that a rational and perfect utilization of time, matter, and power is the fundamental law and ultimate secret of nature, and that if the final goal of civilization consists in imitating as nearly as possible the mechanism of nature, electricity has done more in a few years to attain this goal than all the anterior centuries.

Wherever electricity has been set in operation we achieve an increase of security and of yield, with a less expenditure of matter, a replacement of muscular force by mechanical motor force—in other words an increasing spiritualization of labor.

NORTH AMERICAN CULTURE IN LATIN AMERICA

THE extension of the exchange of professors between certain universities of our land and those of foreign countries, to the countries of Latin America, has aroused a lively interest among the cultured classes in Spain, for this movement seems to indicate an attempt to substitute North American for Spanish ideas and ideals in the countries of Central and South America. It is, indeed, quite natural that intelligent Spaniards should see here a very grave danger for the perpetuation of Spanish intellectual influence in these countries, and should regard with apprehension a movement threatening to undermine this influence to the advantage of the great Anglo-Saxon republic.

This theme is ably handled in *España Moderna* (Madrid) by Prof. Vicente Gay of the University of Valladolid. He finds that the difference of language does not constitute an important obstacle to the introduction of North American ideas into Latin America. Of this he says:

The linguistic frontier, if we consider the cultured classes, forms but a feeble barrier, for no one can fairly lay claim to culture who does not know French, English, German and Italian. Those who undertake to perform the task of introducing and diffusing culture easily traverse the obstacle interposed by difference of language. We must not therefore cherish any illusions as to the protection afforded to the influence of Latin Europe by language alone; the United States can exert its influence in the Latin American countries in spite of this. The leaders of thought in those countries will transmit to the less educated whatever elements of culture may be brought in by the representatives of the United States.

The possibility, or rather the probability, that Anglo-Saxon America can thus acquire an ever-increasing influence in Latin America has stimulated a movement in Spain tending to tighten the bonds of intellectual unity between that land and the Spanish-speaking peoples of the New World. Here also an interchange of professors has been initiated. As to this effort Professor Gay cites the following words of Professor Altamira, to whom the success of the scheme was largely due:

This is but a beginning and a symptom. If the work is carried on, it will have some significance; if, however, it is abandoned, the fruits will be lost. If all the forces that can collaborate in this work, the State, the professors, the youth of Spain, the press, etc., pursue the task enthusiastically, with purity of aim, with a firm will, Spain can fulfil in America the duty imposed upon her by her history, her blood and her inherited culture. Otherwise, the present occasion having been neglected, we may say good-bye to America. Above all, let us not disguise our apathy and our coldness under the mask of rhetorical addresses at official banquets, for they are both useless and worthless.



DR. E. G. DEXTER

(Commissioner of Education, and Chancellor of the University of Porto Rico, an institution well fitted to be a meeting-ground for Northern and Southern culture)

The most powerful instrument at the command of Spain for the maintenance of her intellectual influence is Spanish literature. That this may secure an ever wider diffusion in Latin America, Professor Gay urges, in the following words, the employment of the modern methods of diffusion:

We must keep the general public fully informed by means of well-arranged catalogues, covering both works of native Spanish production and also translations into pure Castilian Spanish. These catalogues should be distributed gratuitously and

should be made as attractive as possible, following the example set by the German publishers, past masters in this art. They should offer clear and exact information to those for whom Spanish is the mother tongue.

The aid of the state should not be claimed in the effort to uphold Spain's influence, for we have in Latin America at the present time a sphere of activity especially appropriate for the exercise of private and individual initiative, and it is of the highest importance that Spaniards should do all in their

power to fulfil the mission of maintaining and strengthening the hold that Spanish culture already has on Spanish America. The recent foundation of the Liga Cervantina is an event that encourages high hopes and promises much for the future. With the name of Cervantes inscribed on its banner, this association is prepared to carry out a program for the diffusion of Spanish-American culture by presenting to Spaniards and South Americans in turn the best and most characteristic aspects of each branch of the Spanish race.

PRESERVING FRANCE'S BEAUTIFUL CHURCHES

AS a result of the anti-clerical legislation in France, the parish churches of that country have been to a large extent abandoned, and as the funds allotted for their support while the concordat was in force are no longer available, there is grave danger that many of them will fall to decay from lack of the necessary repairs. This state of things is a cause of distress not for French Catholics alone, but for lovers of architectural beauty all over the world. In an eloquent address delivered before the Société d'Économie Sociale and reported in the *Réforme Sociale*, M. Maurice Barrés, of the French Academy, voices the sentiments of those who are trying to induce effective action on the part of the

government for the preservation of these churches. The actual conditions are thus presented by M. Barrés:

The communes may indeed aid in preserving the churches, but they are in no wise obliged so to do. There are no longer any appropriations for this purpose in the budget of the State. In consequence, no one is legally bound to aid in the maintenance of these edifices. It will be objected that there are the Catholics, the faithful who love their churches. . . . This is undoubtedly true, but the law does not accord them the right to give this aid. The municipalities which now own the churches may refuse the money of the faithful, and they do not fail to make use of this privilege. So that, legally, the churches are altogether without protection, and thus we see these monuments, the noblest, most venerable and precious of our country, placed in danger of ruin and decay.

This situation has not failed to excite public opinion. A noble petition has been prepared, and has been signed by nearly every member of the Institute, by the members of all the provincial Academies, by those of all the archæological societies, by all the artists, from the most eminent masters down to the *rapins* of Montmartre. We have seen learned men who are atheists give their signatures without hesitation, and also members of the Academy of Sciences who are certainly free from any belief in supernatural agencies in the universe.

The French Government has already taken favorable action in certain isolated cases, but such half-measures are necessarily quite insufficient, for special legislation in each separate case, where thousands of cases are involved, would mean an altogether unwarrantable delay. The following eloquent words of M. Barrés are well calculated to stimulate more effective measures on the part of the State:

Our French churches constitute an epitome of the architectural history of France. What has secular architecture bequeathed to us that can be compared with this unbroken chain of forms, covering a period of ten centuries? What can be found comparable to this splendid evolution of church architecture, assuming various forms according to the different epochs and to the different regions, and even in the different parishes of the same



THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OF ST. LOUIS AT VICEY IN THE DEPARTMENT OF ALLIER, CENTRAL FRANCE

region. In this long series of Roman churches, Gothic churches, churches of the French Renaissance, of the Baroque period, no two can be found in our France that are exactly alike. It is not possible that our age, that the present generation, will permit this destruction of French architecture. We must, irrespective of party differences, unanimously demand a statutory provision for the preservation of our churches.

It is not therefore simply as religious edifices that these abandoned churches deserve protection, but as historic monuments; and this offers an opportunity for favorable official action without offending the tender sensibilities of the radicals, for there already exists a law giving to the State the right to take the necessary steps for the preservation of national monuments possessing historic interest or significance. As, however, the expense of caring for the numerous church edifices would necessarily be very heavy, the speaker recognized that this task must be undertaken with the collaboration of the municipalities and with that of individuals interested in the cause. In conclusion, M. Barrés said, emphasizing the practicability and necessity of united action:

A few days since, I went to Caen, which is, as you know, one of the most interesting of our French cities, because of its historic monuments, and there I saw, on the same platform, the Bishop of Bayeux and M. Perrotte, the radical mayor of the city, as well as the progressive deputies Engerand and Flandin, and all were giving their heartiest approval to this campaign for the preservation of our churches. This may be taken as an example of the combination that can be organized for the purpose.

Even the Protestants have manifested their earnest sympathy for this cause. Thus we have the means of organizing a vast union of all right-



CHURCH AT LE BOURGET, NEAR PARIS, MADE FAMOUS
BY DETAILLE'S PAINTING OF ITS TAKING
BY THE GERMANS

(The building is falling to ruins and it is proposed to raise money to repair it)

thinking and right-feeling people, of all true patriots, to insure the preservation of the most precious treasures of our village communities, of those ancient monuments which represent much more than a merely poetic emotion, for they testify to a powerful upward movement of civilization, and without them everyone well knows that no nation can endure.

A BIG ALL-INCLUSIVE LABOR TRUST—THE AIM OF THE I. W. W.

IN the June issue of the REVIEW we gave, under the caption "Industrial Unionism and its Ideals," an account of the aims of the Industrial Workers of the World as set forth in an article by Dr. William E. Bohn, a university man identified, in their early days, with the "I. W. W.'s," as these labor-unionists are commonly called. Among other things Dr. Bohn said:

Vincent St. John, secretary-treasurer of the Industrial Workers of the World, wrote me in February, while the Lawrence strike was on, that this organization had enrolled some 15,000 members.

From an article by Miss Agnes C. Laut in the *Technical World*, it would appear either

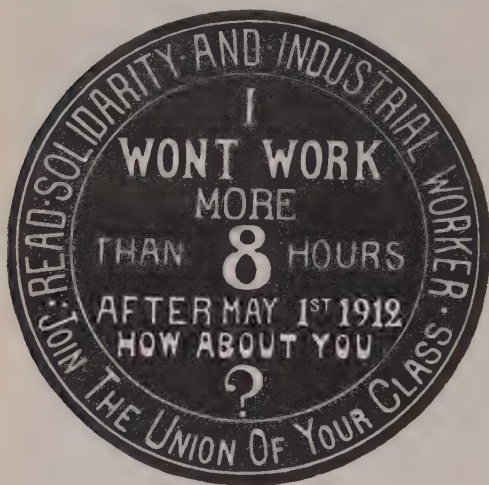
that these figures are subject to correction or that the I. W. W. have received enormous accessions to their numbers. Miss Laut visited the strikers on the Canadian Northern Railway, and, combining acumen with diplomacy, succeeded in gaining very frank, in some cases very startling, admissions from several of the men which show that the I. W. W. intend to stick at nothing in the accomplishment of their ends. Take, for instance, the following declaration made to Miss Laut in one of the strike camps in Vancouver, B. C.:

We are only six years old as an organization in this country. We are only six years old; and we are one hundred thousand strong on the Pacific

Coast, and five hundred thousand strong in Europe. We are the foundation layer of the industrial world, the shovel stiffs, the mill hands, the dock workers, the section men. How long do you think the world could go on if we stopped? It would paralyze every wheel of commerce. That is frankly what we aim to do—to refuse work till all industry is taken over by the laboring classes.

Another of the strikers said to Miss Laut:

You think we are beaten? We will go back to work and accumulate funds and strike again, and strike yet again till the public finds it cheaper for us to operate all industry than to tolerate the recurring deadlock. We are striking solely to overthrow the capital system. First, in England, it was the railways. Then it was the coal mines. Now it is the docks. . . . "I Won't Works" they call us. They are right. The Industrial Workers



WHY THEY ARE KNOWN AS "I WONT WORKS"

of the World are "I Won't Works" for capital. We work only for the laborer, and the laborer is worthy of his hire; and our hire is all that labor produces: not just half of it, with the other half going for profit. In overthrowing capital, we shall eliminate the profit system. No more shall be produced than can be used by the producer.

Miss Laut, who is herself a Canadian, suggested to one leader that she did not think that the secret propaganda of the I. W. W. would ever succeed in the factories of Eastern Canada because of the operatives being French Canadians and the Catholic Church opposing secret orders. This reply was made:

You don't, don't you? Then let me tell you there is not a railway yard nor factory from Montreal to Vancouver, from Lawrence in New England to San Diego, California, where we have not our secret agents organizing. . . . You put your finger on any point of the map; and I can tell you of our organizer there.

It is curious, Miss Laut remarks, how slow the public have been to realize that the I. W. W.'s are a new force in the labor world.

Arbitration, the ballot, compromise, profit sharing, contract—all are excoriated, despised, repudiated by the newest labor movement. "Discontent," "expropriation," "revolution," are the watchwords.

Mitchell and Gompers are regarded as "vultures, doing the bidding of the master class." Another manifesto says: "We do not want to build a job trust" (speaking of the old trades-unions): we aim at a *big all-inclusive labor trust*." Sabotage, mutiny, even treason, are advocated by the I. W. W. Says one manifesto:

Listen men, the day is once more at hand when treason is the supreme duty of every man and mutiny a soldier's highest obligation. . . . In case of dispute, remain at the post and turn out work in such shape as to be unfit for sale. The more skilled the workman is, the greater his knowledge of how to spoil work without being detected. . . . The general strike of all labor is nothing less than the Social Revolution at which we aim.

Being asked by Miss Laut whether he did not fear to overthrow a civilization that it has taken the world billions of years to build up, and whether it would not be better to remove the evils instead of smashing everything over a precipice, a leader replied: "Fear? What have we to fear? It's the middle class that have everything to fear. We have nothing to lose. Let the smash come!"

Referring to the fact that one of the I. W. W. street agitators, now doing time in New Westminster prison, had advocated \$4 an hour for a three-hour day, Miss Laut put to one of the leaders the following proposition:

I love work and thousands of people do. We don't want a three-hour day for our own affairs. Supposing that I wanted to work sixteen hours a day, as many people whom you call "capitalists" do work every day of their lives; supposing I want to earn \$64 a day to your \$12, why should your new system of utter freedom prevent me or anybody else?

The reply was: "For the good of the labor world—to prevent a capital system ever growing up again; and we forcibly would exile you from our new nation if you worked more than three hours a day; but you forget that in a society where there would be no rent, no interest, no dividends, no surplus products, you would have no motive to amass \$64 to my \$12." As Miss Laut observes, "The reconstructed society is to have no concep-



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THE RECENT "DEMONSTRATION STRIKE" OF THE I. W. W. AT LAWRENCE, MASS.

tion of the joy of work for its own sake." And she concludes her article with these words of warning:

But do not mistake the force of the movement! It is not a local labor fray. It is a world war that aims to make the French Revolution look like petty politics. Ask an I. W. W. man what the continual sporadic strikes of the last year mean;

the rail, coal and dock strikes in England; the construction and dock and smelter and mill strikes in the United States, and he tells you frankly, without mincing matters, that all the little strikes are to educate the workers for the Big General Strike; and the Big General Strike is to be the Revolution, bloodless if possible, bloodless if the armies of the world can first be won over; but if not—then, their manifesto says—and there is a terrible menace hidden behind that one word—"forcibly."

THE STEEL CORPORATION'S SELF- INVESTIGATION

THE United States Steel Corporation recently issued to its stockholders a circular entitled "Action of United States Steel Corporation upon Recommendations of Stockholders' Committee." There is nothing in this caption to attract the attention of the casual reader, and yet "thereby hangs a tale"—a tale unique in the commercial annals of this country, being no less than an account of the investigation by itself of the largest industrial corporation in the United States. The incidents which gave rise to this self-investigation are set forth in detail by Mr. Frank B.

Copley in the *American Magazine* for October, and the following summary of them will doubtless be of interest to the readers of the REVIEW:

The attention of Mr. Charles M. Cabot of Boston, a stockholder in the United States Steel Corporation, having been directed to "the shocking condition, sanitary and otherwise," of a certain group of laborers' homes in Pittsburgh, that gentleman felt that, as a stockholder in the corporation that employed these men, he was partly responsible for the undesirable conditions existing amongst them. He, therefore, arranged with Judge Elbert Henry Gary, executive head of the corporation,



THE STEEL CORPORATION'S INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE

(Left to right: Charles M. Cabot, Charles A. Painter, Stuyvesant Fish, William H. Matthews, Charles L. Taylor, C. L. Closs)

that an article "setting forth conditions that Mr. Cabot believed should be changed and advocating progressive policies in general," should be prepared by Mr. John A. Fitch, a well-known investigator, and that this article should be mailed at Mr. Cabot's expense to 15,000 holders of the corporation's preferred stock. The article was written, and in it Mr. Fitch set forth that "the factors that entered most deeply into the lives of the steel workers as he had found them were 'a daily and weekly schedule of hours, both shockingly long; a system of speeding that adds overstrain to overtime; and, crowning all, a system of repression that stifles initiative and destroys healthy citizenship.'"

Before mailing the article to the stockholders, Mr. Cabot desired that the public should read it, and it was printed, under the title "Old Age at Forty," in the *American Magazine* for March, 1911. It did not please Judge Gary, who apparently had thought that the only questions to be raised were "the seven-day week, the twelve-hour day, and perhaps the speeding of the men," and he withdrew his promise to let Mr. Cabot have access to the stockholders' list. Mr. Cabot appealed to the courts, and they decided in his favor. On April 17, 1911, he attended the annual

meeting of the corporation and succeeded in putting through a resolution calling upon the chairman, Judge Gary, to appoint a committee of investigation. The chairman appointed Mr. Cabot, Mr. Charles A. Painter, Mr. Stuyvesant Fish, Mr. William H. Matthews, Secretary, Mr. Charles L. Taylor, and Mr. C. L. Closs; and this committee made a tour of the mills from April 3 to April 12 of this year. They found the following conditions:

That with the exception of two or three plants, the seven-day week had been relegated to the past, and they recommended the absolute enforcement of its inhibition. From the records of 175,715 men examined, they found that 25 per cent. were working twelve hours a day, that although the hardship of the twelve-hour day had been somewhat lessened by the introduction of special machinery, still the committee were of opinion that a twelve-hour day followed continuously for any length of time means a decreasing of the efficiency and a lessening of the vigor and virility of such men. The committee favored the retention of the bonus system and the system of payment by piece work, but, to avoid abuses therein, the committee recommended that means should be employed to check any official

who "in his anxiety for output becomes disregardful of possible injury to his men by overspeeding and excessive strain.

As to the repression of the men, the committee considered that it might be an open question as to "what measures the officers of the corporation should adopt for the suppression of organizations that in the past have at times proved irresponsible and incapable of safe control," but it believed that "the present methods are preferable to the old for all concerned" and that the corporation was justified in making "efficiency the one standard by which continuance of employment in its plants is determined."

The committee express the hope that "officials and wage-earners may be found more and more working together to bring forward the day when employer and employee shall enter into a common administration of industrial interests."

These are the findings embodied in the circular referred to at the beginning of this article; and the "action" in question is that

of the Finance Committee of the corporation, appointing a committee to "consider what, if any, arrangement with a view to reducing the twelve-hour day, in so far as it now exists among the employees of the subsidiary companies, is just and practicable."

The *American* writer quotes Judge Gary's declaration at the last annual meeting "that it needs no magazine article, nor any resolution from any stockholder, to spur us on in our endeavor to promote the welfare of the employees of the Corporation." At the same time the public interest aroused by the printing of the article exposing conditions calling for betterment cannot fail to strengthen the hands of the managers of the corporation in voluntarily hastening reforms which, with such organizations as the Industrial Workers of the World struggling to get a foothold in the steel industry, may possibly be forced upon them.

THE LITERATURE OF GREATER BRITAIN

"HAS England passed her literary zenith?"

On this question much might be said both for the affirmative and the negative. In the view of a writer in the *London Bookman*, it would not be surprising if the great creative English literature of the future came from the Colonies rather than from the mother country, which latter seems to manifest a tendency to rest, as it were, on her oars.

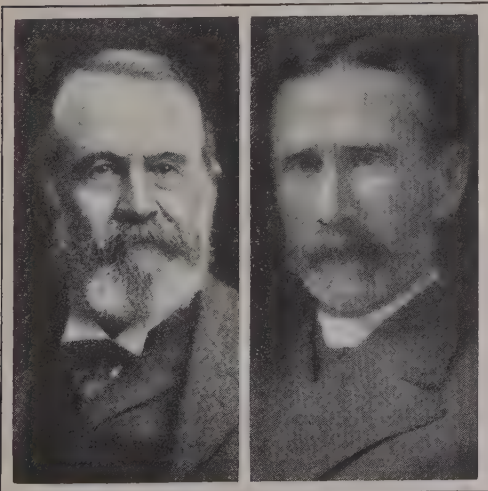
a glorious literary heritage, with a great literature ready made for us, we have less incentive to increase it than to write about and criticize it. Our morning is behind us; the bloom has been rubbed from our enthusiasms—in a word, we are grown up; and I sometimes fancy that, in our literary aspect, we have arrived at that mature, uninspired, mid-day stage when a man is not so naturally disposed to be restless and over-energetic as to settle to a comfortable after-lunch nap. With the Colonies it is all otherwise. They are still at the beginning . . . with everything to do, a great literature to make, the world before them.

We [the English] are past our nonage. Born to

Many will agree with the opinion thus expressed by Mr. A. St. John Adcock in a remarkably comprehensive survey of the literature of Australasia, Canada, South Africa, and India.

Australasia

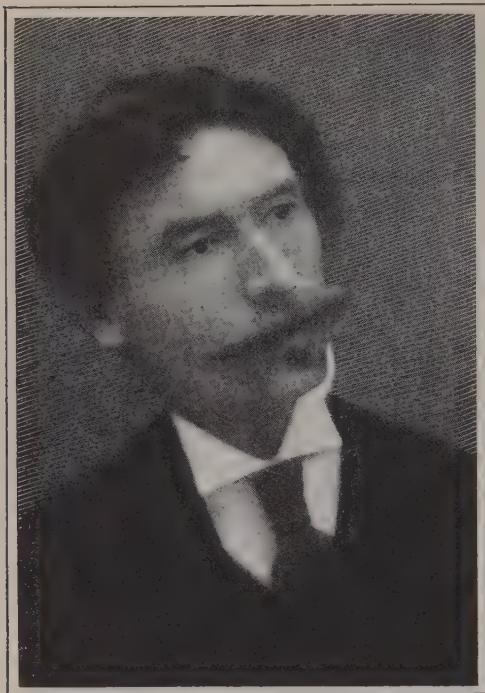
Nearly thirty years ago J. A. Froude, in his "Oceana," dismissed Australian literature with the single reference: "They have had one poet—Gordon—something too much of the Guy Livingstone type, an inferior Byron. . . . He, poor fellow, hungering after what Australia could not give him . . . had nothing to do but shoot himself, which he accordingly did." This, as Mr. Adcock points out, was to ignore Henry Kendall, Gordon's equal, and some earlier poets such as Harpur and M'Crae. It was to overlook also "one of the biggest things in Australian literature, Marcus Clarke's somber, power-



"Rolf Boldrewood"

"Ralph Connor"

TWO POPULAR BRITISH "COLONIAL" NOVELISTS



ERNEST THOMPSON-SETON, NATURE WRITER

fully realistic novel of old penal settlement days, 'For the Term of his Natural Life,' which was published in the 'seventies." Moreover, as early as 1820 no less a literary personage than Charles Lamb had reviewed in the *Examiner* the "First Fruits of Australian Poetry," by his friend, Barron Field; writing to the author that Coleridge and Wordsworth were "hugely taken with your Kangaroo." The two greatest novels of Australian life were written by Englishmen, Charles Reade ("Never Too Late to Mend") and Henry Kingsley ("Geoffrey Hamlyn").

But the recognized patriarch of Australian literature is Charles Harpur, an Australian born, who lived the life of a squatter, mitigated the loneliness and monotony of his labors by writing much verse, and published a volume in 1840, which was absorbed into a complete edition of his works that was issued in 1883, fifteen years after his death.

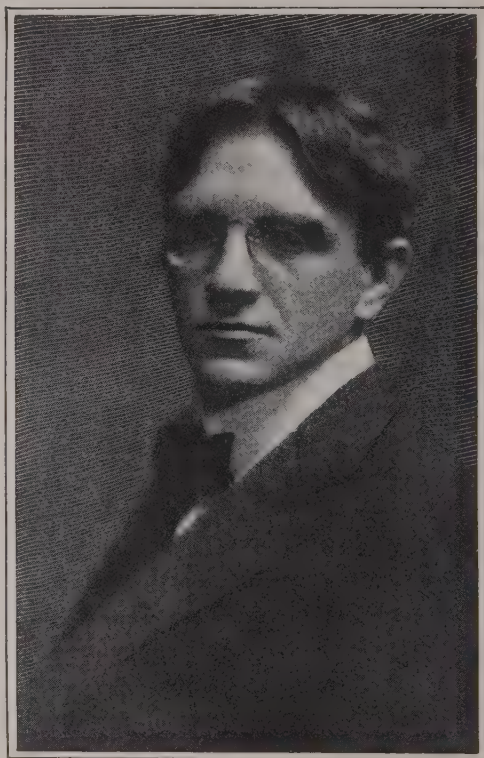
In the 'fifties came Gordon and Henry Kendall; and by now Australia has produced nearly five hundred poets, of whom Mr. Adcock names about a score. According to Mr. Adcock, Australia is the poet's Tom Tiddler's ground. He says:

More poets are living and publishing in Australia than in England, and their works have immeasurably larger sales there than any but the very chief of our present-day poets ever attain here. Victor Daley runs through three editions;

Henry Lawson puts out a volume of poems that sells sixteen thousand copies; Will Ogilvie sells fifteen thousand; A. B. Paterson sells ten, fifteen, and his book of ballads, "The Man from Snowy River," has gone into its fiftieth thousand. It is because I know there is nothing approaching that demand for poetry over here that I constantly advise our home poets to emigrate, and wonder why they do not.

He considers Bernard O'Dowd "as strongly national" as any of the Australian songsters, while the poems of John Bernard O'Hara (six volumes of which have had London editions) "are more austere classically and have a higher technical finish." Of the younger poets "none has reached a higher level of achievement or given greater promise than John Le Gay Brereton and Christopher Brennan." In the latter's "XXI. Poems: Toward the Source" and Mr. Le Brereton's "Sea and Sky" one has "some of the most delicate and essentially poetical work that has yet been written in Australia."

Of the host of Australian fiction writers named by Mr. Adcock it is possible to mention only a few here. First and foremost comes Rolf Boldrewood (Mr. Thomas Alexander Browne), whose "Robbery Under Arms," his "one immortal book," dwarfs the rest of the score of novels written by him.

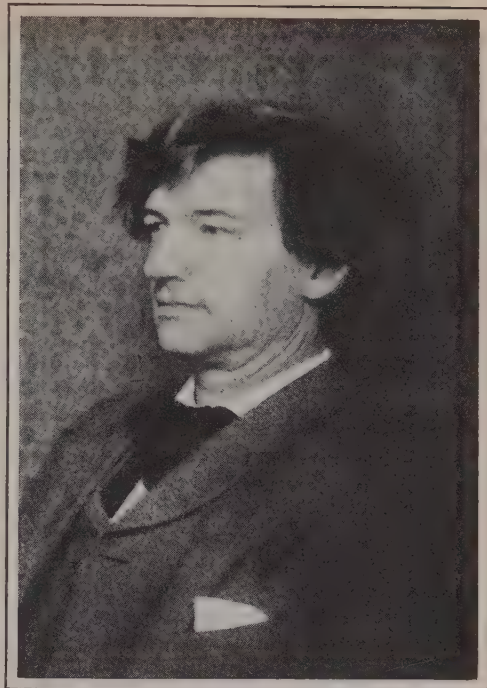


CHARLES G. D. ROBERTS, POET AND NOVELIST

Successively a pioneer squatter in Victoria (he was born in London in 1826 and went early to Australia), a police magistrate, and warden of goldfields, he is described as "the most modest of men, with an air of old-world courtesy." Mr. Adcock writes:

"Robbery Under Arms" was first published in Australia in 1880; an English edition appeared in 1889; and since then it has gone through more editions than I have stopped to count. It yielded its author, as he confessed to an interviewer on his eighty-third birthday, £1780 (\$8900) in its first year, and never less than £150 (\$750) ever after. It was dramatized, and he received £6 (\$30) a week from it during its run on the stage.

One of the best sellers just now is Steele Rudd, whose "On Our Selection" and "Our New Selection" have sold over three hundred thousand copies in Australia and New Zealand. David Henessey's new novel, "The Outlaw," was awarded second prize in Hodder & Stoughton's £1000 (\$5000) prize novel competition. Mrs. Alice M. Dale ("Marcus Warwick, Atheist"), Ada Cambridge (Mrs. G. F. Cross) ("A Marked Man"), and Mary Gaunt (Mrs. Lindsay Miller) ("Fools Rush In") are among the authoresses who have achieved popularity in Australia. Louis Becke and Henry Lawson are cited as Australia's "only two writers who know the fine art of the short story." In the latter's



BLISS CARMAN, POET

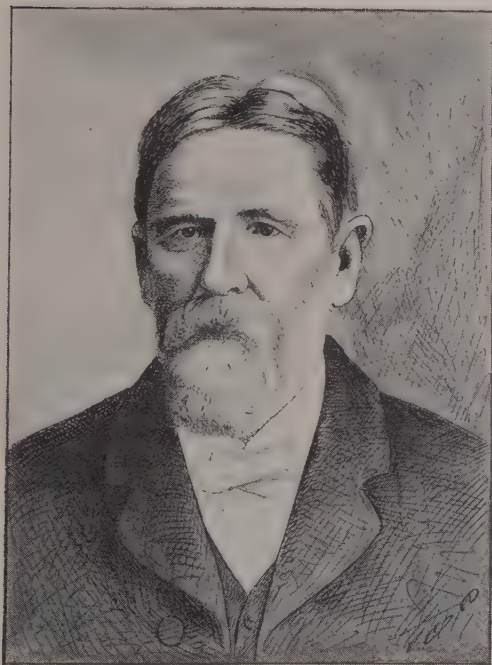
"While the Billy Boils" and "Joe Wilson and his Mates" are things "that stand as literature higher than anything else in Australian literature."

In general literature Mr. Adcock thinks that the palm "for the most popular Australian studies of English history, if not the most popular of all Australian books," must certainly go to Dr. W. H. Fitchett's "Deeds that Won the Empire," which the author himself describes as "a literary accident," but which "at six shillings [\$1.44] went through twenty-seven editions" and at sixpence [12 cents] "sold over 100,000 copies and is still selling." Sir Henry Parkes's "Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History," and "The Growth of the Empire" and "The History of Australasia" by Arthur W. Jose may be said to have become standard works.

In New Zealand Arthur H. Adams is recognized as the national poet and "one of the three most significant of its younger novelists, the others being G. B. Lancaster (Miss Lyttleton) and Pember Reeves (Mrs. Blanco White)."

Canada

With regard to Canadian literature, Mr. Adcock is inclined to doubt the accuracy of



DR. W. H. FITCHETT, HISTORIAN AND EDITOR



MISS JEAN M'ILWRAITH,
NOVELIST

Dr. Wilfred Campbell, "himself one of Canada's foremost poets," when he writes:

The outsider must realize that we as a people have passed into a more advanced if less picturesque stage, and that even the literature of our country no more represents the backwoods and the Indian; and he who would so

represent us misrepresents our true condition. The life of the canoe and the wilds is long past.

On the other side, Mr. Adcock quotes Jack London, Ralph Connor (Rev. Charles Gordon), Canon Wharton Gill, Norman Duncan, Mrs. Arthur Murphy, and, above all, Ernest Thompson Seton. In his own field Mr. Seton "has but one rival, and that is Charles G. D. Roberts." The works of both these authors are so well known to readers of the REVIEW that they need not be particularized.

Among notable histories written by Canadians Mr. Adcock cites among others "The First Scotsman in Canada" (Vol. I. by Dr. Campbell; Vol. III. by Prof. George Bryce); W. L. Griffiths' "The Dominion of Canada," and Miss Agnes Laut's "Lords of the North." Among Canadian novelists of note are Miss Mabel Burkholder ("The Course of Impatience Carningham"), Miss A. M. Teskey ("The Yellow Pearl"), and Mrs. Virna Sheard ("The Man at Lone Lake"). But most of Mr. Adcock's Canadian notes deal with the poets of the Dominion—Lampman, Stringer, Scott, and R. J. C. Stead ("Songs of the Prairie"), to name only a few. Two names, in Mr. Adcock's opinion, stand preëminent—those of Dr. Wilfred Campbell and Bliss Carman. While "sound judges in the Dominion have crowned Wilfred Campbell as the first of Canadian poets," Mr. Adcock himself awards the palm to Mr. Carman, who "stands supreme among the poets not only of Canada, but of all the colonies." Miss Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake), the daughter of the late G. H. M. Johnson (Onwanonsyshon), the head chief of the Six Nations Indians, is *par excellence* the poet of the Red Man, "whose destiny she herself envies when at last his soul goes out toward the Happy Hunting Grounds":

Sailing into the cloud-land, sailing into the sun,
Into the crimson portals ajar when life is done;—
O dear dead race, my spirit too
Would fain sail westward unto you.

South Africa and India

Most of the best South African novels have been written by Englishmen who lived for a time in the Colony, as Sir Rider Haggard, Bertram Mitford, and Douglas Blackburn; but latterly able novels have come from the pens of Gertrude Page (Mrs. Dobbin) ("Love in a Wilderness"), who has earned the title of "The Wizard of Rhodesia," Will Westrup ("The Land of To-morrow"), and Francis Carey Slater ("The Sunburnt South"). The biggest book that has yet come out of South Africa is, in Mr. Adcock's judgment, Olive Schreiner's "Story of an African Farm," to which Sir Percy Fitzpatrick's "Jock of the Bushveld" is a remarkable companion picture. Of the poets of South Africa Mr. Adcock is much impressed with the work of William Blane, of whom he says:

There is nothing in Colonial poetry more deeply charged with emotion, more tremulously alive, with a sense of heartbreak and ineffable sorrow than the natural, unstudied human cry of the watcher by that death-bed so piteously revealed in "A Prayer":

. . . I cannot even frame my prayer aright,
And only know
That with her life the loveliness and light
Of mine would go . . .

Be near me too! When for her voice, her touch
I yearn alone—
Be near me, Christ, for I shall need Thee much
When she is gone.

The oldest poet is the Rev. W. Elijah Hunter, who dedicates his collected poems to the Rev. John Bransby, "Edgar Allan Poe's schoolmaster and mine," while the younger singers include Francis Slater and F. E. Walrond.

Indian literature—Mr. Adcock writes of course of literature written in English—means

to the normal Englishman Kipling, for "Kipling is the great interpreter through whom the millions of us have come to know India"; but other writers of novels of enduring interest are Mrs. Flora Annie Steel ("The Potter's Thumb"), Mrs. Alice Perrin ("The Anglo-Indians"), and Sidney C. Grier ("The Power of the Kings"). Of native writers in English Mr. Adcock cites Romesh Chunder Dutt ("The Slave Girl of



S. B. BAUERJESS, JOURNALIST
AND NOVELIST

Agra"), translator of part of the "Mahabharata," S. M. Mitra, and S. B. Banerjea ("Misunderstood"), the last-named of whom makes this complaint:

There is no literary life in India as one finds it in Europe and America. Here ninety-nine out

of one hundred authors have to publish books at their own expense; 70 per cent. of them fail to pay their way; 25 per cent. return a little to their authors; and only 5 per cent. prove really successful.

The reason being that the buying public is so small.

THE MENACE OF PAN-ISLAMISM

FROM all parts of Mohammedan Asia there come reports of great agitation among the followers of the Prophet as the news of the doings of the Russians in Persia and the Italian war on Turkey filters through the mosques and bazars, and in India the association of England with Russia in the breaking up of Persia has been construed into an anti-Islamic campaign. A letter to the London *Times* from a correspondent in India has produced considerable sensation in England because of its pessimism regarding the effect of the Pan-Islamic character of a propaganda which is being carried on among Hindu Mohammedans by pilgrims returned from Mecca, and by the numerous Turkish and Arab travelers who have been visiting India during the present year. The doings of the French in Morocco, of the Italians in Tripoli have, he says, caused something like a ferment among Hindu Moslems almost unprecedented. Writing of the Russian cruelties and their destruction of the most venerated shrine of the Shiah Mohammedan sect next in sanctity only to the holy places of Mecca and Medina of the Sunnis, he says:

Feelings were much embittered by the action of Russia in Meshed and its neighborhood, particulars of which have only recently begun to trickle through to India by means of returning pilgrims. The bombardment of the shrine, which is held in peculiar veneration, is universally execrated. The unfortunate part of it is that in this, as in all the other actions of Russia in Persia, the common belief is that the British were involved.

The result of all this, he goes on to say, has been to give Pan-Islamism in India and neighboring countries an extraordinary impetus, and to spread the idea among Hindu Moslems that there is a conspiracy on the part of the Christian States against Mohammedan States. In the great cities of Delhi, Lahore, Peshawar and Lucknow there has been a great coming and going of Turks and Arabs, and the Indian Moslem shrines of Gulburga, Ajmere and Sirkind which are crowded with pilgrims at certain times of the year, more especially pilgrims from the

frontier tribes and Afghanistan, have similarly been visited by strangers from Bagdad, the Hedjaz and Constantinople who are said to have been very active. All this, the writer in the *Times* remarks, may mean much or little, but those in close touch with Mohammedan feeling are unanimous in considering that never before in their recollection has that feeling been so stirred in India. Continuing, he says:

Explanations and arguments are of no avail. They are convinced that not only have their coreligionists elsewhere been abominably ill treated—and in Persia with the active connivance of Great Britain—but that all this has been done by a previously arranged agreement among the Powers, and that soon there would be no independent Mohammedan State left. As a result of this widespread belief all eyes are turned to Afghanistan as being the last of the really independent Mohammedan States. Turk and Arab emissaries visit Kabul; the Indian Moslem press speaks of the Amir Habibullah in terms of extravagant praise, and his brothers and high Afghan officials take an active part in the propaganda and the military preparations which their foresight tells them should be its accompaniment.

There is, however, another side to this picture which has a special significance. The *African World*, a paper published in London, recently had the following:

A correspondent writes to the *Daily News*: "As to the stoppage of missionary work in Kano by order of the Colonial Office, the facts are Kano is a great city in northern Nigeria and has been one of the chief strategic points attracting the Church Missionary Society. About twelve years ago Bishop Tugwell and a party of missionaries visited the city, but were refused permission to remain. In 1910 Dr. Miller went on a tentative journey, was received cordially by the Governor and the inhabitants and stayed a month. Since then other missionaries have commenced work in Kano. Now the Colonial Office has ordered the Church Missionary Society to vacate Kano, where the society has spent money and effort to spread Christianity. The statement has been made that the government means to open schools in all the chief towns of northern Nigeria where Mohammedan doctrine will be taught.

Commenting on this, the *Lagos Weekly Record*, a West African paper, says:

The above report if true is fraught with a bit of irony for the missionary as implying the logical result of his own action upon the moral of his own teachings. Twelve years ago when the missionary was making his tentative effort to establish the Christian propaganda at Kano, one of the missionaries, in his ardor to carry out his purpose when he was refused permission, wrote to the papers in England suggesting that the obstinate Emir should be "dealt with." This significant suggestion was endorsed in England by the missionary journals and in the end the suggestion, so fraught with ominous meaning for the native rulers, was carried out, and the Emir was accordingly "dealt with" in the secular fashion and with the instruments which secular agencies employ for effecting their ends. Whether the recourse to which the missionary had in his dilemma was the right one, and one which his religion taught, is given demonstration after twelve years. . . . We may fairly ask if it is not just retribution to the missionary that he should be shut out from places opened by the sword through his instrumentality? And is

not such retribution not only justified but rendered indispensable to the holding up of the virtuous, humane and just principles for which God and His name stand?

In this incident there may be seen an example of the political power already being exercised by Moslem opinion in that newly opened country in West Africa with its millions of Mohammedan inhabitants. In the interest of British rule the Islamic sentiment had to be respected, or the pro-Russian policy of Sir Edward Grey and the British Foreign Office in Persia might prove more damaging to British rule in India than the writer in the London *Times* represented it to be. As it is, the action of the British Colonial Office at Kano in Nigeria will be an additional stimulus to Pan-Islamism everywhere.

SUVORIN—RUSSIA'S GREATEST EDITOR

LITERARY Russia has suffered a great shock. A. S. Suvorin, one of her oldest and ablest publicists, died late in September after a serious illness which lasted about two years. The *Novoye Vremya*, (New Times) of St. Petersburg the best known Russian daily, of which Suvorin was editor and publisher, has printed hundreds of telegrams—messages of tribute and sympathy—from Russia and abroad, which bear testimony to the great esteem in which he was held.

Suvorin was a man of no mean talents, and his influence on the political life of Russia was deep and extensive. Even his enemies—and he had many—admit that he was a figure of national importance.

Aleksei Sergeyevitch Suvorin was born in 1834 in a small village of Voronezh Government. His father, formerly a peasant, participated, as a common soldier, in the war of 1812 and was wounded in the battle with the French at Borodino. He was promoted to the rank of officer and retired with the rank of captain. His wife was the daughter of the village priest. Young Suvorin learned to read and write from the local church clerk, and after two months' study at the Babrov district school was taken to Voronezh to enter a military school. Even at this early age he showed unmistakable signs of literary abilities.

The following details of his career are compiled from biographical sketches in the *Novoye Vremya*:

Having completed his six-year course, he went to St. Petersburg and enlisted in a sort of military

academy at the capital. There his literary inclinations found expression in the compiling of a dictionary of illustrious people, a work which was left unfinished. Not wishing to remain in the military, Suvorin, after graduation in 1853, was transferred to the civil service. But this did not satisfy him. Having no means to enter the university, he returned home, passed the necessary examinations and became a teacher at the Bobrov district school. At the same time he held the position of secretary to the Bobrov president of nobility. All his spare time he devoted to literary work. His first real experiments—poems, short stories, humorous sketches—were successful and readily accepted by several periodicals. In 1860 he was transferred to the district school at Voronezh. In Voronezh he joined a literary "circle" and became acquainted with the poet Nikitin who gave him books to read and helped him in other respects. His articles in a Moscow weekly attracted the attention of the publisher and Suvorin was offered a permanent position on the staff of that periodical. He went to Moscow in the capacity of secretary and general critic of *Russkaya Ryetch*.

In Moscow, Suvorin was received into the literary world and met such people as Count L. Tolstoy, Nekrasov, Saltykov and many others. He became a full-fledged journalist. After one year the *Russkaya Ryetch* ceased publication. He then began to write historical works for the "Society for the promotion of useful knowledge." On account of its decided liberalism, one of these works was not passed by the censor.

Having gone to St. Petersburg in 1862, Suvorin formed the acquaintance of the famous N. G. Tchernyshevsky and other radicals and became connected with the liberal St. Petersburg *Vyedomosti*. Within a short time he became its most active worker. To him was entrusted the delicate mission of going to the censors and to the Director of the Press Department for "explanations." He wrote much for other periodicals, such as *Russky Invalid* and the *Vyestnik Yevropy*, and gained great popularity and fame by his feuilletons in the St. Petersburg *Vyedomosti*. Those feuilletons

were of such a liberal character that when published in the form of a book they were prohibited. Suvorin was sentenced to three weeks imprisonment and the book burnt. C. A. Vengerov, a well-known Russian publicist, says of those feuilletons: . . . "The most terrible blows he delivered the representatives of the reactionary press. . . ." They led to the removal of the editor, and Suvorin found work with *Birzheviya Vedomosti*, a liberal newspaper.

The turning point in Suvorin's career came in 1876 when he acquired, in partnership with a certain Likhatchev, the publishing rights of the *Novoye Vremya*. This paper had dragged out a miserable existence, but under Suvorin's management it rapidly gained a large circulation. In 1879 he became the sole owner. His political views had undergone a great change; he severed his connections with the liberals and adopted a conservative policy. Liberalism did not "pay" in Russia and Suvorin wanted money. . . . The circulation of the newspaper grew enormously and with it the influence of its editor. Suvorin knew what the public wanted and he catered to their tastes.

Having put the *Novoye Vremya* on a solid foundation, Suvorin entered the book-publishing field. He was successful, and now the publishing house of *Novoye Vremya* is the richest in Russia. Suvorin left a fortune of four million rubles. Besides his book and newspaper work Suvorin wrote a number of plays which were produced at St. Petersburg with great success.

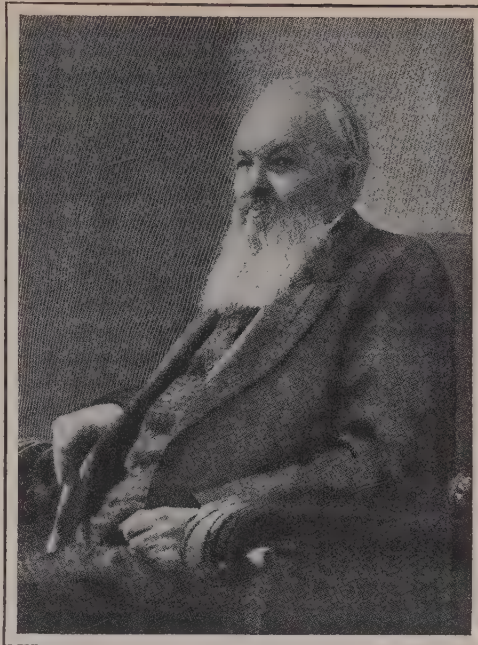
No man in Russian public life was so loved and hated as Suvorin. The radical element considered him a traitor to their cause and fought him bitterly. Following are quotations from the representative organs of the various factions which indicate the large place Suvorin filled in the eye of the Russian people.

The *Moskovskiya Vedomosti* (a reactionary journal) says:

Russia has lost a great worker in the field of literature, journalism and culture. Such men are not born every decade. His place will not be filled soon, if ever. Russia, moreover, cannot forget that the deceased was a devoted and unchanging patriot.

The *Rossiya* (conservative) observes:

Every Russian must remember what this Russian man has done for his nation, this man, the grandson of a peasant, the son of a military officer; what he has done during his long life, which was a life of self-education, of labor and struggle,—at first a hard struggle for existence, after a struggle for his convictions and ideas. He not only created the best national Russian newspaper, the ablest, well informed and influential; he was the first to give the Russian people a popular edition of



A. S. SUVORIN, LATE EDITOR OF THE ST. PETERSBURG
"NOVOYE VREMIA"

Pushkin and of many others of our writers. *Deshevaya Biblioteka* (The Cheap Library), a supplement to his dear newspaper, which is being circulated all over Russia in hundreds of thousands of copies, is a potent factor of true education. In his literary image there is more feeling than imagination and more mind than feeling. It was a subtle mind, fresh, supple, susceptible, which looked at everything with wide-open eyes. This mind which was thirsting for knowledge, guided the strong heart of the fighter, of the warrior, who strikes not only with courage, but with pleasure. And as the mind developed, the field of battle grew wider and wider, until it embraced the whole world, in the midst of which he defended his country's right to the place which had been conquered by powerful soldiers like himself.

The literary struggle of Suvorin was a struggle for education and liberty for his people, for his economic development, for his sovereign rights among the other nations of the empire, for the sovereign rights of Russian empire among the other nations of the world. His love of liberty, his democratic liberalism never soared in the clouds, out of time and space, his demands were within reason. A talented, liberty-loving feuilletonist in the sixties, the years of the first awakening of our public life; an ardent supporter of Slavism in the seventies; a wise preacher of Russian nationalist ideas in the eighties; a moderate progressive in the nineties and a faithful guard of Russian imperialism at the time of liberative agitation,—he changed along with the conditions of Russian life, grew with it, always protecting all that was vital and necessary for the national prosperity.

The radical journals generally make no comment on Suvorin, whose career and activities they have always so severely condemned.

THE MORTGAGING OF COMMUNAL LANDS IN RUSSIA

THE Russian Government has introduced a bill in the Duma, amending the law of Nov. 15, 1906, regarding the right of the peasants to mortgage their communal lands. It may be pertinent to remark here that the Russian peasants, until quite recently, had no title to their lands, and consequently had no right to sell or to mortgage them. The government, in its desire to convert the communal land into private property, has gradually relaxed the laws governing the peasants' allotment. But, eager to effect the change, it has shown but little concern for the interests of the peasants. Mr. B. Brutzkus, writing in *Russkaya Mysl* (St. Petersburg), has this to say about the project and the attitude of the public:

In the wide circles of Russian society the opinion prevails that the land allotted to the peasants after their emancipation must not be the object of private property and must remain outside the sphere of social evolution. The methods which the Russian government used to fasten the principle of private property upon the communal lands have not met with the sympathies of the public. For this reason it may be expected that there will be a certain distrust of this bill on the part of a major portion of society. But, estimating the value of this project it must be taken into consideration that civil institutions have their own inner logic which must be accepted alike by the followers and opponents of a given order. . . . Legislation dealing with the mortgage of communal land cannot be regarded apart from legislation relative to its alienability. As long as the land could not be sold, there could be no question of its being mortgaged. There are, moreover, sufficient grounds to affirm that since the land became alienable, there has been a crying necessity for organizing its hypothecary credit. It is not difficult to see that alienability of land without organized credit must inevitably lead to its concentration in the hands of capital. Under existing conditions he buys land who can afford to lay out the necessary money. The laboring population, of course, cannot do that, and the land will not get into their hands. But if the alienability of the land is accompanied by the organization of land credit, the laboring man can also step into the line of buyers; for in such case the problem consists not in the ability to lay out money, but in the ability to make the land yield money. The peasant would then become the main buyer, for no one can make the soil yield more than he. Even the most determined opponents of alienability of communal land will hardly dare to deny the positive significance of hypothecary credit as a measure which will open the land market to the laboring population. The absence of the right to mortgage communal lands would create an absurd state of affairs. At the time when the government is actively helping the peasants to acquire private lands, with the aid of land credit, the communal land would become a prey of small speculative capital.

The law of alienability of communal land was passed Nov. 9, 1906. Immediately after the Russian Government issued "Rules governing the granting of loans by the Peasants' Bank on mortgage of communal lands." To quote Mr. Brutzkus again:

The subject and object of the mortgage operations were clearly outlined. To mortgage land is permitted to rural communities, associations and individual peasants. The borrower can mortgage his allotment, as well as land acquired by purchase. When the land belongs to an individual peasant or to an association it must be portioned out of the commune. The right to mortgage is limited to three distinct cases. 1. To pay for land left by peasants who emigrate to new places. 2. To pay for land bought with the aid of the Peasants' Bank, when the sum advanced by the Bank on a mortgage of the acquired land does not cover its price. 3. To cover expenses occasioned by the introduction of improved methods of agriculture, under which head is also included removal from the commune. . . . The weakness of the rules lies in the limited number of cases when the mortgage of communal land is allowed, as it has been proved by the further evolution of agrarian relations. In the first year after the law of Nov. 9 there were put on sale yearly about $\frac{1}{2}$ million dessiatinas, ($1\frac{1}{2}$ million acres) of communal land, while in 1909 the Peasants' Bank granted loans on 53.9 thousand dessiatinas, in 1910 on 43.5 thousand, and in the last years the loan operations of the Bank ceased entirely. Thus the mortgage credit has not touched more than 90 per cent. of the alienable area, and there are all the reasons to suppose that they have fallen into the hands of the village sharks.

Under such rapid development of the process of alienation it might have been expected that the government would work out the problem of organizing the land credit more efficiently, having itself aggravated the necessity for it, by artificially hastening the decadence of the village commune. But the bill introduced in the Duma does not justify the expectation and is, in some respects, a step backward, as compared with the old law. The government, having forgotten the fundamental problems of hypothecary credit has decided to utilize it for the furtherance of its favorite plan of land organization. With this in view it has made the division of the land into tracts and farms a necessary condition for getting a loan on a mortgage of communal land. To encourage individual ownership, loans must not be given to associations. Further, when a rural community obtains a loan in the Peasants' Bank, the latter has a right to demand a change to individual ownership, or the premature payment of the loaned sum.

One may recognize the utility of regulated land organization; one may not be in favor of binding the peasant to the commune; but at the same time regard the compulsory connection between hypothecary credit and land organization as artificial and extremely harmful. The government has evidently forgotten the fundamental aims which, from the social economic standpoint, mortgage credit ought to serve.

WHAT IS A MICROBE?

IF this question were put to any one of average attainments, but not versed in scientific matters, a variety of answers would be received. In one case the reply would be: "Microbes—why, they are little animals invisible save through a microscope." In another: "They are germs." In a third it would be explained to you that they are little mushrooms. But one may also chance on the sceptic, who will maintain that such things as microbes do not really exist, that they are simply the products of the imagination of Pasteur and his disciples. So much for the layman. But, writes M. Gaston Bonnier in the *Revue hebdomadaire* (Paris), if one puts the same question to the scientists, the replies are equally varied. The chemist, for instance, will tell you that they are biological agents of fermentations; the zoölogist, that they are protozoa, very minute with an extremely simple organization; the botanist, that they are microscopic algæ that have lost their green substance; while of two physicians one will say that they are minute organisms which cause all the contagious diseases, and the other will claim, on the contrary, that they are extremely small creatures which have their origin in diseased tissues. Thus, from the scientist one obtains nothing more definite than from the layman. In reality the word "microbe" signifies "nothing precise," and in Pasteur's laboratory was employed to designate in a vague and general fashion all the organisms which were there studied from the point of view of their chemical or pathological effects. Apropos of this, M. Bonnier relates the following incident:

Duclaux narrates that one day a noted micrographist came to see Pasteur and said to him: "You are mistaken in your determination: what you call a bacillus is nothing but a micrococcus which in your culture has by chance taken on an elongated form. In normal state it is spherical. This is an important correction." Pasteur, to the great surprise of the micrographist, replied: "If you would know, it is all the same to me."

Pasteur, immersed in the study of the effects produced by the life of these micro-organisms, cared little to examine the development of these creatures in themselves, nor to know in which category they should be classified; and whether they were animal or vegetable mattered little to him. The essential thing, from his point of view, was to know that they were living; that he had at his disposal an interesting species distinct from any other; and that this purity of race was proved by definite changes in the particular substance in which he caused them to grow. And this was fortunate; for had Pasteur devoted himself to the development and classification of microbes he would have lost much valuable time in such researches,

and, perhaps, would not have made a tithe of his brilliant discoveries.

Microbes and microbiology, the science of microbes, signifying minute living beings and the study of them, have no very definite sense beyond the nature of the organisms they profess to designate. In illustration of this, M. Bonnier cites the yeast of beer. "Why," he asks, "should this be placed among the microbes?" It is a vegetable which, by its development and mode of reproduction, belongs to the large group of fungi comprising the morels and truffles. "But," says one, "yeast produces alcoholic fermentation in transforming sugar into alcohol. It is a very small organism; it produces fermentation; therefore it is a microbe." But this is similar to the yeast of wine, which by the result of its very existence transforms in wine the sugar of the grape.

Are yeasts microbes because their cellular elements are extremely small? These elements are not smaller than those of other living creatures. Are they microbes because they produce alcoholic fermentation? The greater number of known yeasts do not possess this property, while other organisms, on the contrary, do transform sugar into alcohol. If one puts beetroots entirely free from germs into a hermetically sealed flask, and at the expiration of some hours opens the vessel, the odor of alcohol will be detected. The beetroots have transformed their sugar into alcohol by the action of the living matter in their own tissues; they have produced an alcoholic fermentation. Now beetroots are not microbes! Then, again, take the germs which float in the air or those found in water. In a suitable culture these will develop specks, so to speak, of various colors which will grow to a size of 20 centimeters diameter. These are not microscopic creatures: then why call them microbes? Because, it may be said, their germs are microscopic. But the germs of every animal and every vegetable are such. What is incontestable is that among the various organisms designated as microbes there is a class whose elements are extremely small and which has a particular constitution, and which has no direct relations with any other living creatures. These are classed in the group known as Bacteriaceæ: they are bacteria, the true microbes, if you will, though here this latter word is quite inappropriate.

M. Bonnier traces the development and life history of the *Bacillus Amylobacter*, obtained by leaving French beans for some days in water, one drop of which then shows great quantities of cells less than 2-1000 of a millimeter in breadth. But there are some bacteria, he says, whose elements are so small that it is at times impossible to detect them even with microscopes of very high power; and "it was left for the genius of

Pasteur to establish order in the world of these infinitely small creatures, in the inextricable chaos of incomprehensible phenomena. By his studies of the diseases of the silkworm, of chicken cholera, etc., Pasteur created bacterial pathology."

After describing some of the remarkable properties of certain bacteria—their respiration, the need of some for oxygen and the antipathy of others toward it; the remarkable colors of one kind, and the capacity to produce light possessed by others—M. Bonnier says:

There has been much discussion relative to the classification of the Bacteriaceæ. Certain authors assign them to the Infusoria; others to the Algæ;

but the most recent works of several eminent scientists see in them an approximation to the fungi, from the formation of their spores and especially from the existence of organisms of which the characteristics appear to be intermediary between those of the yeasts and those of the bacteria. One sees what a variety of aspects, what diverse and interesting properties these microscopic organisms present, in spite of their simple appearance. In brief, the Bacteriaceæ constitute a group of living creatures of the vegetable kingdom well defined by their minuteness and by the special structure of their elements. Other organisms, such as certain fungi and algæ, possess analogous properties, but are not in any case to be confused with the bacteria.

And now, concludes M. Bonnier, we may propose anew the question: "What is a microbe?" And the answer will be very simple—"It is a bacterium."

THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATING THE CITIZEN TO OBEY

ONE of the striking characteristics of the day in which we live is the ever-increasing extent of governmental control. Mr. Herbert Spencer protested against this a generation ago; but legislation in the direction he deplored has continued. Another Englishman, Mr. L. P. Jacks, writing in the *Hibbert Journal*, says that "our wages, our property, our bodies, our minds, even our characters, have become and are becoming more fully subject to state control"; and he thinks there is not any sign that the tendency has reached its limit. Without passing on the question whether the individual ought to be so controlled, but assuming the facts as they are, we are immediately confronted, he says, with the serious question, *Will the discipline of the people bear the strain?* Speaking for his countrymen, Mr. Jacks acknowledges that "the instinct of obedience to law is strong," but there are limits to endurance; and when the limit is reached "recourse will certainly be had to means . . . which have been invented abundantly in America, for evading or defeating the will of the state." The notion, that automatic discipline follows from the principle of democracy, he regards as illusory, commenting thereupon as follows:

There could hardly be a form of government theoretically more "popular" than that which obtains in the United States; but, unless I am much mistaken, it is precisely the absence of automatic obedience which now troubles the American Commonwealth. And in our own country . . . reverence for representative institutions does not prevent the Conservative leader from openly assuring the men of Ulster that he

will support them in resisting Home Rule, if imposed by the Imperial Parliament. . . . It does not prevent the great medical associations from refusing to take their part in working the Insurance Act. It does not prevent a great body of women from avowing the profession and following the practice of rebels. No doubt these recalcitrant groups would all defend their conduct on the ground that their disobedience to democracy as-it-is springs from a spirit of obedience to democracy as-it-ought-to-be. But that plea being allowed, the guarantee of discipline, assumed to be involved in the principle of popular government, comes to a swift end.

Mr. Jacks discusses at some length "the irresistible tendencies of the modern state," the main one of which is "toward state ownership of capital and state regulation of labor—Socialism, if you will." He calls attention to "one of the gravest defects in current social idealism," namely, that it "turns the imagination too much on that more attractive side of the picture which has to do with the sharing of profit, and too little on the other side—the sharing of loss." Sharing in the profits "will, morally speaking, go of itself. But sharing in the losses will put our obedience to the test." And many of those who talk so glibly of Socialistic possibilities will do well to remember another truth which Mr. Jacks brings forward:

In promoting Socialism we are really evoking a system of authority which will put restraints on *all* classes precisely at that point where hitherto *no* class has shown itself willing to put restraints upon itself. Once more, therefore, the question is not whether the system is good enough for the people, but whether the people are good enough for the system. And that is a question of discipline.

We are gradually moving "towards a type of society which confers greater authority on the one side and requires more thorough obedience from the other." If social discipline is necessary among the governed, it is equally required among those that make the laws. Mr. Jacks' observations in this connection have a special interest for Americans. He writes:

This is not the place to discuss the fitness of particular classes to furnish legislators for the community; but one thing may be said without distinction of them all—that the school of lawlessness, of indiscipline, or even of self-assertion or self-indulgence, is a school which can produce no law-givers for a democratic state. Worse even than the school of masterless men is the school of intrigue against the state. Of this we know something in our own country. They know more of it in America. There, in the heart of a democracy theoretically the freest the world has ever known, has arisen a sinister and ingenious contrivance known as "the machine." The machine is too

complex for any brief description; but, reduced to its lowest terms, it may be defined as a great engine of social disobedience contrived by men with the inventive brains of Edison and controlled by men with the strategical brains of Napoleon. It is to "the machine" that the people have lost the power which Colonel Roosevelt wishes to restore to them and it is through this machine that the men are now mainly chosen who are to fill the offices of government. . . . Let those who believe that democracy has an inherent power of coercing recalcitrant members study American politics in being. They will find that recalcitrancy holds the field; that threatened interests have learnt how to make themselves more powerful than the government that threatens them.

The central problem of democracy to-day is the problem of educating the citizen. What he needs is "not merely instruction in political science: *he must learn to obey*; and the lesson will be all the more difficult for him to learn because hitherto democracy has been too closely associated with the spirit which prompts him to seek escape from authority."

A HEROINE OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

"EUROPEANS can scarcely believe that women can play an important rôle in a society that does not grant them the same rights as men. Yet the gynæceum of Greece did not restrain Sappho, nor the seclusion of Roman matrons Agrippina. The Mussulman harem itself, obscure as it is, has had its poetesses. Intelligence is not a privilege, and the curiosity of the mind overleaps the barriers erected by men." So write MM. Hain-Joukia and Louis Laloy in the *Revue du Mois* by way of introduction to a biographical sketch of Mme. Ts'ieou-kin, who suffered decapitation for complicity in a plot to assassinate the Governor of the province of Nganhwei and to inaugurate a revolution.

In China the woman of the people is much more ignorant than her male companion because in a too laborious existence all is subordinated to material interests. Instruction is useful to a man who, however humble his origin, may attain honors; but it is of no advantage to a woman whose mission is simply to attend to the cares of the household and to supply offspring. In the commercial middle class the woman already possesses the knowledge necessary to aid her husband, even often to direct him; while in the families favored by fortune or elevated in rank both sexes share that refined culture which is the most precious luxury. Thus, in all times, even before the Christian era, China has had her illustrious women; and down to our own

day the example of women is cited not less frequently than that of men by authors who treat of morals and the arts.

During the past twenty years the European sciences and political and social theories have inspired the Chinese youth—the young women not less than the young men. In China itself, although the imperial government was but slightly favorable to the development of education, schools and colleges for girls were opened in great numbers. Japan, too, which, until recent years, was almost the only country in which the Chinese sought higher education, received thousands of pupils from the great empire, among whom was a large proportion of female students. It was in the month of April, 1894, that Mme. Ts'ieou-kin arrived in Tokio for the purpose of completing her studies. To quote from the *Revue du Mois*:

Originally from Shi-kiang, the daughter of a high official, she had in her childhood followed her father in his residences at Fukien and later at Hunan. At eighteen she married a clerk of the minister, Wang Ting-kiun, with whom she dwelt in Peking. The early years of her married life were happy; a son was born, and later a daughter. But the young wife adopted the new ideas, adding even the emancipation of her sex to the programme, already over full, of the reformers. The husband being a strict conservative, agreement became impossible. A separation followed. Unfortunately, the small fortune of the lady was soon dissipated in unsuccessful commercial speculations. To make the journey to Japan she sold her jewels; but, hearing that a

former partisan of Kang Yu-wei was still in prison, ill-treated by his gaolers and abandoned by his happier comrades, she sent him anonymously the greater part of the sum thus realized. She was at this time far from partaking the ideas of the party which sought to maintain the dynasty.

Mme. Ts'ieou-kin traveled third-class to Japan, armed with a little dagger wherewith to defend herself against the Chinese police and any too rude among her companions. She had learned equitation and fencing, being of the opinion that the equality of the sexes ought to be obtained not only by the mind but also by the muscles; consequently she occupied herself much with physical education. At Tokio she entered the normal school for girls and formed with a dozen students a secret society whose object was to overthrow the Manchu dynasty. The success of her activity was such that her former husband heard of it in China and sent her a letter warning her to be discreet. We read further in the article:

Among the most ardent revolutionaries in Japan was Siu Si-ling, the husband of a wealthy wife. He was the sworn enemy of the Manchus, whose extermination he devoutly sought. Holding Siu Si-ling in high estimation for his courage, Mme. Ts'ieou-kin became the instructress of his wife with whom she soon formed a close friendship. About this time the Japanese Government took certain measures against the Chinese students, now numbering about 8,000, all partisans of a revolution. Two parties were formed among the persecuted

ones: one desiring to remain in Japan; the other favoring a return to China and the opening of schools there. Mme. Ts'ieou-kin was one of the three leaders of the latter party. On returning to China Mme. Ts'ieou-kin and her friends opened many schools, and she herself became directress of the schools for young girls and of the school of physical education founded by Siu Si-ling. The latter had bought the post of taotai. He formed a plan to kill the governor of Manchuria; the same day the army would turn, and the revolution would be inaugurated. An accident precipitated the plot two days too soon. Siu Si-ling was arrested and condemned to an atrocious death, his heart being offered to the manes of his victim. Mme. Ts'ieou-kin was charged with complicity in the plot and condemned to decapitation. Requested, according to custom, to write her last wishes, she declined to do so. On a further request, she wrote this line, referring to her own name, which means autumn:

"The wind and the rain of Autumn make my heart sad."

As the executioner suspended the sword, she remembered a certain sum of money which she had concealed at her home and which was the product of a subscription for the poor. She begged the magistrate to forward it to its proper destination. These were her last words. Besides a number of articles she left several poems some of which displayed great charm of versification.

In the opinion of her biographers, Mme. Ts'ieou-kin, "with her noble, discreet and tragic figure, her Japanese robe, and her dagger in hand, deserves a place beside those heroines of whom China is proud, and her image will live in the memory of men."

THE "RED INDIANS" OF NEWFOUNDLAND

THE little that is known in our day concerning the so-called "Red Indians," who were encountered by the Cabots in the year 1497 on the shores of Newfoundland, is summarized in the October number of the *Southern Workman*, (Hampton, Va.) by Mr. Frank G. Speck. Several members of that strange tribe of aborigines were captured by the Cabots and carried back to England. They came to be known as Red Indians from their custom of dyeing their bodies red. In later years little or nothing seems to have been recorded of them except occasional mention in colonial reports of encounters between them and the whites or the Micmac Indians. It was supposed, indeed, that the continuous war waged upon the Red Indians by the Micmacs had resulted in the total extinction of the former. In the early documents these people were called Beothuks. It was never definitely known whether the

affiliations of the Beothuks were with the Esquimaux or with the Indians of the Eastern Algonkian group.

In 1823 several women of this mysterious tribe were captured and brought to St. John's, Newfoundland. From these women our only direct information, up to the present day, regarding the language and customs of the tribe has been obtained. One of the women soon died. The other gave a vocabulary of the Beothuk language which stands to-day as the subject for an interesting classification. Unfortunately the orthography is so poor as to make this vocabulary almost worthless for comparative purposes. The woman was induced to tell about a few customs and to give a few accounts of manufactures and the like, but that was all that could be derived from her. A few years later, in 1828, a society was formed for the purpose of finding and aiding any survivors of the

tribe. An expedition in charge of Mr. Cormack and several Indians of other tribes located the deserted camps, graves, and other relics of the Beothuks, but failed to find any living descendants. There has always remained, however, a suspicion that the Beothuks were affiliated either with the Esquimaux or the Algonkian tribes. Recently Mr. Speck discovered among the Micmac Indians a woman who was half Beothuk and half Micmac. This woman, Santu, over seventy years of age, recalls events in her early life before she left Newfoundland with her father. It seems that a few remnants of the tribe were adopted by the early Micmac invaders, eventually marrying the newcomers. To such an union Santu owes her descent. At an early age her father removed to Nova Scotia, where Santu grew up and later married. Some sons, one of whom is now with her, and a grandchild constitute her family.

From Santu Mr. Speck obtained a short vocabulary of the language and interesting accounts of the industries and customs of the tribe. They called themselves, according to this informant, Oságanna, some form of which name is widely known among the Northeastern Indians. Santu told about the annual ceremonies which took place at Red Indian Lake once a year. On this occasion all the members of the tribe assembled to be dyed red during a religious ceremony which consists of dances and ceremonial games lasting for many days. The dye was



SANTU, THE OLD INDIAN WOMAN, DESCENDANT OF NEWFOUNDLAND'S ANCIENT "RED INDIANS," WHO RECALLS SOME OF THE CUSTOMS OF THAT TRIBE

extracted from a kind of red wood taken from the lake. It lasted for many months and was regarded as a necessary uniform of the tribe. Children born during the year were brought to the ceremony and received their first coat of color, after which, like grown-ups, they were kept colored with the red dye. This was a religious obligation.

THE MANNER OF MAN LOTI IS

THE literary master of the French navy, Pierre Loti, arrived in New York last month to superintend the production of one of his plays, and at once an interest unusually widespread, was aroused in his personality.

Loti is a master romancer and only secondarily a dramatist. A charming personal appreciation of him appears in the *Bookman*. The writer, Stuart Henry, who knows Loti intimately, after reminding us that his name is not Loti at all, but Viaud, thus describes his personal appearance:

He is a short, slender man, plus whatever added flesh his sixty-three years may have latterly brought him by mere reason of elderliness. He is very quick, lively, in his movements. This must be harmonized with the silent air of melancholy which envelops his face and characterizes his personality. His look, his aura, are the expression of a profound and hopeless sadness as radical and ineradicable as that of any German philosopher of pessimism.

His manners, moreover, are delicate and graceful, "the manners of a woman, as is habitual with Frenchmen as they appear to our masculine race."

He occupies little space with his motions and movings about. He has a quiet, frail voice. And then there is his famous shyness. He is extremely retiring. He is naturally in a state of hesitation, genuinely more or less abashed. This personal modesty, it will be remembered, explains how he comes about by his curious pen name. At the commencement of his career in his nation's navy, the energetic young Julien Viaud was so exceedingly timid that his comrades scornfully called him Loti—the name of a little flower in India which discreetly hides itself. He bravely adopted the name when he published his first book in 1879—thirty-three years ago—at the age of twenty-nine.

Mr. Henry graphically describes Loti's first appearances at the French Academy. He says:

Loti was then a stranger in the French capital, knowing none of the great literary Gauls with whom he had been, almost without notice, called upon to associate among the Forty Immortals. He was not a little affrighted by those solemn, austere scenes in that somber little temple where the French belletristic gods are wont to assemble as on Parnassus. With his hair worn, in revenge, most fiercely in the pompadour style in those days, he would sit solitary and alone in one of the empty rows of consecrated seats, high up and at the back in the assembly. He would look alarmed, much as a small squirrel suddenly imprisoned in a cage.

Much curiosity and amusement were, indeed, created in Paris when Pierre Loti was received there at the Academy in 1891 and delivered the customary address on the departed member whose seat he was taking. He had come from the briny waters of southwest France. He had dwelt on the ocean and not on the Paris boulevards. He had sprung quite spontaneously and by himself alone from the sea (could we so appropriately say soil in his case?) of French literature. He was not a creature of salons, or bred on critics' books, or learned in the pedantic ways of the banks of the Seine.

Accordingly he approached, at the Academy, the whole difficult heights and "finicky" finish of it all at one most appalling swoop, to speak loosely. And Paris laughed politely in its lace sleeves at this soaring novice in its very midst. For Loti, in his reception address, showed that he was quite innocently unaware of many unwritten conventional things and open secrets of the literary existence in Lutetia; and, with a perverse contrariety, he emphasized somewhat elaborately some things that every one there had known ever since the cradle. Paris had thus refreshingly caught up to its *bas bleu* and always perfumed bosom a rare, exotic species, and it was a diversion for a time.

But Loti was very, very clever. Modestly and very irreproachably he soon made the most of everything—of his navy existence, of his museum home down at Rochefort on the sea, and above all of his beautiful, sad sentimentality which has always distracted French women with an irresistible love for his melancholy art and his melancholy soul.

The writer in the *Bookman* gives us the following details as to Loti's career and development:

Loti was born in the celebrated French Protestant city of Rochefort, where he has always lived

when at home. He came of a very stiff Protestant family, but he has lost all piousness long ago, if he ever possessed any. He has no religion whatever. Not only this, but his books trouble themselves precious little about what is moral or immoral. They simply go right along unconcernedly, like Nature. In this he is the true traditional sailor who has a wife in every port and the reputed morals of the wandering sea life and is only moved with profound feelings when he sails out of a beloved harbor which he is not to see again for five years—or never.

This leads up, in truth, to a curious fact. Loti is distinctly a woman's author, and to such an extent that his books are most widely translated in several tongues, and yet they are bereft of any religious or moral sentiments or aspirations. The literary Loti, with all his blue dreams and his etherealized thoughts, has never tried to make any one better. He seems to have been resolutely determined to leave the world precisely as he found it, only better known.

He has seen active service in war, having made the campaign of Tonkin, which incidentally got him in official disgrace for a year. This was caused by his writing to the *Figaro* criticisms of the behavior of the French soldiers in a certain action. Loti has been "captain of a vessel" in the navy since 1906. His life on the sea is, of course, the great distinguishing mark of his literary production. Year after year he has sat out upon his deck describing right at hand the marvelous, un-paintable sunrises and sunsets of the tropics and the Orient as has no other man in French literature.

And in the far-off ports he has had months of leisure to describe the strange young women of dusky skins, whom he frankly loved in French sailor marriage fashion. He approached each of these successive idyls of his heart with an aspect of sadness, and wept with each inamorata in genuine tears of salt when he quitted her harbor. Frankness, gentleness, beauty and lack of any profoundness characterize these pictured episodes and inventions of his wandering career, his mark of genius lying in his descriptions.

Ideas do not signalize Loti's shellful of books. He is wanting in intellectuality as he is wanting entirely in humor. He is a poet, a painter of colors, of sentiment (always of a feminine tounure), of dissolving landscapes and seascapes swathed in a wealth of gorgeous hues. He has bathed the whole Levant in the tears of sentimentality. And all the while retrospective regrets at the futility of human existence has served as his conventional excuse.

He is thus a latter-day Romantic, representing that phase of French Romanticism which reached out to the Orient. Nearly always dealing with impressions, with what is fugitive and fleeting in aspect like his amours, and with what is born and bred of memory and distance, Pierre Loti more narrowly belongs to the Impressionist period of the 1890's, when the *pointillistes* and all such kin abounded in France.

We have remarked that Loti is first of all a romancer, and only incidentally a playwright. On this point Mr. Henry observes:

He is a great romancer, the French seeming to consider *Pêcheur d'Islande* (1886) and *Mon frère Yves* (1892) as his best two works. Loti is only

secondarily a dramatist. His first play—a Huguenot play—was only brought out in Paris in 1898. And *à propos*, being quite familiar with our language, he has done the English race the honor of translating *King Lear* into French, with the aid of a French collaborator. The translation is in prose and very accurately done. It is characteristic of his sad nature that he should have selected the most woe-begone offering in our literature.

But Loti's instinct is descriptive, not dramatic. He lacks the ramming force, the impact, the strict hard sense of compression necessary to get himself with great success into the straitjackets of the Paris drama, with all its rigid and pitiless rules and regulations. It is true, however, that he has devoted a good deal of attention to the stage in his latter years. He did a Chinese drama, for instance, with Judith Gautier, the handsome daughter of Théophile. And Antoine has looked upon him with favor. For that matter, he has that knack that all French writers seem to possess—the knack of somehow being able to write a very good play. The reason is that the race is naturally dramatic.

It is with his romances that Pierre Loti will live—his exotic romances usually of the equatorial lands, and realms of the hot eastern suns. His novelettes expressed emotions that were new to the Parisians. He painted the barbaric life as well as the barbaric aspects of Oriental countries, waters and forests. He always did this with a large, tender and fluid brush, drenching the scenes well with the odorous dews of poetic longings—distillations that are the fond nourishment and inextinguishable pleasure of sentimental women the world over.

To the degree that M. Viaud is a woman's writer, he is not a man's author. Men generally do not care for his books. He is too gracile, too feminine, too slender. He is out of touch with the big, harsh brutalities which most men have to be acquainted with. And since we have spoken the word—is there or is there not brutality in Loti's works? There has always been an argument about this, or about the precise nature of his brutality.

Loti certainly does present a brutality to the world in his pages. There is a great deal of the pitiless, of the hardened, of the unheeding. But it is a woman's kind of brutality, not a man's. It is negative rather than positive; negligent rather than active. His *Madame Chrysanthèmes* and his *Madame Prunes*, with their toyish names, impress one but lightly as with life in a boudoir. To hurt their feelings or harm their lives would seem only something like abusing the existence of a butterfly.



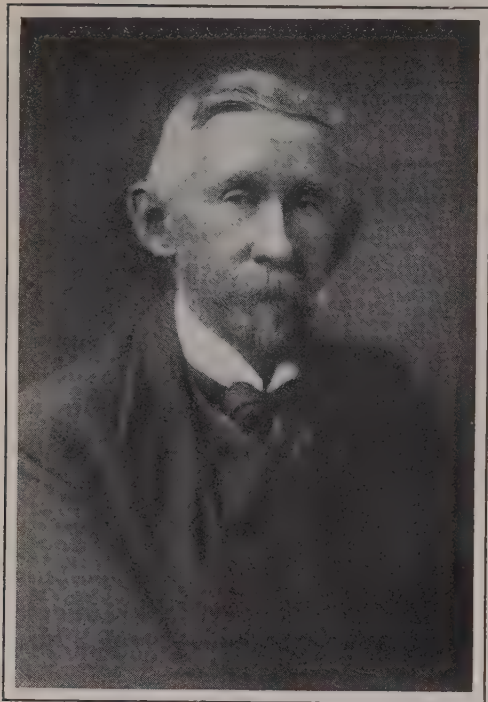
PIERRE LOTI (LOUIS M. J. VIAUD)

In discussing the distinctive flavor of Loti's fiction, the *Bookman* writer says, in conclusion:

The peculiarity of the frank and unconcerned sensuality of Loti's books—so often autobiographic—is, in fact, that he never idealizes love and he never brutalizes it. What makes them generally so acceptable, notwithstanding their tropical unconventionalities and their free airs of the high seas, is their beautiful style. He is a true French artist. It is his manner, not his matter, which entices. He has a rare and irresistible charm. Under it and back of it are his extremely live sensibilities and an imagination that delights to revel in the sensuously lovely. He has painted over and over again glorious and fragrant universes of color and feeling that nearly all of us can only dream of and shall never see or experience.



BOOKS OF OBSERVATION AND DESCRIPTION



MR. JOSEPH PENNELL, THE ARTIST WHO HAS PICTURED THE WORK OF THE ENGINEERS AT PANAMA

THE vastness of the work at Panama has never been pictured by photography as it is set forth by Joseph Pennell in a series of drawings¹ illustrating the canal work. On a journey to the Isthmus, during January, February and March of the present year, the artist made a series of sketches. Reproductions of these have now been brought out in attractive mechanical form by Lippincott. These pictures are accompanied by notes and impressions of the artist and together make up a most impressive volume. In a brief introduction Mr. Pennell tells, directly and simply, what he saw and how it impressed him, and pays a deserved tribute to the work of the American sanitary officials. He says, at the close of his introduction, "I saw the canal at the right time, and have tried to show what I saw, and it is American, the work of my country."

The literature on Latin America lacked just the book which Ambassador Bryce has written in his "South America: Observations and Impressions."²

Ambassador Mr. Bryce always sees so clearly Bryce on South those moving causes, underlying America forces, and impelling motives that result in a nation and government, and his style is

¹ Joseph Pennell's Pictures of the Panama Canal. By Joseph Pennell. J. B. Lippincott Co. Ill. \$1.25.

² South America: Observations and Impressions. By James Bryce. Macmillan Company. 611 pp. \$2.50.

always so illuminating and limpid that such a book on observations and impressions of South America was just the word needed to supplement the mass of purely descriptive and statistical data that we are constantly getting about the countries to the south of us. It is characteristic of the thought-provoking way in which the entire volume is written that Mr. Bryce should begin by stating that South America is bounded by an isthmus and a strait, and then proving to us that "to the historical geographer and the geographical historian an isthmus and a strait are the most interesting things with which geographical science has to deal." The volume is provided with a number of valuable maps and an excellent index.

Dr. Inazo Nitobé, president of the First National College of Japan, and professor in the Imperial University of Tokyo, has collected his lectures as first Japanese Exchange Professor in this country (for the academic year of 1911-12) and added some of his own impressions later in the form of a volume which he has entitled "The Japanese Nation: Its Land, Its People, and Its Life."³ Dr. Nitobé is well known to American readers of books on the Far East as the author of that work of distinction, published some years ago, entitled "Bushido: The Soul of Japan." He has studied English literature for thirty years, he tells us in his preface, and quaintly observes that when as a lad he was asked why he chose this subject as his "minor," at the University of Tokyo, he replied, "I wish, sir, to be a bridge across the Pacific." He has handled his subject frankly, directly, and, it would seem to us, adequately, giving especial attention to the relations of Japan and its people with the United States and the American people.

There could scarcely be any better or more effective effort toward bringing about a mutual understanding between the English and German peoples than that intelligent campaign being conducted by serious-minded Germans and Englishmen to make their own countrymen acquainted with the actual living conditions in the other countries and to acquaint the neighbor people with the best that is in their own folk. Englishmen have, for some years, been seriously studying German civilization and the characteristics of the German people. Now the Germans, with their temperamental thoroughness, have taken up the subject. Books and pamphlets are being constantly issued with this object in view. Particularly well done in this sort of literature is the series of the books in German which Dr. Ernst Sieper is bringing out under the general title, "The Culture of Modern England" (Die Kultur Des Modernen England). Dr. Sieper is Professor of English Philology in the University of Munich, and his series of books are being brought out with the support of the Committee for the Furtherance of German-English Understanding.

³ The Japanese Nation: Its Land, Its People, and Its Life. By Inazo Nitobé. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 334 pp. \$1.50.

The first volume in the series is Dr. Ernst Schultze's "Die Geistige Hebung Der Volksmassen in England."¹ The second, also by Dr. Schultze, "Volksbildung Und Volkswohlfahrt in England,"² the third, by Architect Berlepsch-Valendäs, is "Die Gartenstadtbewegung in England,"³ and the fourth, by Hans W. Singer, is "Der Præ-Raphaelitismus

in England."⁴ In these four scholarly little monographs, written, however, in a popular vein, the chief distinctive characteristics of twentieth century English popular life are considered. The volume on pre-Raphaelism, of course, has been written to point the modern lesson to be drawn from that movement.

THE SCIENCE OF TRANSPORTATION

MANY of the problems related to railroad transportation in this country have been more or less elaborately treated in books that have come from the press during the past year. None of these books, however, is so comprehensive in statement as the volume on "Railroad Finance,"⁵ by Frederick A. Cleveland and Fred Wilbur Powell. So wide is the range of topics covered by these writers that one hardly knows where to begin in an attempt to enumerate them. Everything that has to do with railroad investments, promotion, capitalization, financing of construction, and fiscal organization generally comes within the scope of the book, and there are, besides, detailed chapters on such topics as "management and distribution of the surplus," "accounts and statistics," "causes of insolvency," "receivership," "reorganization," and "consolidation." Three classes of men will here find answers to many a perplexing question,—students, investors, and men of affairs. This is emphatically a practical book, dealing as it does with actual problems in the transportation world. The authors have been engaged on this work for many years, and have brought to it the effective equipment of trained scholarship combined with an insatiable thirst for organized facts. Not the least valuable feature of the work is the sixty-page bibliography compiled from the best available sources.

A book which gives a new outlook on railroad transportation throughout the world is Prof. Charles Lee Raper's volume on "Railroad Transportation."⁶ A History of its Economics and of its Relation to the State." President Hadley's admirable volume on the same subject was completed as long ago as 1885, and in the intervening years new phases of the subject have been developed, notably on the side of state regulation. Professor Raper traces the historical development of railway transportation, not for the sake of the antiquarian, but solely to throw light upon the present problems of railway management and regulation. In the final chapter the author considers the reasons and methods, as well as the history of state operation, in the representative countries of Belgium, Austria, Italy, France, and Germany.

Somewhat broader in its scope is "The American Transportation Question,"⁷ by Samuel O. Dunn, editor of the *Railway Age Gazette* and lecturer on transportation at the Northwestern University. In Mr. Dunn's view the transportation problem has three vitally important factors: "rates, service, and financial return." While it is true that the railway has a right to exact, and the public to require, fair and reasonable rates, it is also true that such rates will be fixed, to a great extent, by the service given for them and by the financial return received by the owners of the road. Mr. Dunn holds, therefore, that neither of these three factors can be intelligently or equitably considered except with reference to the other two. He discusses the principle of railroad rate-making, both from the point of view of cost of service and from that of value of the service. He suggests methods for preventing discrimination between shippers, and in two concluding chapters points out some of the obstacles to the successful government regulation of railroads. There is also an interesting chapter on "Inland Waterways as Regulators of Railway Rates."

An almost forgotten figure in the history of American railroad development is the Bostonian, John M. Forbes, who, in the middle of the last century, shaped the policy of the most important railway lines of the Middle West. Forbes made a plucky fight to maintain the integrity of his road, the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy, as against the schemes of certain men, who, besides being directors of the road, were interested in a construction company engaged in building roads allied to the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy. Mr. Forbes' letters, which describe the methods of these financiers, are now published for the first time.⁸ It is an interesting and important episode in the railroad development of the country.

In a series of prize essays which owes its existence to the generosity of Messrs. Hart, Schaffner & Marx, of Chicago, one of the recently published monographs is devoted to the subject of freight classification.⁹ The author, Mr. J. F. Strombeck, adopting the scientific method of treatment, shows how the economic laws apply to classification of freight, while at the same time he makes use of terms and illustrations that can be understood and appreciated by the layman. He reminds the reader that freight rates have not as yet been reduced to an

¹Die Geistige Hebung Der Volksmassen in England. By Ernst Schultze. Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 177 pp. 96 cents.

²Volksbildung Und Volkswohlfahrt in England. By Ernst Schultze. Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 205 pp. \$1.08.

³Die Gartenstadtbewegung in England. By Architect Berlepsch-Valendäs. Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 190 pp. \$1.08.

⁴Der Præ-Raphaelitismus in England. By Hans W. Singer. Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 126 pp. 90 cents.

⁵Railroad Finance. By Frederick A. Cleveland and Fred Wilbur Powell. D. Appleton & Co. 463 pp. \$2.50.

⁶Railway Transportation. By Charles Lee Raper. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 331 pp. \$1.50.

⁷The American Transportation Question. By Samuel O. Dunn. D. Appleton & Co. 290 pp. \$1.50.

⁸An American Railroad Builder: John Murray Forbes. By Henry Greenleaf Pearson. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 195 pp. por. \$1.25.

⁹Freight Classification. By J. F. Strombeck. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 131 pp. \$1.

exact science, and hence that no general and positive rules can be made. Each case must be considered by itself.

Another volume in this prize series is Mr. Harold G. Moulton's "Waterways Versus Railways."¹ The inland waterways movement in this country,

taken in connection with the approaching completion of the Panama Canal, has given rise to a renewed discussion of the rival claims of waterways and railways under modern transportation conditions. The comparative advantages of the two systems are clearly set forth by Mr. Moulton. In its scope this book covers the transportation system of Great Britain, Germany, France, Holland, Belgium, and the United States, with a detailed investigation of the Erie Canal, the Ohio River, and the Lakes-to-Gulf waterway projects in this country. Mr. Moulton's conclusions as regards the comparative costs of railroad and canal transportation are contrary to the popular conception. He believes that

only in case of very short canals which connect long stretches of naturally navigable waters is there any economic justification for canals at the present time. In the case of rivers, which, he admits, may be at times somewhat different, he still contends that so long as the cost of canalization amounts to forty, sixty, or a hundred thousand dollars a mile, it belongs in the same category as the canal. The Mississippi, for example, he refuses to consider as a natural highway of commerce.

Still another interesting contribution to the series is Mr. Edwin F. Clapp's description of "The Navigable Rhine."² In this essay the writer traces the development of the Rhine's commerce, analyzes some of the causes of commercial prosperity on the Rhine, presents well-digested statistics of the Rhine's traffic in the year 1907, and makes comparison of water with railway rates. In his final chapter he contrasts the Rhine and the Mississippi to the great disadvantage of the latter as regards the traffic organization of the two rivers.

DISCUSSIONS OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

"THE New Immigration"³ is the title given to Dr. Peter Roberts' study of the industrial and social life of peoples emigrating to America from the countries of Southeastern Europe.

The Newest Americans We do not realize, perhaps, the vastness of this new migration. These Southeastern Europeans first appeared in America in the early eighties of the last century. At first few in number, they steadily increased, and by 1896 formed a majority of immigrants from the old world. During the past ten years they have formed about 75 per cent. of European immigrants to the United States. Prior to 1880 almost the entire emigration from the old to the new world had been made up of men from Northwestern Europe. Dr. Roberts attempts, in the present volume, to picture these new peoples at work, in their homes, and in their social life in this country. Therefore, while conceding that a knowledge of economic conditions and social life in the countries whence we get our immigrants is important, Dr. Roberts maintains that it is of far greater importance to know how the immigrants are treated when they enter, the part they play in our industries, the way they live in American cities, and what all this means to America.

"The Conservation of the Child"⁴ is the apt title given to a manual of clinical psychology presenting the examination and treatment of backward children, by Dr. Arthur Holmes, of the University of Pennsylvania. This book describes the management and workings of a psychological clinic. It offers a practical guide to the psycho-clinician, and at the same time, extends its discussion of retarded children far enough to make it valuable and interesting to the

teacher, physician, or any one else interested in child welfare. This is the tenth volume in Lippincott's Educational Series, edited by Superintendent Martin G. Brumbaugh, of the Philadelphia public schools.

It must be admitted that the newsboy and boot-black have, to a great extent, been ignored in the general movement for child welfare. In a little book entitled "Child Labor in City Streets,"⁵ Dr. Edward N. Clopper, who is Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee for the Mississippi Valley, reviews some of the problems and conditions surrounding these waifs of our city streets, deals with the effects of these conditions, and outlines the possible remedies through regulation. So little of a scientific character has been written on this subject that Dr. Clopper's effort to summarize the facts should be welcomed by all members of the community who are at all interested in improving the lot of these neglected child laborers.

In the Chautauqua Home Reading Series for 1912 the noteworthy volume is Prof. Frederic Austin Ogg's "Social Progress in Contemporary Europe."⁶ As Dr. Ogg very aptly phrases it in his "Foreword," the volume is an attempt "to explain with succinctness those aspects of European social development since the later eighteenth century, which, by common acceptance, seems to possess enduring significance." It will be admitted upon even a cursory examination that Dr. Ogg has succeeded in presenting a compact mass of information marshaled in convincing impressiveness and useful way. His painstaking scholarship has made a valuable contribution to the social and economic literature of the year. A bibliography is appended.

¹Waterways Versus Railways. By Harold G. Moulton. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 468 pp. \$2.

²The Navigable Rhine. By Edwin F. Clapp. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 134 pp. \$1.

³The New Immigration. By Peter Roberts. Macmillan Company. 386 pp., ill. \$1.60.

⁴The Conservation of the Child. By Arthur Holmes. J. B. Lippincott Co. 345 pp., ill. \$1.25.

⁵Child Labor in City Streets. By Edward N. Clopper. Macmillan Company. 280 pp. \$1.25.

⁶Social Progress in Contemporary Europe. By Frederic Austin Ogg. Chautauqua, N. Y.: The Chautauqua Press. 368 pp. \$1.50.

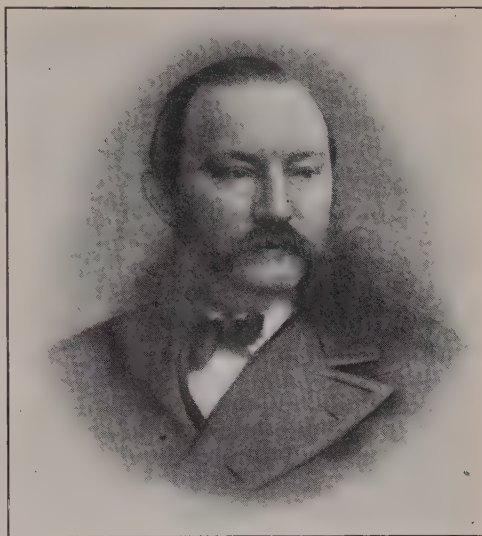
BIOGRAPHY AND REMINISCENCE

WHATEVER may be said about the qualities of his statesmanship, there can be no doubt of the purity and loftiness of the patriotism and devotion of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, first Provisional President of the Chinese Republic.

China's
Modern Leader

Dr. Sun labored for more than twenty-five years at the groundwork of the new régime, and it is to his untiring devotion that the success of the republican idea in China must be chiefly credited. We have had fragmentary magazine and newspaper accounts of Dr. Sun's achievements, even some brief biographical sketches. We now have an intimate narrative of his life¹ in its relation to the awakening of China, by Dr. James Cantlie, formerly Dean of the College of Medicine, Hong Kong, and C. Sheridan Jones. Dr. Cantlie has been one of the personal friends of the Chinese patriot for many years, and knew by personal knowledge those intimate facts connected with his career that make us see the man himself in this little biography. Dr. Sun is characterized, the biographer tells us, by strength of character, earnestness of purpose, and modesty of mind. We have already, in this REVIEW, had occasion to speak of his principal achievements. At present, as we noted in our editorial pages last month, he is engaged in a gigantic scheme to modernize China, industrially and commercially, by the construction of extensive railroad systems.

Anson Burlingame's important part in promoting the advent of the Chinese nation among the



ANSON BURLINGAME
(The American diplomat who secured for China a place in world diplomacy)

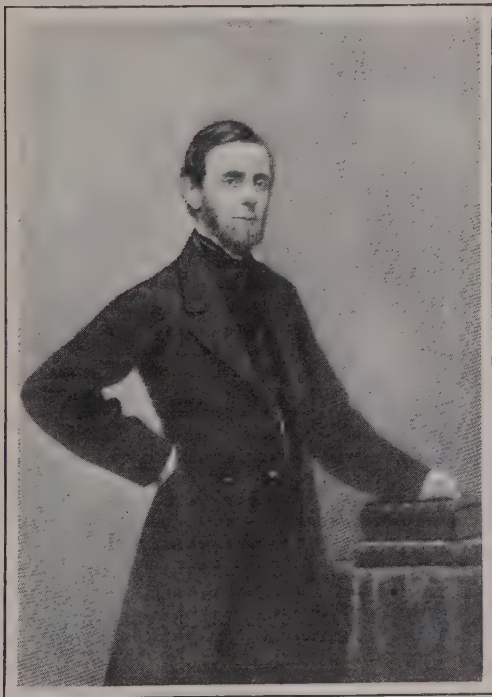
world powers is ably presented by Frederick Wells Williams, of Yale University, in one of the season's new books.² Too little credit has been given to this sturdy American, who, in a day when Yankee diplomacy had won slight recognition anywhere in the world, was instrumental in bringing to China that conception of international relations which had its outcome in later years in what is known as the open-door principle proposed as a symbol for the unification of outside interests when China threatened to become a derelict among nations.

A memoir of George Palmer Putnam, that representative American publisher of the old school, together with the record of the earlier years of the publishing house that he founded, of the season's new books.³ The memoir itself was originally prepared by Mr. George Haven Putnam for private circulation in the family circle. The present volume retains those portions of the earlier narrative having to do with matter that should possess interest for the general public. The elder Putnam was a pioneer in furthering the movement for international copyright between the United States and Europe, having begun his work in that cause as early as 1837. From that date until the year of his death, 1872, Mr. Putnam was the secretary of each successive copyright league or association that was formed in this country. In this volume are included several papers presenting Mr. Putnam's reminiscences, together with an

¹Sun Yat-sen and the Awakening of China. By Dr. James Cantlie and C. Sheridan Jones. Fleming H. Revell Co. 240 pp., ill. \$1.25.

²Anson Burlingame and the First Chinese Mission to Foreign Powers. By Frederick Wells Williams. Charles Scribner's Sons. 370 pp., por. \$2.

³George Palmer Putnam: A Memoir. By George Haven Putnam. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 476 pp., por. \$2.50.



GEORGE PALMER PUTNAM
(The veteran publisher who for more than a third of a century fought for international copyright)



CARICATURE OF COUNT DE LESSEPS, THE CANAL DIGGER
(From the "Intimate Memoirs of Napoleon III")

article contributed by him to the *Knickerbocker* in 1861, in which he gives an account of his experiences in the first battle of Bull Run.

It has been said of John Lavery that, being an Irishman, he and his work have prospered in an Irish manner—as emigrants. "They travel far together and they are leaders in the strife of art." Early in his career, Mr. Lavery secured the favorable verdict of London art galleries. He has already been invited to contribute portraits of himself to the famous Uffizi gallery in Florence.¹ He has also painted royalty. The volume which Dana Estes has brought out contains a biographical sketch with appropriate reproductions of the work of the artist by Walter Shaw-Sparrow. There are many reproductions, most of them in color.

A good deal of personal human flavor attaches to "The Intimate Memoirs of Napoleon III" which have been published in English for the first time by Little, Brown & Co. These memoirs, in two volumes, are the personal reminiscences of the Emperor and man by the late Baron D'Ambès, and they are based on the private diary of this lifelong and intimate friend of the French monarch. Of course, the name is a pseudonym. The work is put together apparently without any great effort at coherence.

¹ John Lavery and His Work. By Walter Shaw-Sparrow. Dana Estes. 209 pp., ill. \$3.50.

² Intimate Memoirs of Napoleon III. 2 vols. By Baron D'Ambès. Translated by A. R. Allinson. Little, Brown & Co. 826 pp., ill. \$6.

Incidents, conversations and reflections are jotted down as they occurred to the writer, together with letters, documents, newspaper cuttings and other data. The very rambling character of the memoirs, however, tends to make the picture of the warm-hearted, weak Emperor stand out more clearly. The two volumes, edited and translated from the French by A. R. Allinson, supply an enormous mass of first-hand material for the study of the career and character of one of the most enigmatical figures of modern history. The work is copiously illustrated.

Another volume of reminiscences treating of the same period and singularly confirming some of the references to Paris in 1870 which appear in the

An American volume on Napoleon III is "In the Woman in the Courts of Memory,"³ being the memoirs of Madam De Hegermann Lindenchrone. Madam Lindenchrone is the wife of the Danish Minister to Germany. She was formerly Miss Lily Greenough, of Cambridge, Mass. Her first husband was Charles Moulton, an American banker in Paris at the time of the Second Empire. These reminiscences are made up from letters written between 1858 and 1875. The volume is illustrated.

A very handsomely printed and bound holiday work, in three volumes, is "The Pioneer Mothers of America,"⁴ which has been compiled and edited

Pioneer Women by Harry Clinton Green and Mary Wolcott Green. The work is not a biographical dictionary, but, so the compilers assert, "an attempt to give history in narrative form, of the notable women of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods." The volumes are sumptuously illustrated.

In his book, "Women in the Making of America,"⁵ Mr. H. Addington Bruce has attempted to give an historical review of the part played by women in the development of the United States from the time of the first settlement to the present time. This work also is illustrated.

The life of Sir Walter Raleigh, the most boyish hero of history, written for all sorts of people, but especially for boys, has been given us by John Buchan.⁶ Raleigh's heart was always young and he never lost his general interest in life. This phase of the great adventurer has not, perhaps, been sufficiently touched upon. Mr. Buchan has a swiftly moving, picturesque style, well suited to his subject. He thinks Raleigh was one of the most effective characters of history. The British Empire to-day, he tells us, in his introductory chapter, and the Republic of the United States, are alike built on Raleigh's dreams. This sketch of the fascinating Elizabethan courtier, soldier, sailor, explorer, statesman, scholar, and poet is illustrated in a new and fanciful way with full-page color pictures so generous that they extend over all the margin.

³ In the Courts of Memory. By Madam De Hegermann Lindenchrone. Harper & Brothers. 449 pp., ill. \$2.

⁴ The Pioneer Mothers of America. 3 vols. Compiled and edited by Harry Clinton Green and Mary Wolcott Green. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1,516 pp., ill. \$12.

⁵ Women in the Making of America. By H. Addington Bruce. Little, Brown & Co. 257 pp., ill. \$1.50.

⁶ Sir Walter Raleigh. By John Buchan. Henry Holt & Co. 236 pp., ill. \$1.50.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY PHILOSOPHY

IN his "Main Currents of Modern Thought,"¹ now made available to American readers by an excellent translation, Prof. Rudolf Eucken of Jena, winner of the Nobel prize for literature in 1908, has sought to grasp the specific character of our own age through a study of its central problems in the light of the historical development of humanity. The work constitutes at once a masterly analysis and a valuable guide for sincere seekers after truth. Among the subjects discussed in a singularly lucid and direct manner are idealism and realism, monism and dualism, evolution, civilization, Socialism, personality and character, freedom of the will, and the value of life. Prof. Eucken finds our age far from decrepit, but "essentially incomplete," and the main cause of its confused and restless character he seeks in the fact that we have acquired more knowledge than, so far, we have been able to assimilate. The remedy he sees in a passing from the "prevailing devotion to the external world to more personal and inner life and more inner independence."

Prof. Harald Höfding, of Copenhagen, is now widely recognized as one of the foremost synthetic

thinkers of the present time, the value of his work springing less from originality than from his wonderful ability to grasp and correlate the ideas of other men. It would be hard to find a better history or interpretation of the many thought currents entering into our own life conception than the little volume just issued under the title of "A Brief History of Modern Philosophy."² Beginning with the philosophy of the Renaissance, it takes us right up to the present hour almost, with the inclusion of such recent thinkers as Mach and Eucken, James and Bergson. Biographical data are added to the pithy characterizations of the philosophers reviewed, and while the treatment has been kept strictly historical in the main, there is enough of criticism to suggest the principal merits and shortcomings of each individual contribution to the great common store of thought. The book is one that needs badly to be read in this country, where the general preoccupation with the concrete details of living produces a certain contempt for those abstract generalizations without which any knowledge of the underlying laws of life cannot be possible.

¹Main Currents of Modern Thought. By Rudolf Eucken. Translated by Meyrick Booth. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 488 pp. \$4 net.

²A Brief History of Modern Philosophy. By Dr. Harald Höfding. Authorized translation by Charles Finley Sanders. New York: The Macmillan Company. 324 pp. \$1.60 net.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

The Story of the Bronx. By Stephen Jenkins. Putnam. 451 pp., ill. \$3.50.
True Tales of Arctic Heroism in the New World. By A. W. Greely. Scribners. 451 pp., ill. \$1.50.
New Trails in Mexico. By Carl Lumholtz. Scribners. 411 pp., ill. \$5.
Pilgrim Life in the Middle Ages. By Sidney Heath. Houghton Mifflin. 352 pp., ill. \$3.
Science of the Sea. Edited by G. Herbert Fowler. Dutton. 452 pp., ill. \$2.
The World We Live In. By George Stuart Fullerton. Macmillan. 293 pp. \$1.50.
Plutarch's Nicias and Alcibiades. By Bernadotte Perrin. Scribner's. 335 pp. \$2.
Mornings with Masters of Art. (Chautauqua Home Reading Series for 1912.) By H. H. Powers. The Chautauqua Press. 461 pp., ill.
The Spirit of French Letters. (Chautauqua Home Reading Series for 1912.) By Mabel S. C. Smith. 374 pp.
Home Life in Germany. (Chautauqua Home Reading Series for 1912.) By Mrs. Alfred Sidgwick. The Chautauqua Press. 337 pp.
The Life of Ellen H. Richards. By Caroline L. Hunt. Boston: Whitcomb & Barrows. 328 pp., ill. \$1.50.
John Hancock the Picturesque Patriot. By Lorenzo Sears. Little, Brown. 351 pp., por. \$1.50.
The Counsel Assigned. By Mary Raymond Shipman Andrews. 43 pp. 50 cents.

The Union of South Africa. By W. Basil Worsford. Little, Brown. 530 pp., ill. \$3.
Elementary Principles of Economics. By Irving Fisher. Macmillan. 531 pp., ill. \$2.
The Control of Trusts. By John Bates Clark and John Maurice Clark. Macmillan. 202 pp. \$1.
An Introduction to the History of Life Assurance. By A. Fingland Jack. Dutton. 263 pp. \$2.50.
Essentials of International Public Law. By Amos S. Hershey. Macmillan. 588 pp. \$1.
Public Speaking: Principles and Practice. By Irvah Lester Winter. Macmillan. 398 pp. \$2.
A Tale of Two Conventions. By William Jennings Bryan. Funk & Wagnalls. 307 pp. \$1.
Better Schools. By B. C. Gregory. Macmillan. 283 pp. \$1.25.
Teaching in School and College. By William Lyon Phelps. Macmillan. 186 pp. \$1.
Fires. By Wilfrid Wilson Gibson. Macmillan. 175 pp. \$1.25.
British Poems. Edited by Percy Adams Hutchison. Scribners. 528 pp.
Shakespeare's Wit and Humor. By William R. Lawson. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co. 315 pp. \$1.25.
The Torpedo Under the Ark. "Ibsen and Women." By Ellen Key. Translated by Mamah Bouton Borthwick. Chicago: The Ralph Fletcher Seymour Co. 28 pp.
Woman in Modern Society. By Earl Barnes. New York: B. W. Huebsch. 257 pp. \$1.25.

FINANCIAL NEWS FOR THE INVESTOR

EVEN to begin to understand a subject one must give it close attention, and few of us have the time to do that. So it would not be at all surprising if the average man and woman, not excluding those who are intelligent in business affairs, were confused by all the talk about the so-called "Money Trust" into supposing that almost every bank, banker, and dealer in securities were part of some dim, shadowy system which controls the financial destinies of the nation. Most of us do not care a rap about "financial destinies," but there are many busy, earnest men and women who invest their savings in bonds and stocks and who would not like to believe that the gentlemen from whom they purchase securities are dominated by a "Money Trust," or any other kind of a trust.

Disgruntled financiers, lawyers with political ambitions, and professional magazine writers and newspaper reporters, as well as politicians, have recently "discovered" with great hullabaloo a by no means novel fact, namely, that large corporations rarely issue big blocks of bonds without the help of a comparatively few underwriting houses, mostly situate in New York City. But it does not follow by any means that the dealer who distributes securities directly to the individual investor is necessarily a trust-ridden or dependent being. Perhaps he prefers to be on amicable terms with the great international underwriting and syndicating houses, but this does not prevent him from competing in the liveliest way for customers with other investment dealers.

In no business is there more active and intelligent competition than in investment banking and this competition has largely taken the form of improving the service which the investor receives. Reliable dealers in an effort to increase their operations have, by way of recent illustration, adopted the plan of appealing to investors of classified ages. The man of thirty obviously wants a different investment from that which would be most suitable for the man of sixty or the woman of forty. For the younger man, future appreciation in price should occupy a relatively higher rank than with the elder buyer who could usually afford to sacrifice price enhancement and convertibility for perfect safety and good

income. This is a simple matter, requiring no highly technical knowledge to state or understand, but even well educated investors often overlook considerations which it is the business of the reputable dealer to attend to.

Much has been written about the recently formed Investment Bankers Association of America, but not enough attention has been called to the fact that its president is a Chicago banker, and that New York does not preponderate in its membership and official staff. If there is a Money Trust, most citizens would locate its headquarters in the metropolis. There has always existed much prejudice against the great financial institutions of New York. One reason the financial fakir and swindler has been able to dispose of so many worthless stocks has been this prejudice against Wall Street, which unfortunately included the reputable bankers. But the number of high-grade investment dealers is increasing so rapidly in the West and their influence in the national organization is so substantial that the feeling against these men as a class is sure to grow less as their habitat ceases to be solely in this city. More and more of the "financing" of public-utility and industrial companies is being done by Middle Western bankers,—a development which makes for competition and operates against sectional prejudice.

It does not always appear that the ability to save money and the ability wisely to invest it go together. But recent advices from Switzerland show that in ten years the amount of deposits in savings banks per capita has increased from \$59.64 to \$86.46, while there has been decided improvement in quality in at least one important class of securities purchased. "Swiss investors," writes Consul-General R. E. Mansfield from Zurich, "have been imposed upon in a great many instances, especially in the shares and bonds of new industrial concerns and mining companies, offered by clever promoters, which resulted in a prejudice against foreign securities in general and American securities in particular. But in the past few years the business has assumed a more conservative form, and investors now have an opportunity to obtain desirable securities through reliable local bankers and brokers, who offer to their cus-

tomers every facility for investigation and obtaining reliable information concerning the properties back of the bonds and shares they are offering. The result has been a general improvement in the market, and a decided increase in the sale of the better class of American securities in Switzerland.

Theory and practice coincide in teaching the rashness of investing in new or untried ventures. In this department last month was briefly related the story of the marvelous stock profits which dissolution of the old Standard Oil combination had effected. But extreme caution was advised in purchasing these shares until at least a year's time had elapsed. In the last month up to the date of this writing there have been many violent declines in these stocks, in one case extending to 200 points. Several of the stocks have risen, but the declines have been more striking and numerous.

No one can gainsay the basic importance of the petroleum industry, and the same statement may be made in regard to the automobile business. But it does not follow, in the present stage of the Standard Oil companies or the various automobile manufacturing concerns, that investment capital is

well placed therein. The man who can afford to take a big risk in return for the possibility of a 20 per cent. income is the man to supply the capital, and in thus placing his money he is a business man or a speculator, not an investor. Telegraphic despatches have just told of a \$1,000,000 stock dividend in addition to the regular quarterly $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which the Chalmers Motor Company has declared to its shareholders. But in the same paper were items about the bankruptcy of the Knox Automobile Company, and the Thomas Motor Car Company. A day later came tentative plans of reorganization of the big United States Motor Company, whose ignominious failure brought heavy losses to so many.

In 1899 there were manufactured \$4,748,000 worth of automobiles in this country, while in 1910 the output was valued at \$249,202,000. These census figures indicate how the industry has grown. Perhaps when its growth has ceased to be of the mushroom variety, and when efficiency in shop work has taken the place of the present mad rush to turn out cars at any cost, then it may be possible to recommend the securities of automobile companies as reasonably safe investments.

TYPICAL INQUIRIES AND ANSWERS

No. 399. ONE WOMAN'S INVESTMENTS

I have invested in Southern New England Telephone shares, New York, New Haven & Hartford stock, the shares of a national bank in a New England manufacturing city, and in real estate mortgages. In three different Eastern savings banks I have several thousand dollars, bringing 4 per cent. Should I invest some of this money? If so, what are the best things, in your judgment? Would you buy municipal, or industrial bonds, or preferred stock? Tradition favored savings banks in our family, but I bought the New Haven and Telephone stocks. Did I choose well?

Your last question we should be inclined to answer at once in the affirmative, so far as the telephone stock is concerned. But as for New Haven, we think that only the future can give an accurate measure of your judgment. Possibly, we may not be telling you anything you do not already know, when we point out that for the last two or three fiscal years, the New Haven has not been able to show net earnings sufficiently large to cover entirely the requirements of its 8 per cent. dividends. Indeed, the road's management has been subjected to some pretty severe criticism for its financial policies, in general, and incidentally, for maintaining the 8 per cent. rate, while it continued to report deficits, which for a younger and less respected company, would have been considered more or less alarming. A short while ago there were frequent rumors that the management was beginning to see that it might be good business on its part, if the dividend disbursements were made at a lower rate; but these rumors were persistently, and officially denied, until more recently, a decided upward trend in the road's earnings has

served to furnish less current excuse for them. While there seem to be, still, a good many uncertainties in the situation, the belief prevails that no change will be made in the New Haven's dividend policy, at least in the immediate future. You might withdraw for investment a part of the money you have on deposit in the savings banks at 4 per cent., leaving, however, a sufficient amount—perhaps half—to fall back upon, in case you should happen to need "ready cash." On the part withdrawn, you should find little difficulty in increasing the income by approximately 1 per cent., and still be assured as to its safety. Industrial bonds, with few exceptions, and preferred stocks, as a class, are more suitable for an active business man than for a woman. Municipal bonds would do very well for your purposes although it would be difficult for you to find much of a choice among such securities, selling on a 5 per cent. basis of yield. Railroad bonds that yield over $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. are, for the most part second grade, and to a certain extent speculative. A type of high grade security, however, to which you might advantageously turn at this time is that represented by first mortgage bonds on well established public service corporation enterprises. We suggest your investigating the offerings of responsible bankers in this field of investment.

No. 400. PARCEL POST AND THE EXPRESS COMPANIES

I should appreciate having your opinion as to what effect the Parcel Post law will have on the earnings of the express

companies, particularly the American Express Company, whose stock is now paying 12 per cent., and selling at about 200. I understand the American has a large surplus, but do not know what proportion it bears to the capital stock.

To attempt to express a definite opinion on this question now would be largely a matter of guesswork. You may have noticed that since the Parcel Post law was passed by Congress, the claim has been put forward by the companies that this change in the Government's postal policies will benefit, rather than injure, the express business. Some justification for this claim might be found, if there were any assurance that the Parcel Post experiment would be extended no further than is contemplated by the Bourne bill. In other words, it seems reasonable to expect that, as the companies contend, the present system will leave them practically the sole operators in the strictly commercial field,—a large and profitable one. But, if, as many competent observers are prone to believe, the present law turns out to be only a step in a new direction, the limit of which will be the extension of the Parcel Post to a point where it will embrace most of the express business as now conducted, the ultimate effect upon the earnings of the companies is perfectly obvious. It does not seem likely, however, that, if such extension is undertaken, it will be other than a gradual one; and we think, therefore, that holders of express companies' securities have little, if any, immediate cause for serious concern. A company like the American Express Company should, it seems to us, be able to stand its ground for a considerable time. In this connection, consider the fact that the company is earning at present the equivalent of about 25 per cent. on its capital stock, or more than twice the amount required to pay the 12 per cent. dividend. This margin may be reduced somewhat under the new schedule of rates, prescribed a short time ago by the Interstate Commerce Commission, but in all probability it will continue a substantial one. The report of the American's earnings for the fiscal year ended on June 30, last is not available at the time of writing, but during the previous year, the company added some two millions and a quarter to its profit and loss surplus, bringing the total of that item up to \$20,758,071, or more than \$2,750,000 in excess of the outstanding capital stock.

NO. 401. HOW TO INTERPRET DIVIDEND NOTICES

Will you kindly explain how, in reading a notice of dividend payment, I can tell when a stock sells "ex-dividend." Is there a different meaning implied when the notice reads, "payable to stock of record July 15," for example, from when it says, "books close July 15"? Also, if a dividend is payable, a stock sells "ex-dividend," or books close at a date falling on a Sunday or holiday, what is the rule?

The same meaning is implied in both of these phrases, generally, although they cannot always be used synonymously because some corporations do not "close their books." Those which do not,

however, usually state so specifically in the dividend notice. Take as an illustration of the meaning of both phrases the form used by one large industrial company, reading in part as follows: "The board of directors has this day declared from net profits, a quarterly dividend, etc., . . . payable October 31, 1912, to stockholders of record at 3 p. m., on Friday, October 11, 1912. The transfer books will close at 3 p. m. on Friday, October 11, 1912, and reopen at 10 a. m. on Wednesday, October 16, 1912." The rules of the New York Stock Exchange provide "that on the day of the closing of the books of a corporation for a dividend upon its shares, all transactions in the shares for cash shall be "dividend on" up to the time officially designated for the closing for transfer; and that all transactions on the day of closing the books may be "for cash," deliverable the same day, rather than on the day following, as is usual, in order that the buyer may get the dividend. All transactions on the day of closing, other than "for cash" shall be "ex-dividend. Should the closing of the books fall upon a Sunday, or upon any holiday or half holiday observed by the Exchange, transactions on the preceding business day, other than "for cash," shall be "ex-dividend."

NO. 402. MISSOURI PACIFIC

Would you advise the purchase of Missouri Pacific stock at present prices?

It does not come within the province of this department to give advice on such matters. We can merely suggest that the purchase of Missouri Pacific at the present time would be speculation, not investment. In the opinion of the best authorities on railroad matters, dividends on the stock are a long way off. Among the first questions for the speculative buyer to ask himself, therefore, would seem to be: Can I afford to have my capital employed indefinitely without income? Meanwhile, what are the chances that the stock may go up in market price? Here are a few suggestions that might help you to answer these, or similar, questions for yourself. Missouri Pacific is a railroad property of admittedly great potentialities. Unfortunately, it had been operating for a good many years under the serious handicap of bad management, financial and otherwise. But conditions in these respects were recently changed. The road now has the benefit of an extremely capable and hard working executive; and in addition to that, it has enlisted new and stronger financial backing. However, it is more or less of an open secret that those who are engaged in working out the property's future expect that their task will take a long time to accomplish—from three to five years, at best—and what is more important, still, it is obvious that it is going to take a lot of money, no inconsiderable part of which will have to come out of earnings, thus precluding any distribution of profits to shareholders.



THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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ST. SOPHIA, THE CENTER OF CHRISTIAN AND MOSLEM INTEREST IN CONSTANTINOPLE

(One of the most famous churches in Europe, the celebrated San Sofia (to give it the Moslem name) in the midst of the Mohammedan quarter in the heart of Constantinople, is the holy ground of the Moslem, and has been the magnet which has drawn every Christian invader since the Turks entered Europe. On May 29, 1453, the triumphant Sultan Mohammed II rode on horseback into the Christian church of St. Sophia and converted it into a Mohammedan mosque. San Sofia was built in the sixth century by Justinian the Great. It is one of the most remarkable monuments of the genius of Christianity both from an architectural and artistic point of view. For nine hundred years it was the glory of Christendom. Since its capture by the Turks it has been one of the glories of Islam. It will be the supreme object to any triumphant Christian army entering Constantinople, and its reconversion to a Christian church would stand in the eyes of millions of pious Catholics of both rituals as a symbol of the final triumph of the Cross over the Crescent)

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No. 6

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Our 531
Presidential
Electors*

Election Day fell upon November 5, that being the first Tuesday after the first Monday in the eleventh month of the quadrennial year, appointed by law for the choice throughout the United States of Presidential electors. It was ordained that 531 good and true citizens should be chosen, and that to these, in accordance with the Constitution of the United States, there should be intrusted the high and serious task of naming a President. It was supposed by the framers of the Constitution that the Presidential electors would act by virtue of their own superior knowledge and judgment. It came to pass in due time, however, that parties were formed; and in their struggle to secure control of the government each party found it necessary to select, well in advance, a candidate for the nation's highest office. It followed, as a matter of course, that the candidates for membership in the so-called Electoral College were put in the field by their respective parties as avowed supporters of particular nominees for President and Vice-President.

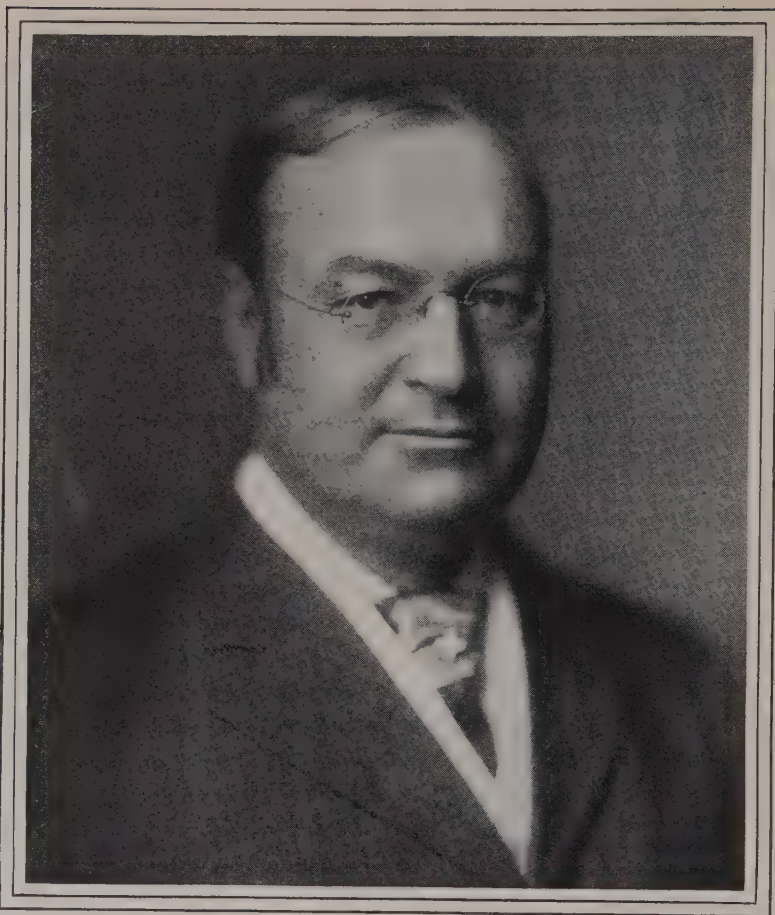
*What They
Will Do in
January*

The position of Presidential elector remains one of dignity and honor, but our established custom and tradition have taken away from it the full discretion that belongs to it in the strict terms of law. The 531 electors, (comprising one woman each in Washington, California, and Colorado, and 528 men) will meet in their respective States and give their votes on the second Monday in January, which this year falls on the 13th of that month. On the second Wednesday in February—which, as it happens, will be Lincoln's Birthday,—Congress will open and count the electoral votes; and not until then shall we know officially who is to be the next President of the United States. The 531 electors have a legal

right to vote next month for any citizen born in this country, of requisite age, and not otherwise disqualified. While these are matters of necessary and general knowledge, it is difficult for many people to carry them in their memories, and it is therefore convenient to have them re-stated. Furthermore, these facts have an important bearing upon contingencies that thoughtful public men do not ignore or forget. We all know that a very large majority of the Presidential electors this year belong to the Democratic party and are openly pledged to vote for the Hon. Woodrow Wilson, Governor of New Jersey, to fill the office of President for the four-year term beginning on March 4. They are also openly pledged, at the same time, to vote for Governor Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana for the office of Vice-President.

*The Case of a
Candidate's
Illness or Death*

The entire country wishes for both of these distinguished gentlemen the blessings of long life and sound health. But these desirable things, although it is reasonable to hope for them and to expect them, are not to be guaranteed. During the month of October, and within a few days of the election, death claimed one of the six candidates heading the three leading tickets, while another barely escaped death at the hands of an assassin. The mind shrinks from giving lodgment to the thought that sudden death might overtake Governor Wilson or Governor Marshall. Yet Vice-President Sherman actually passed away in October while an active candidate for reelection, and the former President, Mr. Roosevelt, escaped death as by a miracle only about three weeks before Election Day. Mr. Sherman's lamented death, on October 30, came within a week of Election Day, and the time intervening was too short for the selection of a candidate to take his place. If the



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THE LATE JAMES SCHOOLCRAFT SHERMAN, VICE-PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES

(The Vice-President died at his home in Utica, N. Y., on October 30. He had been suffering for some time from Bright's disease in an advanced stage. Mr. Sherman had served many years in the House of Representatives, was a high authority as a parliamentarian, and in his capacity as Vice-President had presided over the Senate with a fidelity and fairness that all members of that body commended. His personal qualities won him many life-long friends. He was a leading member of the regular Republican organization of his State and one of the foremost of the party's supporters at Washington)

Taft ticket had carried the country, a vacancy in the second place would have become a matter of great public importance.

*Filling the
Place of
Mr. Sherman*

In its closing hours the Republican convention at Chicago in June had passed a resolution authorizing the National Committee to fill a vacancy on the ticket that might occur by reason of the death or disability of Mr. Taft or Mr. Sherman. This was done in such a way that it attracted no attention at the time; yet it was due undoubtedly to the fact that the managers of the convention were well aware that Mr. Sherman's death was expected in the near future. If the National Committee had selected a substitute for Mr.

Sherman before Election Day, there would have been general acquiescence among members of the Republican party; and this would probably have been true of a selection made at some date after election but well in advance of the meeting of the electors in January. Nevertheless, the electors themselves would have been consulted, and their views, rather than the wishes of the National Committee, would probably have governed the situation. As it happens, the number of Taft electors actually chosen is so small that no one cares about their vote for a Vice-President and so it is likely enough that the Vermont and Utah electors will exercise their full Constitutional prerogative and vote as they may individually please.

Possible
Importance
of Electors

In case, however, of the death of Governor Wilson or Governor Marshall, the situation would become exceedingly grave and important. Excluding California (where the official count showed an almost equal division between Wilson and Roosevelt with final result uncertain as this was written), the Democratic electors number 429 out of the total 531. These electors must in any case vote for a President on the appointed day in January. If the party's accepted candidate survives, the entire 429 will undoubtedly cast their votes for him. If he should not survive, it is probable that the national convention would reassemble at Baltimore to choose his successor. But the 429 electors who had been pledged to vote for Governor Wilson could not be expected to act merely as dummies, and would have to be consulted. Furthermore, if anything serious should happen to Governor Wilson or Governor Marshall at a very short time before the January date, it might be necessary for the Electoral College to take upon itself the full authority that is legally vested in it. Under those circumstances the forty-five Democratic electors of the State of New York might not favor a new candidate of Governor Wilson's progressive type. Furthermore, in case the 429 Democratic electors were not in agreement, the conditions might seem to require that the eight Taft electors and the ninety Roosevelt electors should make some effective use of their votes, rather than to cast them in a purely formal way for the defeated candidates. In case of Governor Marshall's death, similar questions would arise, though with less acute public interest.



MRS. HELEN B. SCOTT, OF TACOMA, WASH.
(Chosen on the Progressive ticket for Presidential elector.
Mrs. Scott is one of the three women chosen this year to
an office never before held by members of their sex)

A System
that Trains
Many Men

These are not merely matters of speculation. Our system is more complicated than it ought to be. Yet the machinery is not unworkable, and our fate as a nation is not dependent upon the survival of any one man nor any ten thousand men. In that regard we are more fortunate than most other countries, where a less complicated mechanism of government has advantages but has the defect of failing to train a large number of men. Thus, in England, the national Parliament (which also includes the cabinet and the larger ministerial body) furnishes the only opportunity for training in public life excepting the municipal councils and the new county councils. In this country, on the other hand, we train executives in the governorships and other State offices of forty-eight commonwealths, and we train lawmakers in State legislatures that have in the aggregate, at any given moment, fully seven thousand members. In England they have the advantage of a system which takes men of the type of Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, or William Howard Taft, and keeps them continuously in responsible public life, whether as members of the party in power or as almost equally influential figures on the front opposition bench.



NOTICE TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF EVICTION FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE

From the *Commercial Appeal* (Memphis, Tennessee)



Dictating his cabinet appointments

MISS DEMOCRACY: "When you are ready, Mr. Wilson"
From the *Leader* (Cleveland)

*Parties
and Their
Leaders*

The English system gives higher training in statesmanship to a select few; and it enables the country to avail itself more continuously of the services of well-known and capable leaders. But the American system is constantly bringing forward a vastly larger number of adaptable and forcible men who are capable of filling public positions. At the present time, British statesmen are engaged in a struggle of intense bitterness over the Irish Home Rule bill that is pending in Parliament. It is freely boasted in England by the Conservatives,—though they may be quite mistaken,—that the present Liberal government, with its support of Laborites and Irish Nationalists, cannot survive very long, and that the Tories—or Unionists, as they call themselves—will soon be in power again. If this should come about, the change would involve no great surprises as respects either men or policies. The present well-known Conservative leaders would take the reins. The general Parliamentary election, as the result of which the change would come about, must naturally bring forward some new men. But these would not be prominent until they had served for a good while in the House of Commons. Almost any intelligent politician or party editor in England can guess who would be the leading members of the cabinet in case Mr. Balfour or Mr. Bonar Law should be made Prime Minister. But we in this country, on the 4th of March, are to have a new executive government, headed by an entirely new leader, President Woodrow Wilson. And there is no politician or editor in the United States who can possibly make an intelligent guess as to the personnel of Mr. Wilson's cabinet.

*Gov. Wilson's
Belief in
Party Rule*

Mr. Taft drew his cabinet advisers, in large part, from private life. If we mistake not, President Wilson has a different theory. He has a political mind of breadth and tolerance, and he is free from the kind of partisanship that means mere prejudice or narrowness. He might even support the thesis that at some time, with a different sort of arrangement for organizing the voters, we could get along without the present system of great parties. But since, in point of fact, we have been relying upon the party system, it is doubtless Governor Wilson's idea that parties as such should assume responsibility and be held to strict account by the country, while subjected to free and unsparing, though legitimate, criticism by the party or parties in opposition. And he will form a party cabinet. While our system does not permit that precisely balanced game of party government that Woodrow Wilson so much appreciated in his earlier days, as he studied the English system, it is true that we also can continue to use parties as responsible instruments of government, and either vote them up or vote them down, as they win or lose public confidence. Though the party pendulum swings less freely here than in England, there is such a movement; and it is more powerful than any one leader or any group of men, however strong may be their hold upon the affection or confidence of the country.

*The Swinging
Pendulum of
Parties*

We have been witnessing in this country,—somewhat as in England and elsewhere in the world where public opinion rules through representative government,—two tendencies working



THE PRESIDENT-ELECT GETTING READY FOR THE JOB
From the *Daily News* (Chicago)



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HON. WOODROW WILSON, WHO WILL SUCCEED MR. TAFT AS PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES

at the same time. One is the tendency to change the party in power; whereby conservatives are placed where they must accept and promote the new things that mark the growth of civilization. Another movement, regardless of the oscillation of the party pendulum, is the transformation that goes on within the parties themselves. Thus the present Tories in England are not only far in advance of the old-time Whigs, but they are fully abreast of the Liberals of a generation ago. As for the present-day Liberal party, it has become Radical; so that its accepted doctrines have outstripped the programs of the extreme radical wing of the party that were accounted dangerous and socialistic only twenty-five years ago. In this country these two simultaneous movements have been almost equally marked and impressive during the political year that is now closing. We have been inducting the opposition party into power, and we have also been modernizing the parties themselves by revolution in one case and evolution in the other.

Republicanism
Four Years
Ago

First let us consider the swing of the party pendulum. The Republican party (speaking of the national government) has been in full power for sixteen years, excepting only as modified by the election of a Democratic House of Representatives in 1910. When the party received another vote of confidence in 1908, with Mr. Taft's triumphant election over Mr. Bryan and the choice of a strong Republican Congress, the party seemed to have ahead of it a long and prosperous career. To control the Republican party seemed to be synonymous with controlling the country and exercising the most potent political force in the world. So elated were some of the beneficiaries of that victory of 1908 that they forgot the very nature and purpose of a party. They took the future for granted, and assumed that the party ship would float triumphantly, no matter who might be at the helm, or what course might be taken. And so their one thought was to control the ship as if it were their own private yacht. There were two tendencies, however, within the party, and these had been apparent during Mr. Roosevelt's Presidency. The so-called "bosses" and State machines of the party lacked the confidence of the country; but the rank and file of the party voters were progressive and supported Mr. Roosevelt, while Mr. Taft in his turn had their hopeful indorsement.

The Everlasting
Tariff
Issue

There is ample evidence that Mr. Roosevelt and many other Republican leaders would have been glad to revise the Dingley tariff before 1909. But public opinion in the general business community was not ready for tariff agitation and preferred to wait until after the Presidential election. Meanwhile, the Republican party, in its platform and on the stump, had pledged itself to an overhauling and downward revision of the tariff and to general improvement of the business policies of the Government. Mr. Taft had advocated these views, and it was expected that he would be able to have them carried into effect. The tariff session of Congress in the spring of 1909, which gave us the Payne-Aldrich act, failed to meet what were regarded as the promises of the Republican party. The Senators who had most valiantly supported Mr. Taft's nomination and election, and who belonged to the Progressive wing of the party, could not accept the Payne-Aldrich bill and voted against it. Mr. Taft had the opportunity to stand with these men and to uphold his own previous record and utter-

ances. He was in the valley of decision. He wished to control the Republican party, and to make sure of his own renomination in 1912. He surprised the entire country by becoming the champion of the so-called "reactionary" or "stand-pat" wing of the party; and he went so far as to endeavor to read out of the party those prominent Senators who had opposed the Payne-Aldrich bill, and to openly withhold from them the ordinary "patronage" that other Republican Senators were accorded by him in their own States. What had been a decisive tendency in the party became a developed situation. The Progressive Senators acted as a separate group, had a caucus of their own, and became, in the European sense of the word, a distinct parliamentary "party." It seems not merely mistaken terminology for Mr. LaFollette, under these circumstance, to call himself a Republican, but it turns all recent political history topsyturvy, and makes it absurd, like a chapter of "Alice in Wonderland."

Machine
versus
Sentiment

To cool observers, trained in the study of public opinion, it was plain that Mr. Taft, in an English statesman's famous phrase, "had bet on the wrong horse." His natural affiliation was with the Progressive wing of the party. But it was easy to fall back upon the seemingly invincible support of the leaders who controlled the machinery of both houses of Congress, and the State organizations that prospered and thrived upon their relations with large corporations and tariff-protected industries. The result was logical and inevitable. The country in 1910 elected a Democratic Congress by a tremendous majority. It elected Democratic legislatures and Gov-



TO THE WOODSHED

UNCLE SAM: "I dunno about them other fellows, but this one's in for a lickin'!"

From the *Eagle*, November 4 (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

ernors. It condemned in unmistakable terms the Republican administration and the dominant Republican leadership of both houses of Congress.

*Newspapers
to the
Rescue*

Then came the attempt to save a lost situation. The newspapers, regardless of party, were quite generally in line with prevailing public opinion. But a group of very powerful newspapers hated the Payne-Aldrich bill chiefly for the practical reason that it had failed to put on the free list the wood pulp and the plain white paper that they had long regarded as subject to monopoly control in the United States by reason of the high tariff. In our opinion, they were quite right in feeling that the Payne-Aldrich bill ought to have given them the desired relief. Canada was the one source from which they could obtain their supplies in competition with our American monopoly. It is not strange that these large newspapers should have fostered the scheme of reciprocity with Canada, and that Section 2, which gave them what they wanted, became an object of extreme urgency. It is a matter of record how Mr. Taft and the newspapers succeeded in putting the reciprocity bill through the House against Speaker Cannon's protest. But the measure failed to pass the Senate in the closing hours

of the session. Then came Mr. Taft's call for an extra session of the new Democratic Congress. This was in March, 1911. There was no member of either party, in either house of Congress, who desired or favored an extra session. The protest against it was urgent and intense. But a group of newspapers were eager for it, and the President used his official prerogative and summoned Congress against its wishes.

*Reciprocity
and Its
Effects*

The Reciprocity bill was passed under peculiar conditions. The Democrats in both houses supported it in a spirit of hilarity, without even reading it, on the theory that it was a move in the general direction of breaking down the Payne-Aldrich tariff. Republican friends of Mr. Taft in the Senate were constrained to support the bill against their own judgments. And so the measure was passed. None of these influential newspapers, so far as we are aware, have ever clearly informed their readers that Section 2 of the Reciprocity bill was in point of fact not reciprocity at all but a bit of straight legislation. It was a tariff bill, pure and simple, so phrased that, when the great reciprocity measure had been signed by the President, the Payne-Aldrich paper-and-pulp schedule had been changed and the newspapers had received what they were working for. When the Government of Canada subsequently repudiated the reciprocity treaty, all provisions were dead excepting Section 2. From the standpoint of those most interested, the object of the Reciprocity bill and of the extra session of Congress had been successful. Reciprocity, so called, had been merely a stalking horse. The people of the United States, without ever knowing it, had given the newspapers their free paper and pulp; and they have it to this day. So far as we are concerned, we have always believed that they deserved their free paper and pulp, and we are glad they have it. But it ought to have been obtained by an open, direct Democratic tariff bill revising the paper-and-pulp schedule; and this should have been the first in the Underwood series.

*The Vetoes
of Tariff
Bills*

When the Democrats passed the bill comprising the so-called Farmers' Free List, and when the Progressive Senators joined in sending this measure to the President, Mr. Taft vetoed it. Then followed the Underwood revision of "Schedule K," which was intended to give the people of the country cheaper clothing. This



THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS
From the Star (Montreal)



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PRESIDENT TAFT CASTING HIS VOTE FOR THE STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN TICKET AT
HIS HOME CITY OF CINCINNATI, OHIO

was not a perfect bill, but it was a vast improvement upon the Payne-Aldrich schedule and it ought to have become a law. Mr. Taft vetoed it; and from that moment the success of the Democratic party in the Presidential election of 1912 was as near certain as any future event in American politics could possibly be. His calling the extra session was a profound mistake from the political standpoint. His permitting the paper and pulp legislation to be smuggled through under the cloak of a reciprocity bill was, in its lesser degree, also a mistake of judgment though not otherwise reprehensible. His veto of a wool-revision bill which had passed both houses of Congress by very large majorities was a mistaken use of the Presidential prerogative, which had never been intended to be used in that way as respects the details of bills for raising revenue.

The Leader of Conservative Politics By this time Mr. Taft was not merely identified with the so-called "standpat" wing of the party, but he had become its champion and leader. He had apparently not intended to be so regarded, yet it came to pass. Senator Aldrich and Speaker Cannon had either directed or acquiesced in the log-rolling move-

ments which had inevitably produced the Payne-Aldrich bill and which, behind the scenes, were participated in by Democrats as well as Republicans. They could not have controlled the situation. But the President of the United States stood apart, representing the whole country; and he could have secured reasonable tariff reform by the exercise of his official energy in that direction, and by a timely appeal to public opinion. If tariff measures were to have been vetoed at all by him, he should have begun early and vetoed the Payne-Aldrich bill. The country would have rallied to his support. A Taft Progressive Republican Congress would then have been elected in 1910. A Taft Republican tariff revision would have been secured in the spring of 1911. A Taft renomination would have been unanimous and by acclamation in 1912, and the Progressive Republican party, led by Mr. Taft, would have carried the polls triumphantly in 1912. In other words, the real sentiment of the country was Progressive, and Mr. Taft—naturally a progressive—changed camps at exactly the wrong time, and came into association with politicians not of his own kind. The great newspapers that profited by getting their paper and pulp on the free list gave Mr. Taft

the sort of support for renomination that was delusive and disappointing. Most of them were Democratic newspapers, and ended up by supporting Governor Wilson. Their support of Mr. Taft only served to split the Republican party. It encouraged that futile and undignified attempt to secure control of the national Republican Convention which so absorbed the attention and effort of the White House for more than a year, and which was so emphatically rebuked on Nov. 5.

*The Split in
a Great
Party*

This retrospect is not attempting to deal with any phases of controversy except those that relate strictly to party ups and downs. We are speaking of the conditions which forced the split in the Republican party, and which at the same time led inevitably to a Democratic triumph. The primary elections and the tests of all sorts throughout the Republican States showed that the Progressive wing of the party was in the majority. While it appeared to many people to be a personal rivalry between Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt, it was not, in its larger aspects, anything of the kind. The significance of the great uprising in Pennsylvania, for example, was not so much expressed in the vote for Roosevelt against Taft in the April primaries, as in the spirit of the State convention which promulgated a Progressive platform that will stand as a permanent document in the history of American politics. It was not chiefly a question of persons. Mr. William Barnes, who is now the real head of the Republican party, would scarcely deny that in that very period last spring he instituted inquiries looking toward the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt rather than Mr. Taft. But, by no means to his discredit, Mr. Barnes was firm in his insistence upon certain platform principles that he regards as constitutionally essential, while other people call them reactionary. Mr. Barnes says that he had nothing personal against Mr. Roosevelt; and he would doubtless have joined Mr. William L. Ward and other regular Republicans in seeking Mr. Roosevelt's nomination if there could have been some agreement upon platforms and doctrines.

*Principles
not
Men*

The point of it all is that if Mr. Roosevelt had been nominated for the Presidency in place of Mr. Taft, with the Barnes-Penrose organizations as his chief support, and with an anti-Progressive platform, he would have been overwhelmingly defeated this year. He

might, indeed, have failed to carry a single State in the Union against Woodrow Wilson and the Democrats. In the opinion of this magazine, Mr. Roosevelt had virtually won the Republican nomination in the primaries, and the Chicago convention ought to have accepted so obvious a fact. Quite apart from disputes over contested seats, it will always stand undisputed on the record that Mr. Taft's nomination was procured only by control of delegations from non-Republican Southern States. Yet if Mr. Roosevelt had won the nomination at Chicago which he so stoutly contended for, he would have stood no chance to be elected unless he had also secured the hearty adoption of a strongly Progressive platform. Such a result, if it could have been gained, would have left the party in good fighting shape and would have obviated any split. It would, however, have meant a hard fight—probably a losing one—as against Democratic momentum.

*Who Killed
Cook
Robin?*

There have been many complaints on the part of the heads of the recent disastrous Republican campaign, to the effect that Mr. Roosevelt and the Progressive movement had destroyed the Republican party. This is a point of view that could hardly be entertained seriously. The voters have acted with freedom, now as always, and the Republican party has used its vast resources of machinery and prestige to secure support. If Mr. Roosevelt himself had followed the course pursued by Governor Hadley and finally supported the Taft ticket, there could have been no change in the essential result. The Democrats would have swept the field. If the Progressive sentiment had not taken form in a separate movement, whether led by Roosevelt or by someone else, it could not have been extinguished, and it would not have supported the Republicans. It would have gone with Mr. Spreckels, Mr. Crane, and many other sincere men to the support of Governor Wilson. It is true that the Republican candidates would have received a much larger aggregate popular vote if there had been no Progressive party and ticket in the field, and if Mr. Roosevelt and the other Progressive leaders had not made their wonderful campaign. But under those circumstances the Republican ticket would probably have failed to carry any States at all; and Woodrow Wilson would have been in a position to secure every vote in the entire Electoral College. A good many of the Progressive votes would have gone to the candidates of



MR. ROOSEVELT VOTING THE PROGRESSIVE TICKET AT OYSTER BAY

minor parties, but the greater part would have gone to Governor Wilson.

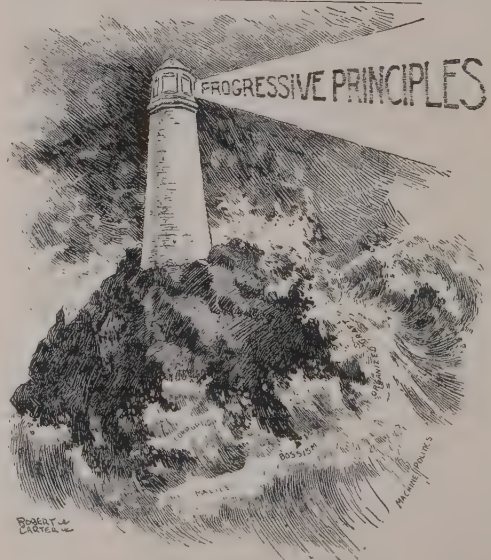
*The
Republican
Future*

Thus the Republican party is left in much better practical shape than otherwise could have been expected, in view of its recent mistakes and its crowning blunder at Chicago. It is now the third party of the country in popular strength, but it is by no means wiped out. What is to become of this great historic political association? According to the newspapers last month, two movements were on foot to rehabilitate the Republican party. Mr. Taft, Mr. Barnes, Senator Crane of Massachusetts, and one or two others, were said to be planning one of these movements. There could be no doubt in the minds of the country as to the meaning and trend of such leadership. There were less definite reports that Senator LaFollette and other Senators of the extreme Progressive wing were proposing to set the Republican party in the right path by making it face in a direction exactly opposite to that proposed by Mr. Barnes, Mr. Taft, and their group. Parties as such are doubtless of a great deal of importance to their beneficiaries. The Republican party, which has rendered many public services in its time, has also incidentally benefited various protected industries, and countless office-holders and members of political cliques and machines. But, so far as plain citizens are concerned, a party is merely a means to an end. It is to help the ordinary man make his citizenship count for something. The trouble with the Republican party is that it has ceased to respond to the wishes of great masses of men who have convictions about public matters. It has repudiated the aims and sentiments of its own membership.

*Is the Pro-
gressive Party
Permanent?*

More than half of its members have therefore begun to support a new organization, which they call the National Progressive party. They hope that they can make this new organization serve their ends more directly and responsively than the old. If they should fail, it would be perfectly easy for them at any time to vote with members of some other party. Thus far the Progressive party belongs to the rank and file of its membership. Nothing could be more mistaken than the assumption that the Progressive movement is led and controlled by Mr. Roosevelt and a dozen other men who do its thinking and seek their own ends. Mr. Roosevelt rose to great heights of leadership in the campaign, and his personal force and energy have been of indispensable value to the new movement in bringing its members together and providing a focus. But although not as yet strong in mere machinery, like either of the old parties, this new party is undoubtedly very strong in the quality of its membership. Even if the great newspapers of the country had been more friendly than they have been to the Progressive party, there has not yet been time to make it clear, even to the party's own members, how solidly its foundations seem to be laid, as respects the sincerity and courage of its adherents.

The clerk of the House reported last month that there will be 289 Democratic members, 124 Republican, and 4 Progressive, with eight seats



THE LIGHT WILL SHINE ON
From the Press (New York)

still doubtful. (Of course some of those credited to the Republicans are Western Progressives who supported the Roosevelt ticket and platform.) But in the nearly three hundred districts that were carried by the Democrats, the opposition was divided between Progressives and Republicans, with the Progressives taking second place in many instances. These Progressive candidates for Congress were—typically—men of high standing, brilliancy, and promise, and as a rule they were rather young men. They had gone into this movement with no thought of leaving it. Many of these same candidates will be nominated again two years hence; and in a triangular fight they assert that not a few may hope to gain first place instead of second. If the Democrats conduct themselves wisely they may, indeed, expect to control the House of Representatives that will be elected in 1914. But nobody supposes they will continue to retain more than two-thirds of all the seats. The approximate popular vote for President gave the Democrats 6,400,000, the Progressives 4,200,000, and the Republicans 3,500,000. The Progressives regard themselves as a young and growing party, and believe that the future is theirs. It stands to reason that they will make a determined effort in the next State and Congressional campaigns. Their emergence does not appear to have been an ephemeral thing. Doubtless they will have their troubles and dissensions, like the other parties, and make their share of mistakes. But it may turn out that this new organization has before it the great destiny which its leaders have predicted. In certain Western States, as in California, the Progressives have captured and still retain the name Republican, although not associated with the national party that supported the Taft ticket. The Progressives have before them the problem of finding some way to become unified under one national party name and emblem.

*States that
Wilson
Lost*

Many months ago this magazine expressed the view that, in a contest between Taft and Wilson, the only States reasonably certain for Taft would be Utah and Vermont. It is not necessary to discuss the reasons that actuated those who control the vote of Utah, and are also influential in Idaho. Vermont is so rock-ribbed in its Republicanism that in 1908 it gave Taft 39,552 and Bryan 11,406. This year Vermont gave Taft 23,247, Roosevelt 22,323, and Wilson 15,397. Besides carrying these two States (and apparently Idaho), the



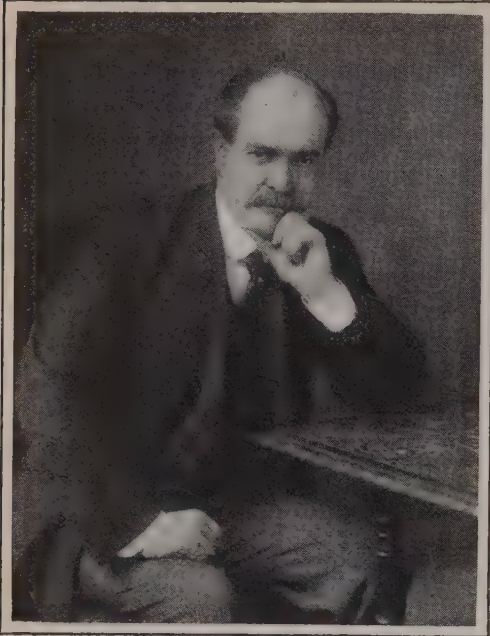
HON. CHAMP CLARK

(Speaker of the present House, who will undoubtedly be chosen speaker of the new Congress and preside over the special tariff session that President Wilson will convene in April)

Taft ticket ran second in fifteen other States. Mr. Roosevelt is credited with having carried California, Michigan, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, and Washington, besides which he ran second in twenty-six other States,—an important thing for the Progressives.

*Results
in
Illinois*

In the great State of Illinois, for example, Roosevelt ran 65,000 ahead of Taft and only 16,000 behind Wilson, in a total vote of more than 1,000,000. On the State ticket, Mr. Dunne (Dem.) was elected by 122,000 over Governor Deneen. The Progressive State ticket fell behind the Republican. Yet the Progressives have enough members in the new legislature to hold the balance of power in the momentous business of selecting two United States Senators to succeed Lorimer and Cullom. As regards the fate of the three foremost Republican Congressmen from the state of Illinois, ex-Speaker Cannon and Mr. McKinley were defeated, while Mr. Mann again carried his district.



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HON. EDWARD F. DUNNE

(Who was elected Governor of Illinois on the Democratic ticket)

What Happened in New York

The Republicans, although expecting defeat, made very special efforts in the States of New York, Ohio, and Indiana. Thus in New York Roosevelt ran about 65,000 behind Taft, while Wilson ran 200,000 ahead of Taft, in a total vote of nearly a million and a half. It is a somewhat curious fact that each one of the candidates for Governor ran appreciably ahead of his own Presidential ticket. Mr. Straus (Progressive) had an encouraging vote of nearly 392,000; Mr. Hedges (Republican) polled nearly 456,000 votes, and Mr. Sulzer (Democrat) had approximately 650,000. It is important to note the fact that in New York City, which has now decidedly more than half the voting strength of the entire State, Roosevelt ran 60,000 ahead of Taft, while Straus ran 80,000 ahead of Hedges. As a new phase, there has come to be more political independence in the great metropolis than in the country districts. The New York Progressives announce a determined effort to hold their ground and push forward. We must reserve for another month our comment upon Mr. Sulzer's victory as related to the problems of the Empire State and the metropolis. There are many reasons for the view that great battles for social and political reform are soon to be waged in the country's most populous State.

*In Mr.
Taft's Own
State*

Four years ago in Ohio, Taft received 572,312 votes, and Bryan 502,721. This year the people of that State gave 446,769 to Wilson, 312,600 to Taft, and 253,564 to Roosevelt. Thus Taft and Roosevelt together polled a smaller vote than Taft alone received four years ago, while Wilson fell far below the vote of Bryan. It was natural that the Taft people should spare neither effort nor money to give the President second place in his own State. Mr. Cox, Democratic candidate for Governor, was elected by a very large plurality. Both Republican and Progressive camps in Ohio contain many strong and excellent men; so that everyone interested in politics will watch the future party struggle in that State with exceptional interest and curiosity. Mr. Taft announces his intention to return to Cincinnati and practice law, and he has been widely announced as a receptive candidate for the Republican nomination in 1916. A vindication like Mr. Cleveland's is predicted.

In Indiana

A very remarkable contest was carried on in the State of Indiana, where at first there seemed small chance for the Progressive party. The Progressives actually took second place on both national and State tickets. In 1908 Taft received 348,993 votes and Bryan 338,262.



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HON. WILLIAM SULZER

(Governor-elect of New York)



JAMES M. COX
(of Ohio)



SAMUEL M. RALSTON
(of Indiana)



Copyright by H. E. Nix
WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS
(of Michigan)

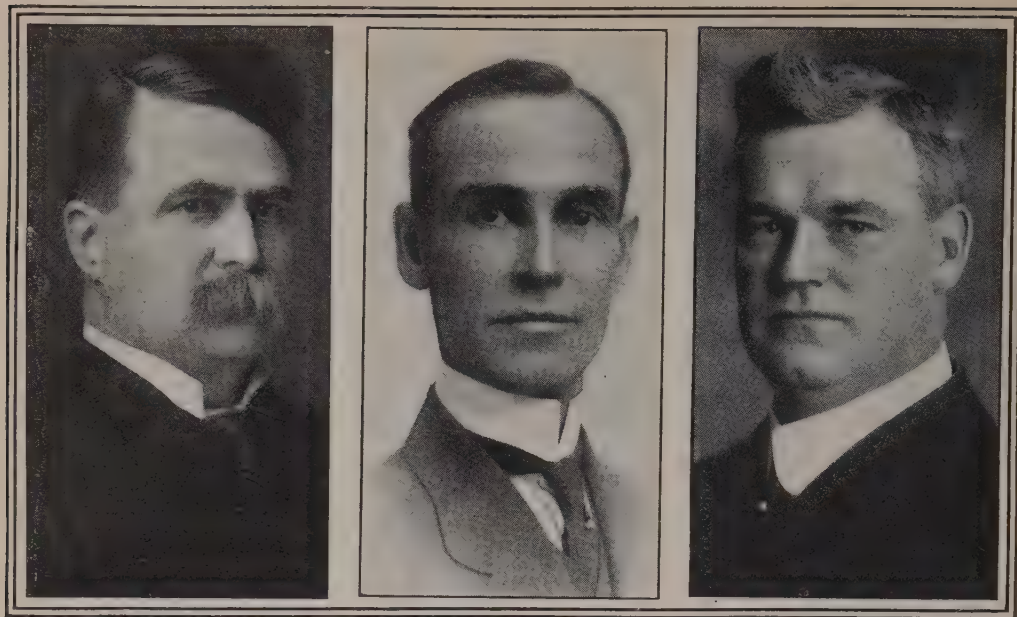
THREE NEW DEMOCRATIC GOVERNORS IN THE CENTRAL WEST

This year Taft received only 150,486, while Roosevelt had 158,952 and Wilson 272,509. Mr. Beveridge, as Progressive candidate for Governor, ran more than 20,000 ahead of his Republican competitor and 8,000 ahead of Roosevelt. Ralston (Democrat), who carried the State, ran 7,000 ahead of Wilson. Taking the country as a whole, Roosevelt ran well ahead of the State and local Progressive candidates. Beveridge in Indiana, Straus in New York, and perhaps Garford in Ohio (figures delayed), seem to be the only State candidates running ahead of the national ticket. Every Congressional district of Indiana was carried by the Democrats excepting Mr. Crumpacker's. It is reported that the Progressive candidates for Congress in Indiana were of unusual merit.

*In Michigan
and
Wisconsin*

In the State of Michigan it is evident that Mr. Roosevelt is very much stronger than the Progressive party as such. The "Bull Moose" candidate won out by a handsome plurality over Wilson, and Taft was a lagging third. Yet Ferris, the Democrat, was elected Governor, and the Republicans carried the rest of the State ticket. The Legislature is slightly Republican by a clear majority, and William Alden Smith, who is a Progressive at heart though a Republican by habit and association, will be reelected to the United

States Senate. The carrying of the woman-suffrage amendment was a matter of permanent importance, and since the margin was small it is obvious that the Bull Moose platform on the question is what turned the scale. In Wisconsin, on the other hand, the woman-suffrage amendment was defeated. The German and Scandinavian elements are said to be opposed to the entrance of women into politics. The influence of Senator LaFollette was strong against Roosevelt and the Progressives, on the principle that in a church quarrel the saints always fight each other more bitterly than they ever fight the devil. Mr. LaFollette is so far above question or reproach in his long record as a Progressive that he cannot believe in the sincerity of Mr. Roosevelt's conversion, nor can he realize that the movement itself, rather than its leaders, is the main thing. McGovern, who supported Roosevelt, was reelected as Governor, while on the Presidential count it was found that Wilson had 200,000 votes (in round figures), Taft 180,000, and Roosevelt only 85,000. Wilson's lead is not surprising; but the Taft vote in Wisconsin, in view of the conditions, is a matter of surprise to politicians of all parties. There were important local issues pending in Wisconsin; furthermore, for many years past, Democrats have been Republicans, and Republicans have been Democratic in Wisconsin politics.



GEORGE W. CLARKE
(Republican, Iowa)

ELLIOTT W. MAJOR
(Democrat, Missouri)

ERNEST LISTER
(Democrat, Washington)

THE GOVERNORS-ELECT OF IOWA, MISSOURI, AND WASHINGTON

*Cummins
and His
State*

The results in the State of Iowa are highly conclusive as respects some matters, and quite inconclusive as respects others. Senator Cummins emerges as the strong and dominant public man of that State, and his final views about national parties will be of great influence. Senator Cummins, like his late colleague, Dolliver, was a Progressive Republican when it cost something to stand out, to vote against the Payne-Aldrich bill, to incur the intense hostility of the administration, to propose an income tax, to join the Democrats in supporting the Underwood tariff bills, to oppose the reciprocity bill, and to allow his name to be used as a candidate for the sake of helping the Progressives to control the Republican party. Senator Cummins repudiated the Taft nomination as secured by unfair means, and supported the Roosevelt ticket, but was not in favor of a local Progressive party in Iowa. He favored a Republican Governor and Legislature; and this object was accomplished, so that Senator Kenyon will return to Washington. Wilson carried the State, but only by a small plurality over Roosevelt, while Taft ran far behind. The new Progressive party is the direct outcome of the public work of a group of Progressive Republican Senators, together with those movements in a number of States in the Mississippi Valley, and further West,

which had resulted in the election of Progressive Governors of the type of Stubbs, Aldrich, Johnson, and McGovern. These people cannot be less "progressive" in the future than in the past. Under what party name they will act, a few years hence, remains to be seen. The views of men like Senator Cummins must have great weight in helping to settle so practical a question.

*Minnesota
—Missouri*

In the State of Minnesota, Roosevelt's plurality was decisive over Wilson, while Taft's vote was very far behind. But the State Progressive ticket had comparatively small support, and the Republicans reelected Eberhart as Governor and carried the legislature. This means that the veteran Knute Nelson will have another term in the Senate, where his industry and fidelity are recognized by all his colleagues. Four years ago Taft carried Missouri over Bryan by a few hundred votes. This year Wilson fell a little short of the Bryan vote, while the total vote for Taft and Roosevelt together fell considerably below the Republican vote of 1908.

*On the
Pacific Coast*

In California, the Progressives controlled the Republican machinery, and the Taft people neglected, until it was too late, to nominate electors by petition. Under these circum-



S. V. STEWART
(Democrat, Montana)

FRANK M. BYRNE
(Republican, South Dakota)

L. B. HANNA
(Republican, North Dakota)

THREE GOVERNORS-ELECT IN THE NORTHWEST

stances the Taft Republicans voted for Wilson or abstained. Roosevelt seems to have carried the State by a handful of votes, he and Wilson each receiving a few more than 282,000. There were 2300 voters who wrote in the names of the Taft electors. In Idaho, the conditions were reversed and the Roosevelt electors were not printed on the ballot paper. Yet in that State 25 per cent. of all the voters took the trouble to fill in the names of the Roosevelt electors. The count of the State was very slow, and it was not certain, as this comment was written, whether Taft or Wilson had won. The State of Washington was carried by Roosevelt, with Taft third, but the Democrats captured the Governorship. We have already noted the interesting fact that Mrs. Helen B. Scott, of Tacoma, was successful on the Roosevelt electoral ticket,—the first woman to fill that position in the history of the country. Mrs. Josephine C. Preston was elected Superintendent of Public Instruction on the Republican ticket. Amendments to the constitution were adopted approving of the initiative and referendum and of the recall of State and county officials, not including judges. Mr. Taft also ran third in Oregon, Wilson carrying the State. Mr. Lane, Democratic candidate for United States Senator, carried the primaries, which under the Oregon system insures his election, although he obtained

scarcely more than one-third of the total vote. It is to be noted that Oregon is one of the States which now adopts woman suffrage, while in this State, as also in Missouri, a proposed single-tax amendment of the constitution was defeated.

The Dakotas and Montana

South Dakota was carried by Roosevelt, with no Taft ticket in the field. The electors had been chosen in primaries last spring, and it was afterwards agreed that if elected they would be willing to vote for Taft in case their votes could not aid Roosevelt to win. North Dakota, on the other hand, had three tickets, and was carried by Wilson, with Roosevelt leading Taft. In both Dakotas, Republicans were elected Governor. Montana, which has always been a close State, was carried by the Democrats. Senator Dixon, chairman of the Progressive Campaign Committee, had the satisfaction of winning second place for his new party. Dixon himself ran a good second for the Senatorship, which was won by L. J. Walsh.

Party Condi- tions in New England

The Progressive movement had been regarded as a distinctively Western form of radicalism, and New England was counted upon to remain conservative and orthodox. Yet the new party has made a noteworthy beginning in the six New England States. We have already



ARAM J. POTHIER
(Republican, Rhode Island)

SIMEON E. BALDWIN
(Democrat, Connecticut)

EUGENE N. FOSS
(Democrat, Massachusetts)

THREE REELECTED GOVERNORS OF NEW ENGLAND STATES

referred to Vermont, where a change of less than 500 votes would have put Roosevelt first. Wilson carried Maine by only a small plurality over Roosevelt, the Taft vote being very far behind. In New Hampshire, however, where Wilson was first, Taft was a close second and the Progressives were a remote third. The Massachusetts vote is worth recording in full. Wilson received 170,995, Taft 152,255, and Roosevelt 140,152. Foss, who was reelected Governor as a Democrat, ran ahead of Wilson, while Walker (Republican) and Bird (Progressive) held their own quite creditably. The Progressives were only a little behind the Republicans. The legislature will be Republican, and Senator Crane's seat will be filled by a member of his own party. Connecticut gave Wilson 71,836, Taft 65,427, and Roosevelt 32,364. State and Congressional tickets were carried by the Democrats, but the legislature is almost equally divided. Wilson also carried Rhode Island, with Taft second; but the Republican Governor, Pothier, was reelected for a fifth term. Judge Colt (Republican) will succeed Wetmore in the United States Senate.

error, although he went to Bermuda on Saturday, November 16, for a month's vacation. He will not resign until after the Democratic legislature has met in January, when it will have the benefit of his views upon important State problems and will choose a successor to fill out the unexpired part of his term. It is also desirable to record for future reference the vote in Pennsylvania. Roosevelt received 428,570, Wilson 384,259, and Taft 269,166. The Progressives will control the legislature. In Maryland, Wilson was far in the lead of his competitors, while Roosevelt was ahead of Taft. Wilson also carried Delaware, with Taft second and Roosevelt third. In West Virginia, Wilson was far in the lead of Roosevelt, with Taft very far behind. But the Republicans and Progressives, acting together, elected a Progressive Republican Governor and a legislature of the same complexion, which will elect a Senator to succeed Watson. A very notable event in West Virginia was the carrying of the constitutional amendment for State-wide prohibition by a majority of 75,000.

in the Old Middle States In Governor Woodrow Wilson's own State of New Jersey he was an easy winner, with Roosevelt a very respectable second and Taft far in the rear. Mr. Wilson retains his position as Gov-

The "Solid South" Unbroken Governor Wilson carried all of the Southern States by very large majorities. In Kentucky and Tennessee there were considerable votes for Roosevelt and Taft, with the President slightly ahead. In Virginia, North Carolina,



Photograph by Evans Studio, Wilmington

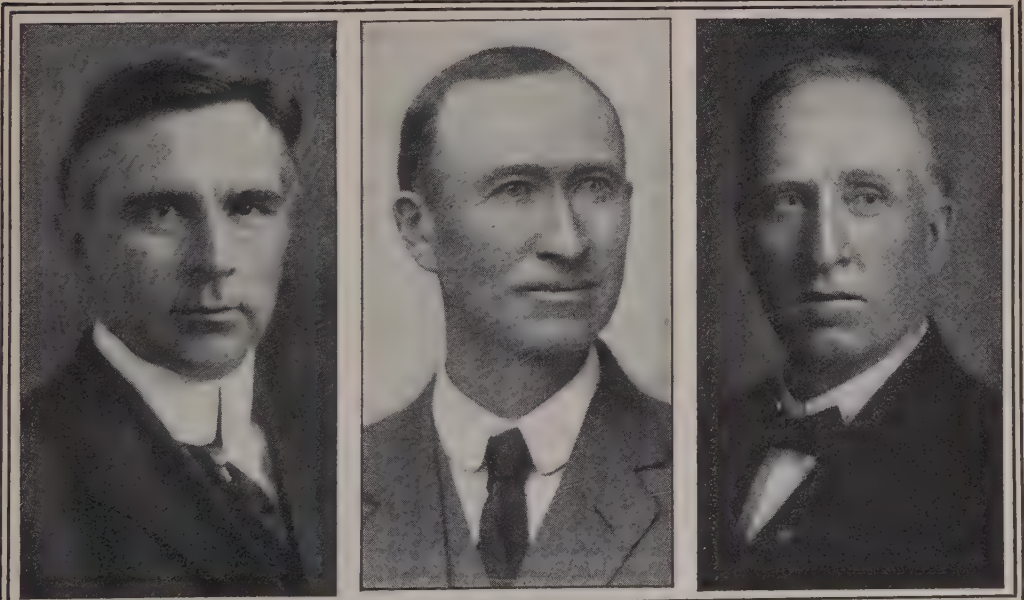
BEN. W. HOOPER
(of Tennessee)

CHARLES R. MILLER
(of Delaware)

H. D. HATFIELD
(of West Virginia)

THREE REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS-ELECT

South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, which was carried by Governor Wilson, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas, there were no Roosevelt electors. While Roosevelt was decidedly ahead of Taft, New Mexico and Arizona were carried although it yet remains to be seen for Wilson, Taft had second place in the whether 'the Progressive party has taken one and Roosevelt in the other. Arizona firm root in the South. In Oklahoma, has restored its "recall."



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LOCKE CRAIG
(of North Carolina)

ELIAS M. AMMONS
(of Colorado)

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JOHN H. MOREHEAD
(of Nebraska)

THREE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNORS-ELECT



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THE PRESIDENT-ELECT, WITH MRS. WILSON AND THEIR DAUGHTERS

(The daughters, from left to right, are Margaret, Eleanor, and Jessie)

*Kansas
Nebraska and
Colorado* Mr. Roosevelt did not carry Kansas, although he was not far behind Wilson. The Progressives in Kansas for State purposes were Republican, while for national purposes they were independent. The practical difficulty of voting a split ticket affected the result. With a Democratic legislature, Governor Stubbs will not go to the United States Senate. Mr. Bryan's State of Nebraska gave Wilson a very large plurality, while Taft was left far behind Roosevelt. Although the legislature is Democratic, it is pledged to elect Congressman Norris (Progressive) to the Senate, because he won in the popular vote. The initiative and referendum have been approved as a part of the Nebraska constitution. The Colorado voters placed Wilson first, Roosevelt second, and Taft third. It is to be noted that, with all the women of Colorado fully enfranchised, a prohibition amendment was defeated. The Prohibitionists have always advocated woman suffrage, on the ground that women voters would make the temperance cause irresistible. Yet the men of West Virginia have carried their State overwhelmingly for prohibition, while the

women of Colorado have defeated a like proposal. John F. Shafroth (Democrat) was victor in the preference primary for the United States Senate to succeed Mr. Guggenheim. Charles S. Thomas, also a Democrat, will fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator Hughes.

*Wilson
in High
Favor*

When an election is once over, and the results are ascertained, the American people have a happy fashion of laying aside all feeling of acrimony, and of reconciling themselves cheerfully to the will of the majority. During the campaign, Governor Wilson's political opponents naturally did their best to find debating ground against his views as expressed from time to time. But he kept an admirable poise and temper, talked generalities in a charming, yet statesmanlike manner, and found himself on good terms with everybody at the end of the campaign. Men who have shown themselves fitted to serve in the presidency of an American university must possess executive talent of a high order and experience of a very wide range. The business of being a university president requires

great power of decision and develops marked personality. If Governor Wilson could also have served in Congress for a term, he would perhaps have been by just so much the better fitted for headship of the national government. But it is the general belief that we are fortunate in having a man of his great attainments and high character to be our next President, and his well-wishers are millions strong.

*A Special
Tariff
Session*

He will be supported by a House having an overwhelming Democratic majority, and a Senate slightly Democratic. He has already announced his intention to call a special session to deal with the tariff question. This is in accordance with a well-nigh unanimous sentiment. There was no public demand for the veto of the Underwood tariff bills by President Taft, either in the special session of 1911 or in the recent long session. Business interests naturally wish to know what is in store; but in this matter they have now had ample warning. The method of revision by single schedules will undoubtedly be continued. The bills will not be perfect, but they will doubtless mean some long steps in the direction of tariff reform. As respects Mr. Wilson's policy toward industrial combinations and large business enterprises, he has explicitly said that no business men carrying on their undertakings in a proper way have the slightest reason for apprehension. In the last days of the campaign the Republicans flooded the country with sensational warnings to the effect that Democratic victory would bring on a business panic, turn back



HON. OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD
(Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, who will have leading part in the Democratic revision of the tariff)

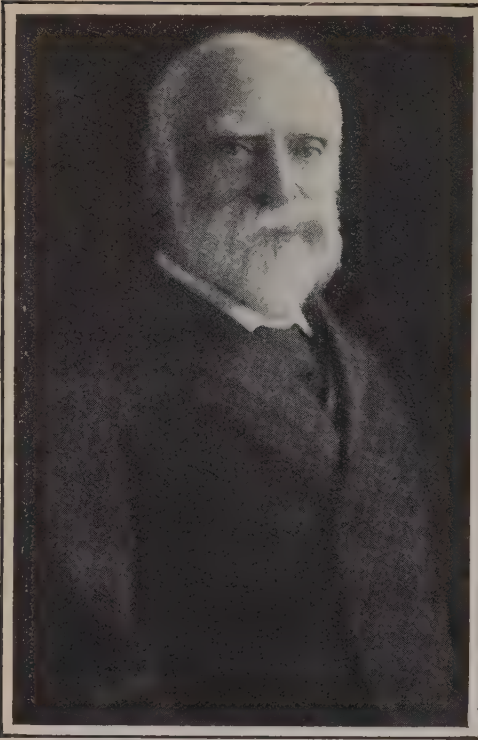
the tide of prosperity, throw millions of working men out of employment, and enshroud every community in gloom and disaster. President Taft himself took the lead in sending forth these unhappy predictions. Yet when the news of the Democratic victory was made known, there was not the slightest appearance of alarm in any quarter. The stock market was buoyant rather than depressed, and the whole business world seemed rather pleased and happy. The simple fact is that the country has outlived the old doctrinaire fight between the protectionists and the free-traders. Although the Democrats are to be in full power, there is no danger that they will reverse our tariff policy so suddenly as to destroy great American industries. They are more likely to leave the tariff too high than to cut it down too low. The producers now, as heretofore, will be better represented than the consumers.

*The Present
Work of
Congress*

The closing session of the Sixty-second Congress meets on Monday, December 2, and it comes to an end on March 4, when the new President will be inaugurated. Its principal business will be the passage of appropriation bills. Such bills involve large questions of public policy, quite apart from the amounts of treasury money that they grant. Through the work



THE PRESIDENT-ELECT, WITH MR. MCCOMBS, HIS CAMPAIGN MANAGER,—A SNAPSHOT TAKEN THE DAY AFTER ELECTION



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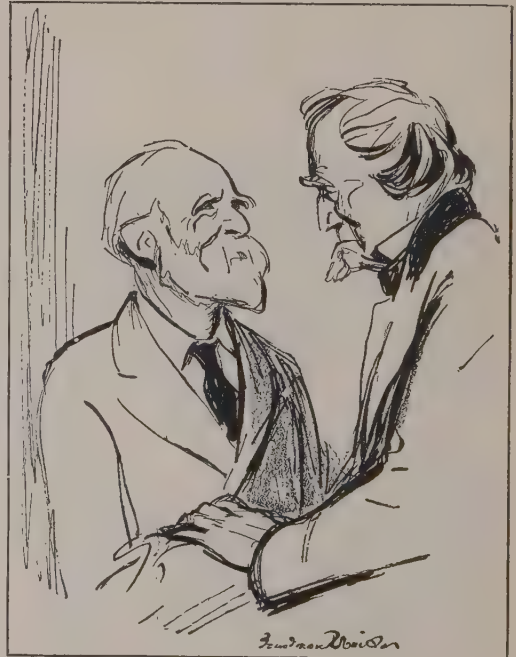
THE RT. HON. JAMES BRYCE
(British Ambassador to the United States)

of Dr. Cleveland and the Commission on Economy and Efficiency, the Departments will present their estimates in much better shape than heretofore. President Taft has become interested in the plan of putting our estimates of income and expenditure in something like the form of an English budget as presented to Parliament by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Twenty-four years ago, Woodrow Wilson was strongly and clearly advocating that idea, and there is no reason to think that his convictions have changed. We are likely, therefore, to move steadily in the direction of a more scientific plan of raising the national income and a more practical and economical way of expending it. As for the immediate work of Congress, apart from the appropriation bills, we may expect to have tariff revision postponed, and also such questions as federal incorporation and changes in the Sherman Anti-Trust law. Whether or not the inquiries of the Clapp committee regarding campaign contributions will lead to changes in the law, cannot be conjectured. At least we have made gains in the direction of publicity; and the methods of financing campaigns employed this year by the Democratic committee, those that the Progressives

are working out, and those the Socialists have for a number of years been using, will come to have general acceptance. Parties must be supported by their members on grounds of a public nature, rather than by corporations or individuals having private interests at stake.

Mr. Bryce
as American
Observer

It might be reasonable to assert that no other observer has followed the recent course of our political affairs with so much of friendly and intelligent understanding as the British ambassador at Washington, Mr. James Bryce. He is about to retire from his post, after six years of fortunate service, in order to complete certain literary undertakings. He has just now given us an admirable book upon South America, with a Panama chapter that is especially readable and helpful. His "American Commonwealth" will stand permanently as the best account of our institutions in the half-century following the Civil War. He is not merely an ambassador from one government to another; but in the highest sense he represents the good will between the two great English-speaking nations, and the heritage of institutions, literature, beliefs and hopes that these nations have in common. Mr. Bryce at seventy-four is in the height of his intellectual power, and his forthcoming books will be eagerly awaited everywhere.



UNCLE SAM; (to Ambassador Bryce) "I shall be sorry to say good-bye"

From the *Tribune* (New York)

*End of the
Diaz Revolt
in Mexico*

The brief revolt of Felix Diaz, nephew of Mexico's former President, which lasted a week during October, apparently boded ill for the Madero administration. General Diaz was a colonel in the Mexican army, and chief of police of the capital city, and it was expected that he would have a large following. For several days he controlled the important port of Vera Cruz, the gateway to the City of Mexico. He was declared Provisional President and had even progressed so far as to make up a cabinet. On October 31, however, Vera Cruz was taken over by the government forces, and Diaz captured. The next day he was tried by court-martial, on a charge of treason, and condemned to be shot. A stay of proceedings, however, was obtained, through the intervention, it was reported, of Madero himself, and Diaz was sent to prison. It is thought that he will be pardoned. A few days after Diaz's imprisonment, the news despatches from Paris told of the death of Ramon Corral, Vice-President under Porfirio Diaz, and for many years regarded as the most powerful man in Mexico next to his chief.

*Presidential
Election in
Cuba*

A quiet election in Cuba, on the first day of last month, resulted in the choice of General Mario G. Menocal as President, and Señor Enrique José Varona as Vice President. Fearing disorder, two days before the election, the leaders of both political parties agreed that no more meetings should be held. President Gomez closed all the cafés in Havana, and the sale of all alcoholic drinks, as well as the carrying of arms in the street, were forbidden. Less than fifty per cent. of the registered voters went to the polls. It speaks well for the fairness of the election that, despite the control of the government by the Liberal party, the Conservative candidates were elected. They won by a majority of some 13,000 votes, distributed among the six provinces in such a way that the Conservatives secured a majority of five, electing five Governors and two Senators in each of the provinces except Camaguey, where, because of the recent death of a Senator, three were elected. The Cuban Senate is composed of twenty-four members, four from each province. At present this body is Liberal, with the exception of two members, who, formerly Liberals, fraternized with the Conservatives before election because of local issues. These two members, together with the eleven now elected by the Conservatives, give that party a strength of thirteen against an opposition of eleven in

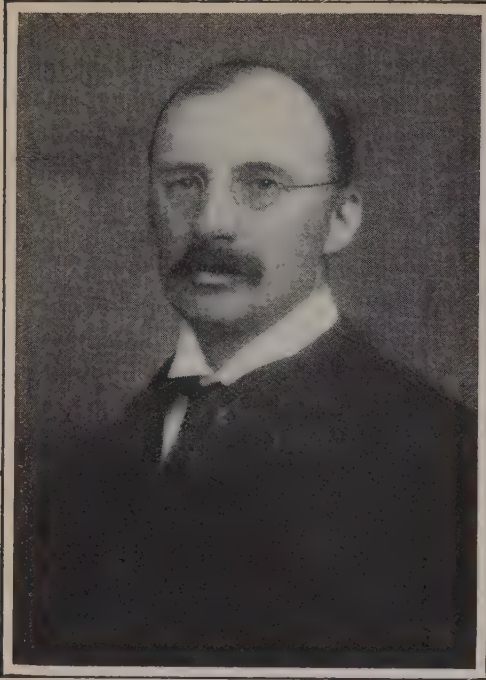


GENERAL MARIO MENOCAL, THE NEW PRESIDENT OF CUBA

the Senate. The new Vice President, Señor Varona, who will preside over the Senate, is also a Conservative.

*Menocal
the New
President*

In the Lower House, after May 20 next, when the newly elected Ministry comes into power, there will be forty-three Liberals and forty-eight who are listed as Conservatives. Five of the latter, however, are Liberal "mugwumps" and they will hold the balance of power. The Liberals claim that fraud was practised during the election campaign, and the Conservatives reply by counter charges. The government has talked of making a protest to Washington and of asking for an American investigation of the election. General Menocal, the new President, has been manager of the largest sugar estate in Cuba for many years. In his program he promises to cultivate closer relations with the United States, and to seek agricultural and industrial development. He will at once open negotiations for a revision of the tariff with this country.



SIR CECIL ARTHUR SPRING-RICE, WHO SUCCEEDS MR. BRYCE AS BRITISH AMBASSADOR AT WASHINGTON

*British
Home
Affairs*

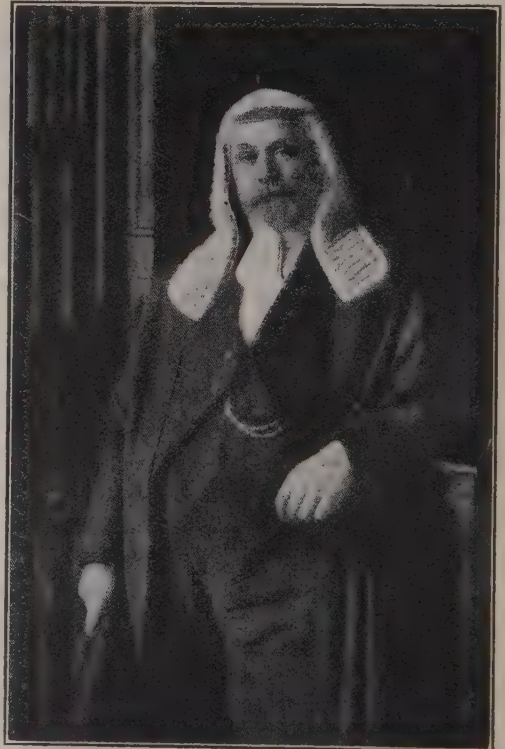
During the discussion on the third reading of the Irish Home Rule bill in the British House of Commons, on October 11, the opposition, by a parliamentary trick, succeeded in defeating the government by a small majority on an unimportant amendment. The Ministry was then called upon to resign, but the Premier refused, and the House sustained his refusal. The opposition then caused considerable disorder in the House, which, at times, amounted almost to open riot. A motion by the Premier to rescind the adverse vote on the amendment, however, was defeated, and the disorder continued until the speaker adjourned the session. Hon. James Lowther, who occupies the exalted position of Speaker of the House of Commons, is a Conservative and opposed to Irish Home Rule, the land reforms and almost all the other Liberal measures. He was chosen Speaker in 1905 when the Conservatives were in power, and he remained Speaker under the Liberal administration.

*Is Speaker
Lowther a
Partisan?*

According to English Parliamentary custom the Speaker of the House of Commons remains in office for life. Theoretically he is non-partisan. Mr. Lowther, however, has been accused by the Liberals of being intensely so, and, last month, it was freely stated that they

would force his resignation. The Conservatives were predicting that his successor could not be elected without complications that would compel the Ministry to resign and go before the country in a new election. This the Liberals are averse to doing, particularly because of the present incomplete state of their program. Two important changes affecting Britain's diplomatic relations with the world were made last month. Prince Karl von Lichnowsky was appointed German Ambassador at London to succeed the late Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, who died on September 24. Mr. Bryce, who has been Britain's official representative at Washington since 1907, also resigned on November 10, and Sir Cecil Arthur Spring-Rice, now Minister at Stockholm, was appointed to succeed him. On a preceding page we have referred to the degree of affection with which Americans have always regarded Mr. Bryce.

The second and most important stage in the election of representatives to the fourth Russian Duma has been completed. On the first day of the present month the final selection will be made



RT. HON. JAMES LOWTHER, SPEAKER OF THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS, IN HIS CEREMONIAL ROBES (A movement is on foot among the Liberals to force Mr. Lowther out of office on the charge of partisanship)

and the new assembly will begin its first sessions. The system of election to the Russian Parliament, it must not be forgotten, is an elaborate one. First, the duly registered voters of the nation elect delegates. These delegates then choose electors by ballot. Finally, the electors cast their ballots for the deputies. In some provinces the election is only twofold, and, in the case of seven of the largest cities, it is direct, the citizens voting for the deputies in the first instance. The third Duma was dissolved in June last by the Czar, after a five-years' session, during which very little was accomplished. The Russian Duma, it must always be remembered, is not a truly legislative body. The third Duma, in fact, enacted no law and accomplished no reform worth mentioning. Its most noteworthy achievement was the legislation destroying the last vestiges of Finland's constitution and subjecting that country to the malevolent rule of Russian autocracy. The third Duma was controlled by the Octobrists (so named after the famous manifesto of October 31, 1905) a conservative party of limited aims and few ideals. A just though not hopeful estimate of the work of the third Duma is given in a recent issue of the *Russkaya Vedomosti*, the serious Liberal journal of Moscow. The editor, himself a political economist of note, says:



CZAR NICHOLAS OF RUSSIA AND HIS HEIR ALEXIS
(The little Czarevitch has recently recovered from a serious illness)

When the deputies of the third Duma arrived in St. Petersburg . . . no one expected them to contribute anything positive to Russian life. The very fact of the existence of the Duma, however, it was hoped, would serve as a check upon the government. . . . But the Octobrist Duma turned out worse than could have been expected, and, instead of exercising a restraining influence upon the government, it gave its sanction to everything the Ministry insisted upon.

Reaction
Still in
Power

The new Duma will be faced by some very difficult questions of social and economic import vitally affecting the 90,000,000 Russian peasants. These include land laws, the readjustment of taxation, and agricultural improvement. But its make-up does not give much encouragement to the Russian Progressives. The complexion of the fourth Duma will not be very "Red." The so-called Nationalist electors already number fifty per cent. of the total, the government having seen to it that no very radical anti-administration electors have been chosen. The electoral college has been largely "packed" with clergymen who are absolutely dependent upon the government for their bread and butter, and will vote as directed. On the whole, the prospects of Russian democracy do not seem very bright just at present. The royal family, during recent weeks, has been



KIAMIL PASHA, THE AGED "YOUNG TURK," GRAND
VIZIER OF TURKEY
(He is a great admirer of England)



HOW THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE HAS SHRUNK IN A CENTURY

(The first map shows how Turkey looked in 1812 before the Congress of Vienna. The second shows Turkey in 1912 before the Balkan allies invaded it)

much exercised over the somewhat mysterious illness of the Czarevitch, who met with an accident early in October, and who, moreover, is apparently affected with some blood disease. The little Alexis is a bright lad of eight, and it is to be hoped that he will be spared to take part, when he reaches manhood, in the government of his country, but of a new liberalized, progressive Russia.

The Six Weeks' War in the Balkans

When, on November 14, the aged Kiamil Pasha, the Turkish Grand Vizier, instructed Nazim Pasha, commander-in-chief of the Ottoman army in the trenches behind the last defenses of Constantinople, to open negotiations with the Bulgarian generals, the end of the six weeks' war between Turkey and the Balkan powers was in sight. The brilliant successes of the allied Bulgarian, Servian, Montenegrin and Greek armies were almost uninterrupted from the moment the army of King Nicholas invested Tarakasch, the tiny town just across the Turkish frontier (October 12), to the forcing of the Tchatalja defenses by the victorious Bulgars on November 13 within twenty miles of the minarets of Stamboul, the events in this most dramatic and brilliant European war in nearly half a century moved with amazing rapidity.

the Porte formally opened hostilities against Serbia and Bulgaria. Two days later the first Bulgarian army captured the important city of Mustafa Pasha and the forward movement of all the allied troops had begun. Owing to the strict censorship maintained by all the Balkan governments, as well as by that of Turkey, for a week or more, the outside world was kept in ignorance of the plans of the allies. Soon, however, the campaign as worked out by the military boards of Sofia, Belgrade, and Athens, began to show itself in the moves on the chessboard of war. The map on the opposite page will show the large lines of the campaign. In general, the plan was to let the Montenegrins attack and capture the important town of Scutari and generally seduce northern Albania from its Turkish allegiance. The Bulgarian armies, under King Ferdinand in person, invaded Thrace from the north, the Servian armies, under the general command of Prince Alexander, pierced Macedonia through the vilayets of Kossovo and Monastir, while the Greeks, under Prince Constantine, advanced over the mountains, with the object of clearing Epirus of the Turks, and striking at Salonica. The Bulgarian, Servian, and Greek lines were, finally, to converge upon Constantinople.

The Brilliant Campaign of the Bulgars

These plans were carried out with amazing dash and precision. Scutari was at once invested by the Montenegrins and completely isolated. The stubborn resistance of the Turks kept the bulk of the Montenegrin army engaged before this stronghold during the entire war. The

The Allies Move on Turkey

On October 8, Montenegro declared war against Turkey, and four days later the soldiers of the Black Mountain invaded the Turkish province of Novi Bazar. On October 17 Serbia and Greece declared war against Turkey, and



THE BRILLIANT CAMPAIGN OF THE ALLIED BALKAN STATES AGAINST TURKEY

(This map shows the course of the allied Bulgarian, Servian, Montenegrin and Greek armies: The shaded portions indicate those sections of Turkey assigned to each of the allies "to subdue and occupy."

Montenegro shared her work with Serbia)

troops of King Nicholas, however, achieved noteworthy successes elsewhere in the Province of Novi Bazar, including the capture of the important towns of Podgoritza and Mitrovitza. On October 20 the main Bulgarian army, under General Savov, having captured Mustafa Pasha, the northern door to Adrianople, invested this ancient capital of Thrace, while the second Bulgarian army took a detour to the eastward and captured Kirk-Kiliseh. This closed the door to any Turkish aid from the east. Adrianople was then regularly besieged. The Bulgarian general staff pushed on with two other armies, numbering upwards of 200,000 men, into Thrace and soon had command of the main roads leading to the Turkish capital. Meanwhile the Servian invasion had begun. On October 22 the armies of King Peter took the important town of Pristina. The next day they captured the stronghold of Novi Bazar. On October 25, after a heavy engagement, the Servians captured the important town of Kumanova, and the following day the ancient strategic town of Uskub.

advanced through Meluna Pass on the north-eastern frontier, defeating the Turks in a sharp engagement. A few days later the important city of Ellassona was taken by the army of King George. The Bulgarians hotly besieged Adrianople, while the Turks carried on a dogged resistance. On October 27 the Bulgars captured the important town of Eski-baba. This gave them control of the Orient Railway line, which connects Vienna with the Ottoman capital. Three days later, after a terrific battle, the Turks were driven from the strategic fortifications of Lule-Burgas. The Bulgarian advance continued without giving the Turks a chance to rest. On November 1 the invaders captured Demotica and the next day the Turks were driven back after a terrific three days' battle at Tchorlu. Nazim Pasha's army was so battered in this fight that it is reported the entire command, only excepting the higher officers, fled to escape the pursuing Bulgars. Pushing on in spite of bad roads and the poor condition of his troops, the Bulgarian commander forced his way eastward along the swampy peninsula at the end of which Constantinople is situated, the Turks in full retreat. At the Tchatalja line of fortifications extending practically from the Black Sea to the Sea of Marmora, and less than

Greeks Take
Salonica

Meanwhile Greece had begun her campaign with the despatch of her fleet to attack the Egean Islands. On October 19, the Greek army



THE SURPRISE OF OLD EUROPE
From *The News* (Indianapolis)

20 miles from the streets of the Ottoman capital the Turkish commander succeeded in halting his troops and a desperate resistance was begun. Meanwhile one Servian army was advancing southward to join the Greeks, while another had started westward across Albania to take the port of Durazzo. On November 8 the victorious Greeks entered Salonica, after the most brilliant campaign fought by a Greek army since classic times, and at once turned northward to join the Servians.

Turkey
Sues
for Peace

After the heavy defeat at Tchorlu the Porte asked the European powers to mediate, but received a polite *non possumus*. The Turkish government evidently expected better terms through the intervention of the great powers than they could obtain by negotiating directly with the allies. The Balkan governments, however, represented by King Ferdinand of Bulgaria, refused to entertain any proposals of peace, except from Turkey direct. Meanwhile the fleeing Ottoman troops and the despairing inhabitants of the suburbs were filling Constantinople with a frightened and disorderly mob, and the dreaded cholera had made its appearance in the streets. It was reported that preparations were made for the departure of the Sultan and his court to Scutari, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, and there were ugly rumors of the massacre of Christians by fanatic Kurds in Stamboul. On November 15 the Porte asked for an armistice of eight days and inquired what would be Bulgaria's conditions of peace. It was stated that the allied Balkan kings had determined to treat with Turkey only when their troops had entered Constantinople, and

that the four monarchs would reclaim the famous San Sofia mosque, formerly a Christian church, by purging it and saying a military mass. The Turks, for their part, let it be known publicly that if the allies entered Constantinople, they would blow up San Sofia. An excellent view of the exterior of this famous church is our frontispiece this month.

A Holy
War and
Its Effects

An ominous turn was given to the situation by the proclamation, on November 9, of a Jihad or Holy War. The Sheikh-ul-Islam, the head of the Moslem church, and a regular Cabinet Minister in Turkey, issued a proclamation of war against the Christians, which may have far reaching results outside of Turkey. This was primarily intended to put heart into the Turkish troops. It was also a reminder to the millions of Moslem subjects of King George of England and of the French Republic that the Caliphate was in danger. The agitation, which has been going on for years in the colonies of these western powers, as well as among the 30,000,000 Moslems living under the Sultan's rule, might be expected to induce their governments to interfere on behalf of the Turk, to prevent uprisings in their own colonies, or to so tie their hands as to prevent military opposition to the Triple Alliance, which has been pro-Turkish and anti-Balkan. Fear for the safety of the Christians in Ottoman lands has resulted in the despatch of warships of several western nations, including the United States, to Turkish waters.

The
European
Question

The Balkan question is first of all a European question. To all appearances the day of the end of the Turk in Europe has come. It is a question, however, whether Europe will ever



"THE BEAR THAT WALKS LIKE A MAN"

"I wonder if there'll be any pickings"

From *The Globe* (Toronto)



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A VIEW OF MODERN CONSTANTINOPLE—THE GALATA BRIDGE OVER THE GOLDEN HORN
FROM OLD STAMBOUL TO PERA

permit Constantinople to remain in the hands of one, or even more than one, of the Balkan nations. To do so would lead to eternal discord. There would still remain unsolved the question of the fate of the Egean Islands, and the more important one of the control of the waterway between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. The last word has not been spoken, and it will not be spoken until London and Berlin agree, with or without a general European conference, to remake the map of the continent. It is significant to note the way the feeble old concert of Europe has at last grudgingly readjusted itself to the new situation brought about by the brilliant enterprise and heroic dash of the Balkan States. Practically all the foreign offices and inspired journals now admit that the Turks must go and that the Balkan allies must not be deprived of what they have gained by the sword. The futility and impotence of European diplomacy reached bottom, when, just before the war, it definitely asserted to the Balkan States and to Turkey that it would not tolerate any change in the *status quo*. But diplomacy could not prevent the war. The *status quo* in Turkey has moved and will not go back. A brilliant editorial writer of the London *Public Opinion* contemptuously



NAZIM PASHA, THE TURKISH GENERALISSIMO, WHO WAS CRUSHINGLY DEFEATED BY THE BULGARIANS IN A SERIES OF BATTLES

refers to the *status quo* argument as Humpty Dumpty, and says:

"Humpty Dumpty sat on a wall,
Humpty Dumpty has had a great fall,
All Europe's horses and all Europe's men
Can't put the *status quo* together again."

The Turk
to Go
at Last

The Balkan States have dared and their audacity has won. Europe is even now upon the eve of a reckoning between Slav and Ottoman such as has never before been seen. Centuries of repression have made the lines of Balkan evolution different from our own. Deeper hatred for greater wrongs, a keener instinct to fight, and a more reckless expenditure of life have characterized this six weeks' war in the Near East than we of the West can clearly understand. It is perfectly clear now even to solemn ineffective European diplomacy that there can be no prosperity or peace in Macedonia or Albania without something which at least approaches autonomy. In both these states Christian populations have been the victims of persecutions, which Europe, to its disgrace, has permitted to go on for generations. That the Christians may have retaliated in savage fashion does not alter the fact that the reforms which were

demanding from Constantinople and promised by the Porte were put off because of the jealousies of the great powers, and are now made possible only by the gallantry of the little states themselves. The task of European statecraft is now to discover some formula,—“autonomy,” “devolution,” or what not,—which shall secure the freedom of these unhappy provinces.

But Can
Europe
Agree?

There is always present the danger of a general European war arising from the impossibility of agreement over what shall be done with the inheritance of the Turk when he has been expelled from Europe. The dream of Serbia ever since it became a nation has been to secure an outlet on the Adriatic. Landlocked as she has heretofore been, surrounded by hostile neighbors, who not only held up at the frontier supplies for her army in time of war, but enacted hostile tariffs against her in time of peace, the little kingdom of the Serbs has for many years dreamt of an Adriatic seaport. But Serbia's big neighbor, Austria-Hungary, has marked out the province of Novi Bazar as hers because it is the way to Salonica, which she regards as her rightful inheritance. She has moreover come to some understanding with Germany and Italy in accordance with which the shores of



HOW EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY HAS BEEN RUDELY JARRED BY THE COURSE OF EVENTS

(The European “Concert” tried hard, by the antiquated method of “Diplomatic Notes,” to keep in leash the Balkan dogs of war. The lower half of this cartoon—from *Fischietto*, of Turin—shows what happened to Diplomacy when these selfsame dogs of war had made up their minds)



THE THREE ROYAL COMMANDERS OF THE MONTENEGRIN, SERVIAN AND GREEK ARMIES

PRINCE DANILO
(of Montenegro)CROWN PRINCE ALEXANDER
(of Serbia)CROWN PRINCE CONSTANTINE
(of Greece)

the Adriatic are to be forever barred to the Slav powers. Serbia, therefore, must be denied a seaport on the Adriatic or the Egean. With the Servian army marching upon Durazzo, and Austria issuing warnings from Vienna and mobilizing her forces, it was this sharp clash of interests that constituted the danger point in the general European situation last month. This clash was seen to be dividing Europe into two camps. The Triple Alliance is generally favorable to Austria's contention, while the Triple Entente (Great Britain, France and Russia) are opposed to anything which will rob the Balkan States of the fruits of their victory.

*Some Causes
of
the War*

Land hunger, racial and religious hatred, and stifled ambition have been given by a distinguished European diplomat as the ultimate causes of the war in the Balkans. The first of these three undoubtedly applies to Montenegro, the population of which has long since ceased to be able to support itself on its own soil—or rocks—or to produce anything in sufficient quantity to exchange abroad. The Montenegrins also longed to get possession of the territory allotted to them at the Berlin Congress, but withheld at the last moment by the resolute resistance of the inhabitants and the covert opposition of Austria. Certain lands assigned to Greece in 1878 were, it is true, given to her in 1881, but others were withheld, and land hunger formed part

of the Greek incitement to war. The Greeks, moreover, are still, to a degree, obsessed with the Pan-Hellenic idea that has grown as the power of the Turk has waned.

*Bulgaria and
the Modern
Spirit*

While land hunger cannot be said to have played a great part in inducing Bulgaria and Serbia to move against the Turk, it is undoubtedly true that the people of these countries were moved by the desire to regain lands once part of their ancient empires and inhabited by their countrymen who have suffered for generations under the heel of Turkish oppression. With Bulgaria there was undoubtedly another motive—stifled ambition on the part of the King, or, as he prefers to call himself, Czar Ferdinand. His position at Sofia has not always been an easy one—imperialistic ruler of an essentially democratic people untroubled by any excess of sentiment. The men who have made Bulgaria a force in the political and military world of the Balkans, and who mean, if they are permitted, to make it the dominating power in the confederation, as Prussia is in Germany, recognize in Ferdinand's ambition a powerful ally. Over and above,—or, to speak with more exactitude, under and beneath—all these impelling causes, there has been a clash between two social standards and two political ideals. Bulgaria and Serbia, and, to a less degree, Montenegro and Greece, have been touched by the modern progressive spirit, while the



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood.

ENTHUSIASTIC BULGARIAN BOY SCOUTS, BEING DRILLED BY AN ARMY OFFICER

Ottoman, despite the heroic efforts of the Young Turks, has remained a reactionary. We call our reader's attention to an illuminating statement of the forces that have moved Bulgaria and Servia in this war, which appears on another page (687) this month, by a close student of Balkan affairs, who, for two years, was a member of one of the famous Macedonian bands in Monastir.

Collapse of the Turkish Defense Next in importance as a cause, to the unsuspected solidarity of the four Balkan states, has been the astonishing collapse of the Turkish military resistance. There was nothing apparent in the Ottoman army organization or its conditions, as known before the outbreak of hostilities, to lead any one to suspect that in so brief a time as one month a victorious Bulgarian army would be within striking distance of Constantinople and the resistance of the Turks pierced and broken. The true history of the events that have taken place in Thrace since October 5 has yet to be written. No war correspondents on either side were allowed anywhere near the scene of actual hostilities. One enterprising journalist, representing the *Reichspost* of Vienna, saw

some of the fighting, but in the main it may be said that the mass of descriptive writing that has appeared in the daily press has been the work of imagination. The statement that the Turkish soldiery has deteriorated since the days of Plevna and Shipka Pass are, however, known to be unwarranted. It has been proven beyond question that there were gross defects in the Turkish commissariat, and that the mobilization arrangements broke down at the critical moment. It is not likely that the world will ever know who is responsible for this condition, but that there has been something approaching treason at work in Constantinople is clearly indicated in the little that the censorship has permitted, and that private information has been able to send from the capital. All reports agree that the Turkish defense has been utterly unable to stem the impetuosity and the ably designed tactics of the Bulgars. The Bulgarian generals seem to have sent their men into action with an indifference to the sacrifice of life as great as that of Napoleon and his marshals. Lieutenant Wagner, the correspondent of the Vienna *Reichspost* already referred to, describes the dash of the Bulgarian infantry at

Lule Bargas as "unparalleled" and, "like the tactical achievements which resulted from it, unsurpassed in European military history."

*Why the
Turk Lost*

The collapse of the military power of the Turk has amazed the European experts. None has been more surprised than the Turk himself. The war office at Constantinople fully appreciates the splendid organization and efficiency of the Bulgarian military establishment. In fact, the Bulgarian frontier was the only one properly guarded, the Turkish commanders evidently regarding Servia, Greece and Montenegro as negligible. The Turkish explanation of the defeat to the Ottoman arms is given to REVIEW readers in the following words of a patriotic Turk, now in New York. He says:

It would seem that the resistance offered by the Turkish army of the West, was all the Turkish General Staff expected, believing, as they did, that they would be able to strike hard at the Bulgarian at the start and afterward reinforce the Western armies.

Turkey was absolutely unprepared; the Bulgarians were ready to the dot. The various active campaigning of the Turkish army in the different revolutions and uprisings, in Macedonia, Albania, Hauran and Yemen, had weakened its moral and material force, instead of benefiting it as might have been expected. The great army which Mahmoud Shefket Pasha had reorganized was either scattered from Yemen to Caucasia and Montenegro, or permitted to return home on furlough. The active interference of the officers and ultimately of the privates, in party politics, created so many personal animosities and resulted in so much lack of discipline, that many prominent officers resigned or were asked to resign, and others were murdered. The most immediate cause of all was perhaps the Tripolitanian war, which the Young Turks obstinately refused to terminate, and the recent Albanian uprising—undoubtedly instigated by Italy—with the result of the downfall of the Young Turks, and concessions to the Albanians, thus cutting the country and the army in two, and on the verge of a bloody civil war. Another result was the withdrawal, as per agreement with the Ahmed Moukhtar Pasha government, of the largest part of the army from Albania and Europe and the impossibility of transporting soldiers from Asia back to Europe in time on account of the Italian war. Thus the war found the Turkish army scattered, reduced, difficult to mobilize, divided in itself, the Turkish soldier, although the same good fighter as ever, as all accounts agree, still disgusted with the entire situation, and tired of being continually called to the colors, the commissariat department and all transport departments, disorganized by political rivalries and changes. To this was opposed a well-prepared and organized army, united and ready for any sacrifice, mobilized in a short time, because of small territory, and hurling itself with all its power quick and powerful on the enemy, before giving him time to half mobilize. Under such circumstances it is easy to understand the result of the conflict so far.



PREMIER CANALEJAS, OF SPAIN, WHO WAS ASSASSINATED BY AN ANARCHIST LAST MONTH

*The Work
of
Canalejas*

Ever since the execution of Francisco Ferrer, in 1909, on charges of revolutionary teaching in his "Modern School," the anarchist circles of Spain have been denouncing Premier Canalejas as responsible for the deed, and asserting that he should perish for it. On November 12 Premier Canalejas was shot and instantly killed in a public square in Madrid by a young anarchist named Pardinas, who immediately afterward committed suicide. The dead Premier was one of the most eminent of modern Spanish statesmen, a radical, but a friend of the monarchy. He led the anti-clerical party in the Cortes and vigorously pushed these measures which, in time, led to the suppression of the religious orders. He also began the negotiations for the revision of the Concordat with the Vatican. Canalejas conducted himself as a modern enlightened statesman on the Morocco question. He was large physically, and big mentally. Coming of an aristocratic family of considerable wealth, he was of very simple tastes, and very radical and democratic in his opinions. He was one of the most efficient instruments of real progress in Spain. He has been succeeded in the premiership by Count Romanones, President of the Chamber of Deputies. Two days after the death of Canalejas, the Franco-Spanish treaty settling all issues between the two countries in the question of Morocco, was signed at Madrid. This peaceful solution of what, at one time, threatened to be a serious difference between France

and Spain was chiefly the work of the late Premier, Señor Don José Canalejas y Mendes.

*China's Vexed
Question of
Finance*

The course of history in the far East since the Chinese Republic was established, shows that the financial problem lies at the heart of China's entire reform program. A few words of explanation as to the so-called Six-Power loan will clear up the matter somewhat for American readers. The terms submitted some months ago by the international group known as the "Six-Power Syndicate," upon which it undertook to make a loan of \$300,000,000 to China, were:

(1) That the expenditure of the proceeds of the proposed loan should be supervised and controlled by the syndicate, (2) that the salt taxes to be hypothecated for the loan should be administered by the Chinese Maritime Customs Service or by a separate service under foreign direction, (3) that China should engage not to borrow from any other parties until the entire loan had been issued and that the syndicate should be commissioned as China's financial agent.

*Failure
of the
Syndicate*

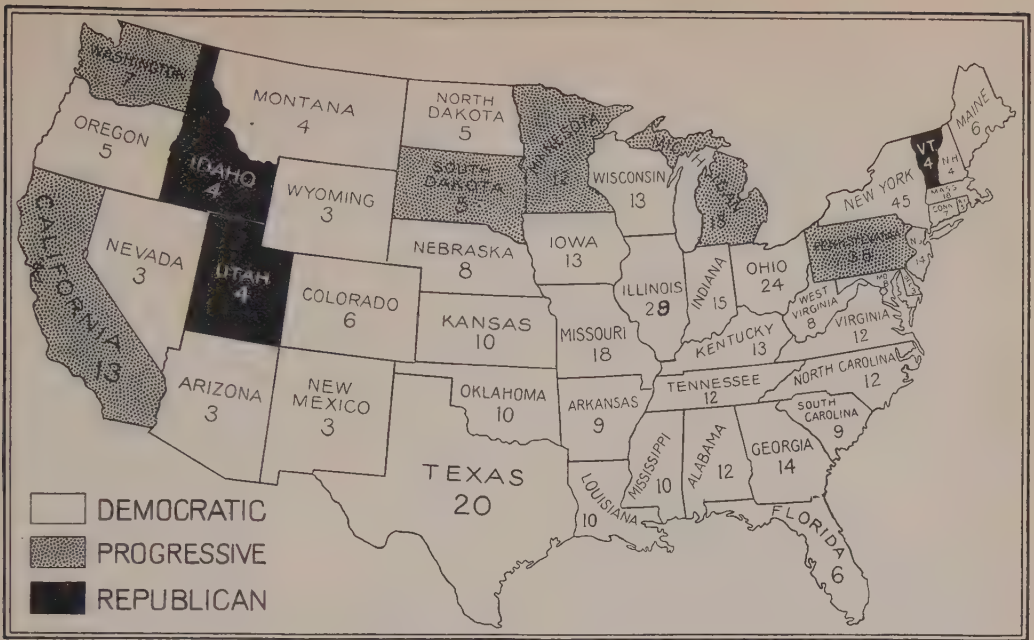
Though demanded as mere safeguards, China deemed these terms to be fundamentally derogatory to her sovereign rights. To yield to them, she felt, would result inevitably in placing the country under the domination of a foreign financial monopoly. The persistent refusal of the syndicate to modify its terms was due to its belief that it was impossible for China to float a loan of any size to meet her outstanding obligations so long as the governments of the six powers would adhere to the so-called policy of concerted action, and withhold diplomatic support from any independent loans. The western bankers also believed that China would eventually accept their terms when she was made to see that her many diplomatic questions—not the least among them was that of recognition itself—were more or less involved with this loan. But the weakness of this so-called policy of concerted action was not then fully recognized in view of conflicting interests in the East. This policy, as applied to this loan, meant nothing more than a common agreement to pool the interests of these powers to prevent competition. Russia and Japan have more than once disregarded it when questions apart from the loan were involved, and Great Britain has also shown inclination to act independently in her late diplomatic exchanges with China concerning Tibet.

*Independent
Loans for
China*

Seeing that there were no prospects of the syndicate modifying its terms, China reluctantly sought smaller loans elsewhere. The differences that rose among the bankers of the English group afforded the opportunity for some independent bankers to break through the line and to offer to China a loan of \$50,000,000 without the obnoxious conditions as demanded by the syndicate. The flotation of this loan was regarded generally by the press as a defeat for the syndicate, in spite of its protestations of unconcern. Although China will, according to the budget, require for the present year 280,520,000 taels (approximately \$200,000,000) to cover the total deficit and to meet the current expenditures, the \$50,000,000 London loan recently floated will go a long way towards giving her a chance to begin at once her much-needed reconstructive work. It is reported that negotiations for a large loan have recently been resumed by the syndicate with the Chinese Government.

*Increasing
Financial
Stability*

Another recent event of deep significance to the future financial policy of China, which has been generally overlooked by the press, is the amalgamation of the Tung Men Hui, the party of Sun Yat-sen, Tang Shao Yi, Huang Hsin and other Chinese leaders, with four other lesser political parties. This new party is now known as the Kuo Ming Tang, which holds undisputed dominance in Chinese politics and controls the majority in the National Assembly. Though it differs politically with President Yuan Shih-kai, it has pledged its support to him in order to strengthen the central government. With the Assembly thus acting in harmony with the executive, China will be better able to meet the demands of financiers in any future loans. In her foreign policy, too, China promises to maintain a firmer attitude, as is shown by the recent appointment of M. T. Liang, who was a returned student from America, and who has achieved distinction as a statesman of high order in his long official career, to be Minister of Foreign Affairs. This appointment is most timely in view of the pending negotiation with Russia in reference to Mongolia, which at the instigation of the St. Petersburg Government, has seceded from China and to which the Czar's empire has since accorded recognition as a separate state.



THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1912

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From October 18 to November 16, 1912)

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

October 18.—A complete list of the contributions to the Republican national campaign in 1904 is placed in evidence before the Senate investigating committee.

October 21.—Thomas F. Ryan testifies before the Senate investigating committee that he contributed \$450,000 to the national Democratic campaign in 1904.

October 27.—President Taft returns to Washington from his summer vacation at Beverly, Mass.

October 30.—James Schoolcraft Sherman, Vice-President of the United States and nominee of the Republican party for re-election, dies at his home in Utica, N. Y. . . . Colonel Roosevelt, in his first speech since the night of the attempted assassination, addresses an audience of more than 16,000 persons in Madison Square Garden, New York.

October 31.—Woodrow Wilson speaks to an enthusiastic audience which packs Madison Square Garden, New York.

November 4.—The United States Supreme Court radically revises equity rules of procedure to reduce the cost of litigation and prevent delays.

November 5.—Electors of

President and Vice-President, Representatives in Congress, and many State legislatures and State and local officers are chosen in the United States.

The following United States Senators are chosen by popular vote in their respective States: William H. Thompson (Dem.), of Kansas; Knute Nelson (Rep.), of Minnesota; L. J. Walsh (Dem.), of



A WOMAN OF CHINESE DESCENT VOTING IN CALIFORNIA AT THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Montana; George W. Norris (Rep.), of Nebraska; Key Pittman (Dem.), of Nevada; Robert L. Owen (Dem.), of Oklahoma; Harry Lane (Dem.), of Oregon.

The voters of Michigan, Kansas, Arizona, and Oregon adopt amendments to their respective State constitutions, granting the suffrage to women on the same terms as men. . . . A prohibition amendment is adopted by the voters of West Virginia.

The following table shows the number of votes in the Electoral College and the approximate popular pluralities by States, as divided between the Democratic, Progressive, and Republican candidates for President. As these estimates of popular pluralities are made in advance of the complete official canvass, the figures are not to be accepted as final, but it is believed that they correspond very closely with the actual results of the balloting.

	Estimated Plurality	Electoral Votes		
		Roose- velt	Taft	Wilson
Alabama.....	50,000			12
Arizona.....	5,000			3
Arkansas.....	45,000			9
California.....	100	13		
Colorado.....	35,000			6
Connecticut....	6,500			7
Delaware.....	6,600			3
Florida.....	25,000			6
Georgia.....	70,000			14
Idaho.....	100		4	
Illinois.....	16,100			29
Indiana.....	125,000			15
Iowa.....	15,000			13
Kansas.....	12,000			10
Kentucky.....	105,000			13
Louisiana.....	57,000			10
Maine.....	2,500			6
Maryland.....	54,000			8
Massachusetts..	18,700			18
Michigan.....	30,000	15		
Minnesota.....	20,000	12		
Mississippi.....	50,000			10
Missouri.....	135,000			18
Montana.....	15,000			4
Nebraska.....	35,000			8
Nevada.....	3,000			3
New Hampshire..	1,800			4
New Jersey....	28,600			14
New Mexico....	2,500			3
New York.....	200,000			45
North Carolina.	85,000			12
North Dakota..	10,000			5
Ohio.....	134,000			24
Oklahoma.....	30,000			10
Oregon.....	7,000			5
Pennsylvania...	44,000	38		
Rhode Island...	2,500			5
South Carolina.	58,000			9
South Dakota..	8,000	5		
Tennessee.....	65,000			12
Texas.....	185,000			20
Utah.....	7,500		4	
Vermont.....	1,000		4	
Virginia.....	60,000			12
Washington....	22,000	7		
West Virginia..	40,000			8
Wisconsin.....	25,000			13
Wyoming.....	1,000			3
		90	12	429

Wilson's approximate popular vote, 6,400,000; Roosevelt's, 4,200,000; Taft's, 3,500,000. Wilson's plurality, 2,400,000.

Elections to the Sixty-third Congress result as follows: 289 Democrats, 124 Republicans, 4 Progressives, 8 doubtful.

The following State Governors are elected:

Colorado	Elias M. Ammons, D.
Connecticut	Simeon E. Baldwin, D.*
Delaware	Charles R. Miller, R.
Florida	Park Trammell, D.
Idaho	John M. Haines, R.
Illinois	Edward F. Dunne, D.
Indiana	Samuel M. Ralston, D.
Iowa	George W. Clarke, R.
Kansas	Arthur Capper, R.
Massachusetts	Eugene N. Foss, D.*
Michigan	Woodbridge N. Ferris, D.
Minnesota	Adolph O. Eberhart, R.*
Missouri	Elliott W. Major, D.
Montana	Samuel V. Stewart, D.
Nebraska	John H. Morehead, D.
New York	William Sulzer, D.
North Carolina	Locke Craig, D.
North Dakota	Louis B. Hanna, R.
Ohio	James M. Cox, D.
Rhode Island	Aram J. Pothier, R.*
South Carolina	Cole L. Blease, D.*
South Dakota	Frank M. Byrne, R.
Tennessee	Ben. W. Hooper, R.*
Texas	Oscar B. Colquitt, D.*
Utah	William Spry, R.*
Washington	Ernest Lister, D.
West Virginia	H. D. Hatfield, R. and P.
Wisconsin	F. E. McGovern, R.*

*Re-elected.

In New Hampshire, no candidate received a majority, and the election goes to the Legislature, in which no party has a majority.

November 13.—President Taft issues a proclamation fixing rates of tolls for vessels using the Panama Canal.

November 14.—Lee McClung resigns the office of Treasurer of the United States.

November 15.—President-elect Woodrow Wilson announces that he will call a special session of Congress not later than April 15 for the purpose of tariff revision.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

October 21.—The United Shoe Machinery Company of Canada, a subsidiary of the American company, is declared to be an illegal combination under the new Canadian law.

October 22.—F. D. Monk, Canadian Minister of Public Works, resigns.

October 23.—The latest Mexican revolution is abruptly ended by the capture of its leader, Gen. Felix Diaz, and his entire following, after a three-hours' engagement at Vera Cruz. . . . The Danish Premier introduces a measure permitting women to vote and sit in the Folkething.

October 24.—The province of Samana, Santo Domingo, is reported to be almost entirely in the hands of revolutionists.

October 27.—Gen. Felix Diaz, leader of the recent revolution in Mexico, is condemned to death by a court martial.

October 29.—Ghazi Moukhtar Pasha resigns as Turkish Grand Vizier, and Kiamil Pasha is for the fourth time appointed to that office. . . . A new cabinet is formed in Ecuador, with Alfredo Baquerizo Moreno as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

November 1.—The Presidential election in Cuba results in a victory for the Conservative candidate, Gen. Mario Menocal.

November 2.—Adolfo Diaz, the unopposed Conservative candidate, is elected President of Nicaragua.

November 4.—The Government majority in the British House of Commons rejects an amendment to the Home Rule bill which would apply the principle of proportional representation to the proposed Irish House of Commons.

November 5.—The British House of Commons rejects the woman-suffrage amendment to the Irish Home Rule bill.

November 11.—The Liberal Government is defeated in the British House of Commons in a "snap" division upon an amendment to the Home Rule bill.

November 12.—The Prime Minister of Spain, José Canalejas y Mendes, is shot and killed by an anarchist at Madrid.

November 13.—Serious disorder is occasioned in the House of Commons upon the Premier's motion to rescind the adverse vote on an amendment to the Home Rule bill, and the session is adjourned.

November 14.—Count Alvarado de Romanones, president of the Spanish Chamber of Deputies, is appointed Prime Minister.

November 15.—Lu Cheng-hsiang, formerly Premier of China, is appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs. . . . The text of Germany's petroleum-monopoly bill is made public.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

October 17.—Turkey declares war on Bulgaria and Serbia; Greece and Serbia declare war on Turkey.

October 18.—The final draft of the treaty of peace between Italy and Turkey is signed by the delegates at Ouchy, Switzerland. . . . China resumes payment of the Boxer indemnities.

October 19.—Russia recognizes the independence of Northern Manchuria.

October 26.—It is announced at Paris that a complete agreement has been reached with Spain regarding Morocco.

November 3.—Turkey appeals to the powers to intervene in its war with Greece, Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Serbia.

November 8.—Two American warships are ordered to Turkey to protect American citizens.

November 10.—It becomes known at Washington that James Bryce has tendered his resignation as British ambassador; Sir Cecil Arthur Spring-Rice is named as his successor.

November 11.—The resignation of Charles Page Bryan as American minister to Japan is announced.

November 14.—The Franco-Spanish treaty on Morocco is signed at Madrid. . . . Larz Anderson, American minister to Belgium, is appointed ambassador to Japan.

November 15.—Ratifications of an agreement between Great Britain and the United States,



HON. WALTER M. CHANDLER

(Elected by the Progressives to represent a New York City district in Congress)

supplementing the Newfoundland fisheries arbitration award, are exchanged at Washington.

THE WAR IN THE BALKANS

October 17.—Turkey declares war on Bulgaria and Serbia; Greece and Serbia declare war on Turkey.

October 19.—Bulgarian troops capture the town of Mustapha Pasha, near Adrianople. . . . The Turkish fleet bombards Varna, a Bulgarian port. . . . The Greek and Serbian armies cross the Turkish frontier.

October 22.—The capital of the island of Lemnos, near the entrance to the Dardanelles, is captured by Greek troops.

October 23.—Novi-Bazar, a strongly fortified Turkish town near the Serbian border, is captured by the Serbian army.

October 24.—After two days' fighting the Bulgarian army captures Kirk Kilisseh, a strategic fortified town on the route to Constantinople.

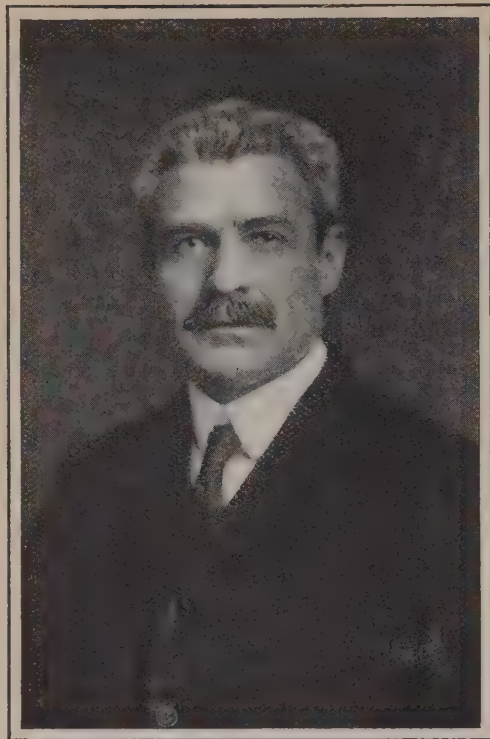
October 25.—A two-days' battle at Koumanovo results in a victory for the Servians; 10,000 Turks are killed or wounded.

October 26.—Uskub falls into the hands of the Serbian troops after severe fighting.

October 27.—The Montenegrin army begins a bombardment of Scutari.

October 29.—Serbian troops, led by Crown Prince Alexander, capture the town of Veles, Turkey.

October 30.—After two days' fighting, the Turkish town of Lule Burgas is taken by the



MR. SAMUEL REA, THE NEW PRESIDENT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD

Bulgarians; it is estimated that 40,000 Turkish soldiers are killed or wounded.

October 31.—The Bulgarian army, under General Savov, follows up its victory at Lule Burgas and completely routs the main Turkish army of 200,000 men, under the Minister of War.

November 1.—A Greek torpedo boat, under cover of darkness, steams into the Gulf of Salonica and sinks the Turkish battleship *Feth-I-Buland*.

November 3.—Turkey notifies the powers of its desire that they intervene and begin negotiations for peace. . . . Greek troops capture Prevesa, a fortified town on the Gulf of Arta.

November 4.—The European powers inform Turkey that it must treat for peace directly with the Balkan nations.

November 8.—The city of Salonica, a Turkish stronghold, is taken without serious opposition by the Greek army under Crown Prince Constantine. . . . It is reported at Constantinople that the Sheik-ul-Islam, head of the Mohammedan faith, has called a "holy war."

November 10.—The Turkish Government orders the disarmament of the populace in Constantinople, to prevent a massacre of Christians.

November 12.—It is reported at the capitals of Bulgaria and Turkey that the Turkish commander in the field has asked the Bulgarian commander to grant an armistice.

November 15.—It is reported that more than 500 cases of cholera are discovered each day among the Turkish troops at the Tchataldja fortification, guarding Constantinople.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

October 16.—A typhoon sweeps over about one-tenth the total area of the Philippines, causing the death of more than 1000 natives and the destruction of millions of dollars worth of property.

October 18.—A portion of the arsenal at Benicia, Cal. is destroyed by fire, the loss amounting to \$3,000,000. . . . The street-railway strike at Augusta, Ga., is ended by the company granting wage increases and shorter hours.

October 21.—Ex-President Roosevelt leaves the Mercy Hospital, in Chicago, and starts for his home at Oyster Bay. . . . Lieutenants Gericke and Steler, of the German army, are killed by an explosion of their balloon over Grossenhain.

October 22.—Two companies of Indiana militia, under orders from the Governor, close the racetrack at Mineral Springs because of unlawful gambling.

October 24.—Lieut. Charles Becker, of the New York police, is found guilty of instigating the murder of Herman Rosenthal, a gambler about to testify concerning police corruption.

October 30.—Two regiments of the Florida National Guard are ordered to Jacksonville to suppress rioting incident to the street-railway strike. . . . The battleship *New York* is successfully launched at the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

November 2.—President Taft and many other Government officials attend the funeral services of Vice-President Sherman at Utica, N. Y.

November 3.—A hurricane causes extensive damage along the west coast of Mexico and Central America.

November 8.—The Government's crop report indicates an unprecedented yield of corn, hay, oats, potatoes, barley, flaxseed, and rye.

November 9.—Fifteen thousand women take part in an evening parade in New York City to celebrate the woman-suffrage victories in the elections.

November 11.—The Secretary of War refuses to permit the transatlantic steamship companies to increase to 1000 feet the length of their piers in the Hudson River opposite New York City. . . . Fourteen persons are killed and 42 seriously injured in a train wreck on the Yazoo and Mississippi Valley Railroad north of New Orleans.

November 12.—The Nobel Prize for physics is awarded to Gustaf Dalen, of Switzerland, and for chemistry to Professors Grignard, of Nancy University, and Sabatier, of Toulouse University.

November 13.—Fifteen persons are killed and a score injured in a wreck on the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railroad near Indianapolis. . . . James McCrea tenders his resignation as president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and Samuel Rea, vice-president, is chosen to succeed him. . . . M. E. Ingalls retires as chairman of the "Big Four" System.

November 15.—The Nobel Prize for literature is awarded to Gerhart Hauptmann, the German author and dramatist. . . . The second Clinical Congress of Surgeons of North America, at which many remarkable operations were performed, comes to an end at New York City.

November 16.—Woodrow Wilson, President-elect of the United States, sails for Bermuda for a month's vacation. . . . The National Horse Show Association opens its twenty-eighth annual exhibition in New York City.

OBITUARY

October 17.—Weldon Brinton Heyburn, United States Senator from Idaho, 60. . . . George N. Southwick, formerly Representative in Congress from New York, 49.

October 18.—Alfred Tyler Perry, president of Marietta College (Ohio), 54. . . . Richard Temple, a well-known British actor.

October 19.—Rt. Rev. John Clancy, Roman Catholic Bishop of Elphin (Ireland), 56.

October 20.—William Rankin, of the Williams College class of 1831, believed to be the oldest college graduate in America, 102. . . . Charles Waldemar Bucholz, for many years chief engineer of the Erie Railroad, 69.

October 22.—Robert Barr, the novelist and editor of the *Idler*, 62. . . . Alfred Spring, a justice of the New York Supreme Court, 61. . . . D. L. Taylor, a prominent advertising agent, 46.

October 23.—John F. Stratton, of New York, a prominent manufacturer of musical instruments.

October 24.—Arthur Wellesley Peel, Viscount Peel, formerly Speaker of the House of Commons, 83. . . . John Walton Spencer, a pioneer in the field of agricultural extension work, 69.

October 26.—Henry Beebe Carrington, a Brigadier-General of volunteers at the close of the Civil War, 88. . . . Mother Mary Sebastian, provincial of the Eastern Province of the Sisters of Notre Dame, 54.

October 27.—Madame Judith, the noted French actress, 85. . . . Dr. Paul Segond, an eminent French surgeon. . . . Brig.-Gen. Charles Morris, U. S. A., retired, 69.

October 28.—Edgar Tinel, the Belgian composer and director of the Royal Conservatory of Music, 58. . . . Frederic Vernon, a noted French engraver, 54. . . . Capt. Frank Brinckley, for many years Japanese correspondent of the *London Times*, 71.

October 29.—Brevet Brig.-Gen. Alfred Stedman Hartwell, formerly Chief Justice of the Hawaii Supreme Court, 75. . . . Dr. George Montgomery Tuttle, of New York, an eminent gynecologist, 56.

October 30.—James Schoolcraft Sherman, Vice-President of the United States, 57. . . . Richard E. Connell, Representative in Congress from Poughkeepsie, N. Y., 55. . . . Adam Carr Bell, a member of the Canadian Senate, 65.

November 1.—Homer Lea, a general in the Chinese army and an authority on Chinese military affairs, 35.

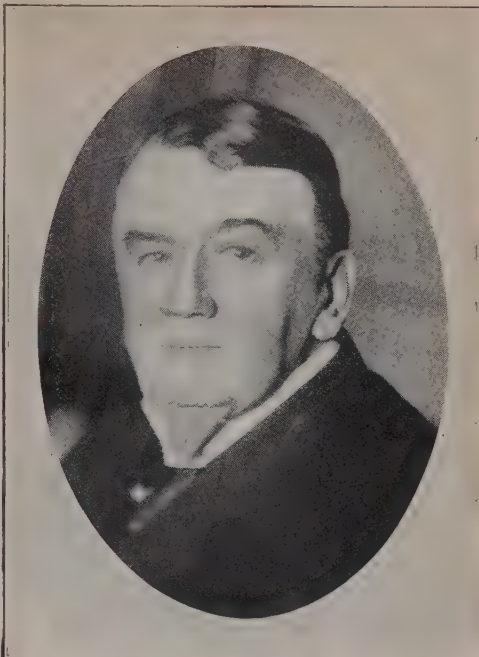
November 2.—Gen. Reece Marshall Newport, quartermaster commandant at Baltimore during the Civil War, 75.

November 3.—George H. Utter, Representative in Congress from Rhode Island, 58. . . . Terence Jacobsen, formerly a prominent educator of Brooklyn, N. Y., 68. . . . Maj.-Gen. Robert Maitland O'Reilly, U. S. A., retired, formerly Surgeon-General, 67. . . . Samuel H. Cramp, at one time head of the Cramp shipbuilding concern, 78.

November 4.—Dr. Arthur Tracy Cabot, a noted Boston surgeon, 60. . . . Major James H. Purdy, of Chicago, an authority on corporation law, 74.

November 5.—Very Rev. Dean Martin Gessner, a prominent New Jersey clergyman, 86. . . . Siegfried Behrens, a noted Philadelphia musician, 72.

November 6.—John L. Wilson, proprietor of the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* and formerly United



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THE LATE SENATOR WELDON B. HEYBURN OF IDAHO

States Senator, 62. . . . Rev. Dr. Henry Sylvester Nash, an authority on the New Testament, 58. . . . John W. Mallet, professor-emeritus of applied chemistry, at the University of Virginia, 80.

November 7.—Peter J. Ralph, formerly prominent in the shipping business on the Great Lakes, 92.

November 9.—Theodore Riviere, the noted French sculptor, 61. . . . Eli Bates, formerly chief of the New York Fire Department, 87.

November 10.—Lord Christopher Furness, the British shipbuilder, 60. . . . Ramon Corral, formerly Vice-President of Mexico, 58. . . . Clement A. Griscom, prominently connected with American steamship interests, 72. . . . Francis L. Eames, formerly president of the New York Stock Exchange, 68.

November 11.—Julius Augustus Wayland, founder and owner of the *Appeal to Reason*, a Socialist weekly, 58. . . . William Sidney Penley, a widely known British comedian, 61. . . . William Blackwood, editor of *Blackwood's Magazine*, 76.

November 12.—José Canalejas y Mendes, Prime Minister of Spain. . . . Gustav H. Schwab, the prominent steamship official, widely interested in New York City affairs, 61. . . . Sophie Miriam Swett, a well-known author of juvenile stories.

November 14.—William C. Clark, a prominent thread manufacturer of Newark, N. J., 48.

November 15.—James Quay Howard, author of the campaign biography of Abraham Lincoln, 75.

November 16.—William Larrabee, formerly Governor of Iowa, 80. . . . Jean Damien Rolland, a prominent Canadian manufacturer and legislator, 71. . . . Joseph Wieniawski, the Polish pianist, 74.

THE ELECTION RESULTS IN CARTOONS



As a result of the election, Uncle Sam will on March 4 next welcome Woodrow Wilson to the White House. The responsibility of the President-elect and his party is a great one, as suggested in the cartoon in which Mr. Wilson says to the donkey, "Now mind your step."



THE FIRST CALLER—WILL IT BE HEARST OR BRYAN?
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)



"NOW MIND YOUR STEP!"
From the *Jersey City Journal* (Jersey City)



CALMING DOWN THE "BIG BUSINESS" HORSE

MISS DEMOCRACY: "Now that ain't anything to be skeered of!"
 From the *Journal* (Sioux City, Iowa)

During the campaign strenuous efforts were put forth to convince the business men of the country that the greatest calamity that could possibly befall us would be the election of Governor Wilson as President. Nevertheless, Mr. Wilson was elected, and

almost immediately afterward he gave out the reassuring statement that "honest business need have no fear." President Wilson will doubtless move very cautiously both as to tariff revision and the regulation of trusts.



THE SCHOOLMASTER-PRESIDENT'S PROBLEM—HOW TO
 REDUCE THE COST OF LIVING
 From the *News* (Baltimore)



PLAYING TO THE GALLERIES
 The Protective Tariff's old game
 From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



ALREADY ARISES THE QUESTION OF ANOTHER TERM
FOR MR. WILSON

OLD "DOC" BRYAN: (to President-elect Wilson) "Under no circumstances can you have more than one cup of coffee," (alluding to Colonel Roosevelt's famous "cup of coffee" simile)
From the *Sun* (New York)



THE JUG OF "WILSON—THAT'S ALL!"

Let us hope it does not go to his head
From the *Spokesman-Review* (Spokane, Wash.)



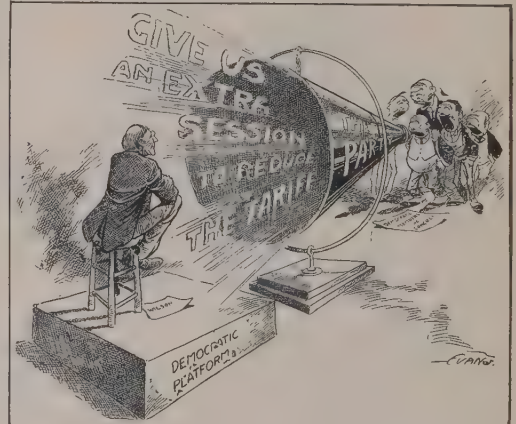
MR. WILSON'S NEW CABINET

UNCLE SAM AT THE WINDOW: "Wonder if I can't get a glimpse of it?" From the *Evening Sun* (Baltimore)



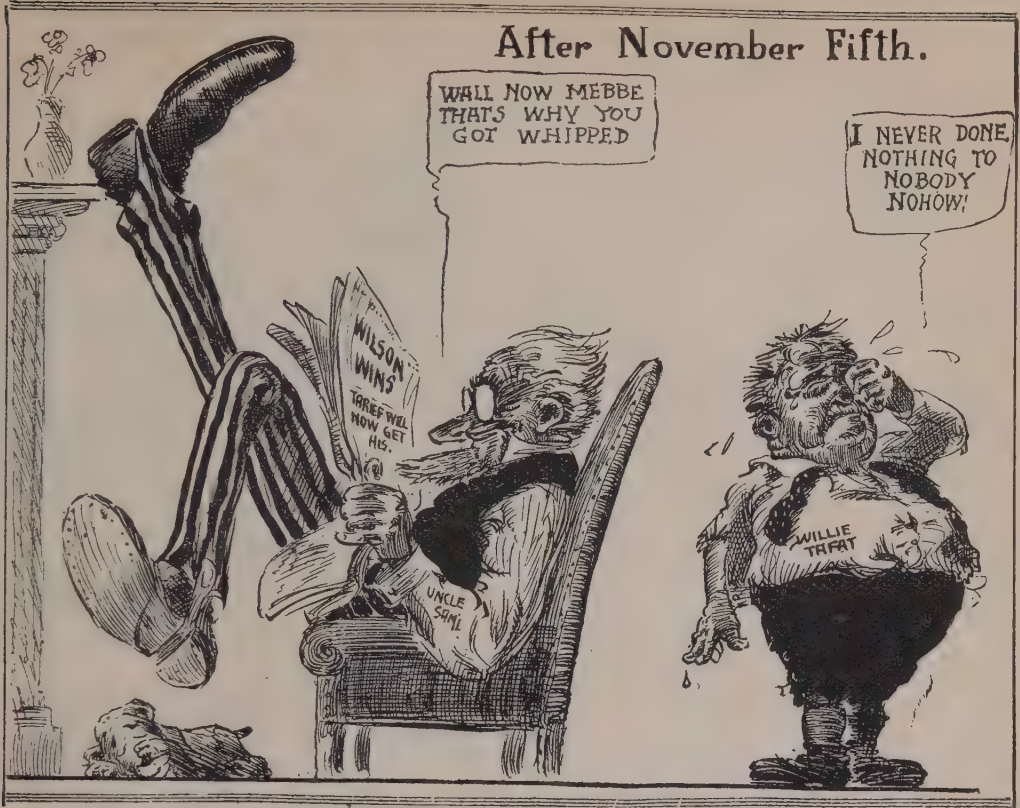
IN PERFECT HARMONY

With both the House and the Senate Democratic, the new Congress should be able to work together harmoniously
From the *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City)



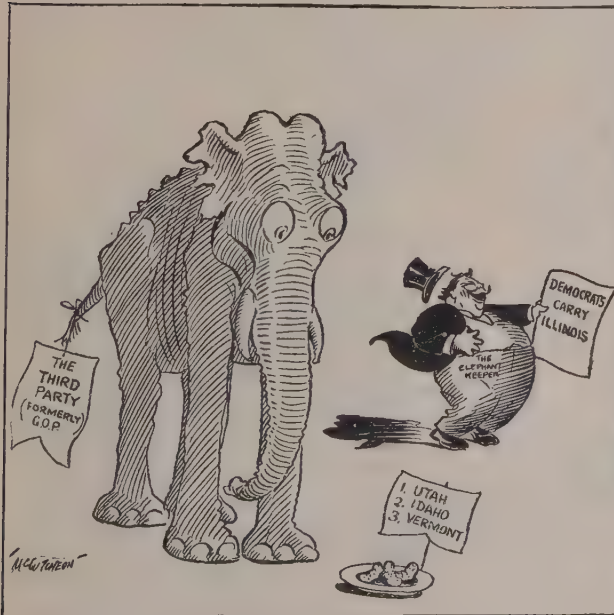
HIS MASTER'S VOICE

President-elect Wilson, yielding to the overwhelming opinion in favor of an extra session of Congress, announced that he would call one next spring
From the *American* (Baltimore)



WHAT HAPPENED ON NOVEMBER 5—AND WHY

From the Advertiser (Montgomery, Alabama)



THE REPUBLICAN ELEPHANT'S THREE PEANUTS

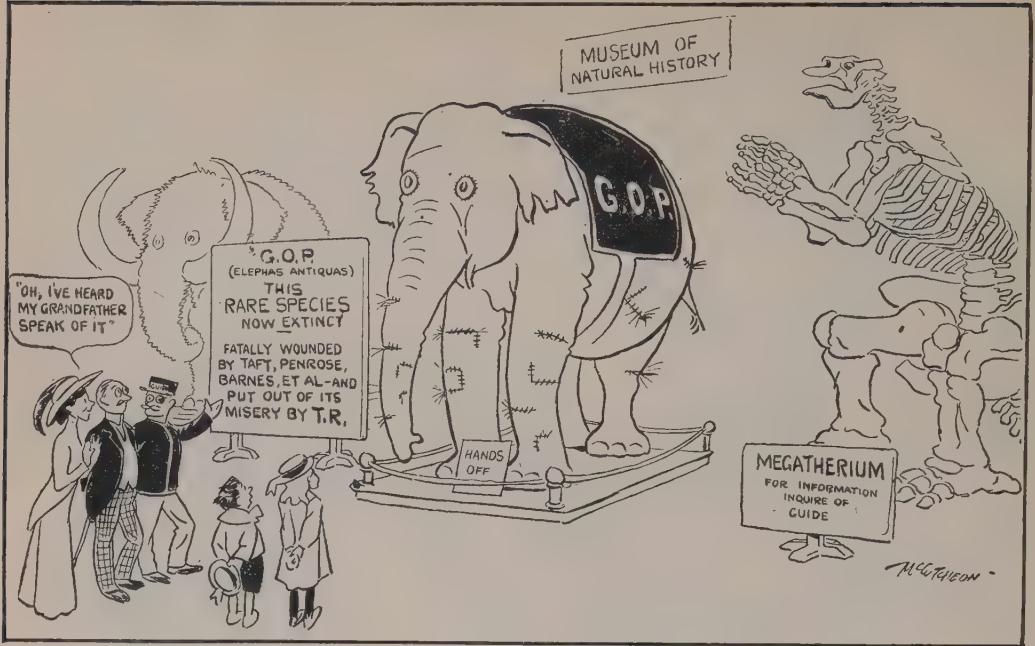
(Since this cartoon was drawn by Mr. McCutcheon, one of the peanuts has mysteriously disappeared)

From the Tribune (Chicago)



IDAHO'S ELECTORAL VOTE, AT FIRST CREDITED TO TAFT, HUNG IN THE BALANCE FOR SEVERAL DAYS, AND WAS FINALLY PUT IN THE WILSON COLUMN

From the Evening Journal (New York)

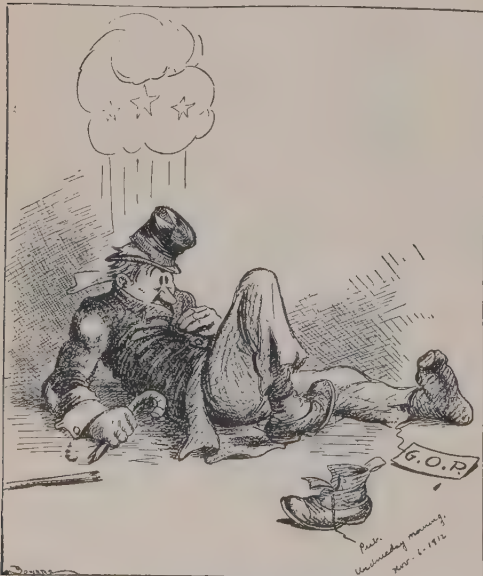


A CURIOSITY FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS

From the Tribune (Chicago)

Various opinions are expressed as to the probable fate of the Republican party, in view of the vigorous rise of the Progressives and the relative showing made by both these parties at the recent election. Some there are—like Colonel Watterson—who affirm that the Republican party is “as dead as a doornail,” while the announced intentions of Governor Hadley, Senator Kenyon

and others on the one hand, and of Messrs. Barnes, Penrose et al, on the other, to rehabilitate the party, show that both factions regard it as in a critical state.



“STAND ASIDE, BOYS; GIVE HIM AIR!”

From the Evening News (Newark)



THE BULL MOOSE LOOMS BIG FOR THE FUTURE

(The Progressive party, having obtained more votes for its Presidential ticket than the Republican Party, captures second place, in its first campaign)—From the Leader (Cleveland)



THE MODERN BETSY ROSS
From the *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City)

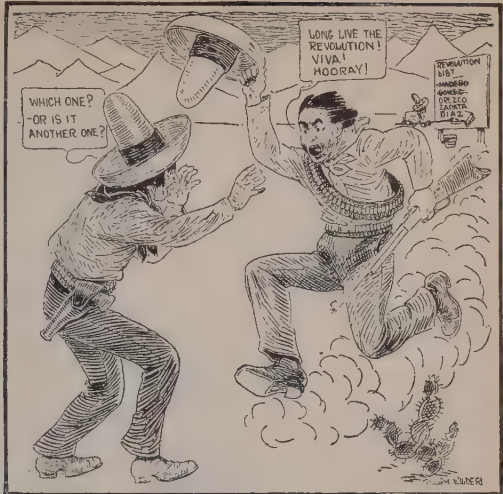
The Modern Betsy Rosses—the woman suffrage workers—have quite a group of new stars to sew into their flag, the “cause” having triumphed on election day in the States of Arizona, Kansas, Oregon, and Michigan. (See article on page 700.)



“THE STOWAWAYS”

(Undesirable candidates are sometimes stowed away in our long and bewildering ballots)

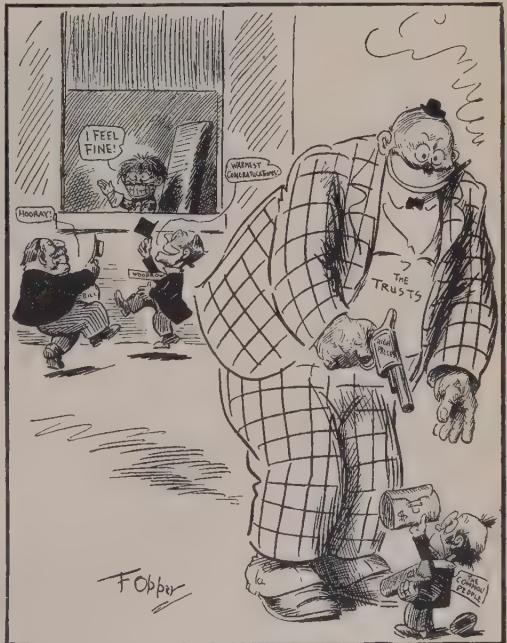
From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus, Ohio)



CONFUSION IN MEXICO
(Revolutions following each other with bewildering rapidity)

From the *Record-Herald* (Chicago)

Our election ballots are such long affairs and contain so many candidates' names, that it is difficult for the citizen to vote intelligently for the various offices. In this way undesirable men are sometimes elected.



UNCLE TRUSTY

(“William, this ‘era of good feeling’ is joyous! It is plain that you and Theodore and Woodrow are not as black as you have painted each other! I see Theodore says his escape was due to his spectacle case! That’s all right, but there are some people that a spectacle case won’t protect! For further particulars just take a peep at this!”)

From the *American* (New York)



SAVOV, THE DIRECTING GENIUS OF THE ALLIED BALKAN ARMIES

WHEN the inside history of the Balkan War is written the chief credit for the celerity and efficiency with which the allied armies invaded Turkey and crushed the Ottoman forces will be given to three Bulgarian major-generals, Savov, Ivanov, and Dimitriev. First among these in military and executive skill is Major-General M. Savov, commander-in-chief of all the Bulgarian forces. General Savov has been intimately identified with the upbuilding of the Bulgarian army for twenty years. He studied in Russia, and afterward in France and Italy. He was Minister of War in the Cabinets of 1906 and 1907, and organized the military establishment of his country. The amazing precision and dash which has characterized the Bulgarian campaign, and the almost clock-like regularity with which the armies of the other allies have performed their part in the great scheme of crushing Turkey, is due, first of all, to the genius of Savov, and only in a less degree to the efficiency of his two associates. A German military expert is reported as saying of Savov that he has already exhibited most of the best qualities of German and French military skill and equipment.

THE MILITANT DEMOCRACY OF THE BALKANS

BY ALBERT SONNICHSEN

OF the four distinct races peopling the Balkans,—Slavs, Turks, Greeks, and Rumanians,—the Slavs are in a ponderous majority and of the Slavs again the Bulgars are most numerous. By themselves alone they probably outnumber all the other nationalities together. However, it is not only on account of their numbers that the Bulgars are the dominating influence in all Balkan affairs, but also because of certain temperamental qualities, apparent only to those who know them well.

I had been in Bulgaria some months and the sound of spoken Bulgarian had begun to hold meaning to me here and there.

"Tell me," I asked two English speaking friends, with whom I was out walking one day, "what is that word I hear so often: 'By ganio'?"

My friends leaned against a stone wall and laughed.

"You will never know Bulgaria," said one of them, finally, "until you know Bie Ganio. Tourists write about us that we are boorish and sullen and that we hate foreigners. You should suspend judgment until you have learned to speak to Bie Ganio in his native tongue. You may know worse things about us, but you may also know better."

BULGARIA'S ONLY CLASSIC

Long afterward I learned that "Bie Ganio" was a book, "The Adventures of Bie Ganio Balkanski," by Aleko Konstantinoff,—the one piece of literature that is truly Bulgarian, for its author was only a simple journalist with no pretensions to foreign literary culture.

The hero of the adventures is a Bulgarian peasant from Shipka who has heard of the wonders of Western civilization. After Bulgaria's liberation he determines to see for himself, for he has heard it said that he, too, is now a European. He travels over the continent, paying his way by selling attar of roses in little bottles, which he carries in a bag slung over his shoulder. He has adopted European dress, but from under his vest peeps the red sash which suspenders have not yet

displaced. His heavy mustache droops over a chin that is never quite shaven, nor is it ever quite bearded, and his collarless, white shirt is never quite white.

Bie Ganio, of course, is Bulgaria coming in first contact with Western civilization. From first to last the narrative of adventures is a bitter satire; the incidents themselves are told with a frank, Rabelaisian coarseness. Invariably the laugh is on poor, ignorant Bie Ganio and his atrocious mistakes, though sometimes the dart of ridicule turns outward and pricks the cultured Europeans with whom Bie Ganio tries to mingle. In the last few chapters Bie Ganio has come home and is trying to apply what he has learned abroad to local conditions, not always happily.

A NATION GOING TO SCHOOL

By itself the book is remarkable enough; it will remain a literary classic. But a thousand times more remarkable is the reception accorded it by the Bulgarian people. In Greece the author would have been mobbed and the Church would have declared his work high treason and unholy. But Bulgaria received the book in silence, read it, recognized itself as the hero of the adventures and burst into a low roar of laughter that has never since died down. In every household you will find a well-worn copy, for over and over again it is read aloud by the young people while their illiterate elders sit back and chortle.

To outward appearance Bie Ganio is certainly not a lovable creature. His uncouthness, his atrocious manners, and the tenacity with which he clings to his bag of wares, suspecting even the police of designs against his property, are the outward characteristics that strike you first. But after you have finished the book and begin to think it over, as you lose the details in the perspective, the bolder outlines strike you. Read in the light of recent historic events, some of the apparently trivial episodes in this book of fiction acquire a deep, even prophetic, significance. When a Prague policeman undertakes to conduct Bie Ganio to his hotel, from which he has strayed, he suddenly decides he knows a

shorter way back and takes it. His way is not shorter, for he gets lost again, but he finally gets there, by himself.

Speaking in larger figures, Bie Ganio had just such an adventure with a colossal policeman and on this greater occasion he proved just such a stiff-necked fellow with a mind for going his own way. When Russia undertook to lead Bulgaria along the path she had cut out for her, Bulgaria very quickly decided she knew a shorter way to her goal, and she took it. She finally shook off her gigantic protector and proceeded, alone. What Bulgaria's path into the future will be may be a matter for speculation, but it is at least certain that it will be a path chosen by herself.

A PEASANT RACE

Bie Ganio's many distinctive qualities are easily explained. Of all the Christian nations that succumbed to the Turkish invasion, the Bulgars were the most completely overcome. The Greeks, being a more adaptable race, emerged through the conquest. To a certain degree they accepted it; therefore many of their institutions were spared, notably the Greek Church. With them survived an upper, cultured class, carrying with it the traditions of past glories. Whether as priests of the Church or as prospering merchants willing to pay their tributes to the ruling race or even as pampered slaves in the harems of the Turkish nobility, this class maintained its integrity from the fall of the Byzantine Empire until the reawakening of a national life early in the last century.

Among the Serbs also this aristocracy survived, though from very different reasons. When the Turks overwhelmed them by numbers, they did not accept; the best and the finest of the race found refuge in the inaccessible mountain regions toward the Adriatic, where Servian nationalism slumbered.

But with the Bulgars it fared otherwise. All their territory was invaded. As they would not accept, but resisted to the bitter end, their aristocracy was wiped out, their leaders were hunted down, and finally they were reduced to the common level of complete slavery.

Just before the liberation every Bulgar was an illiterate peasant. Even his native tongue had been officially abolished, for he had been declared a Greek and turned over to the care of the Greek clergy. The Patriarch had determined to Hellenize him, so he destroyed all the relics of the old Slavic literature and for-

bade the Bulgar to speak any other tongue but Greek. Only Greek schools were allowed and if the people did not care to learn to read and write a foreign tongue, they must remain illiterate, which they did. They were indeed a race of "kondricephalai," as the Greeks contemptuously called them,—block-heads.

Suddenly three million of these slaves found themselves free, without masters, launched into a full national life without so much as a printed book to begin with. The jargon they spoke was not even a language, only a degenerated dialect carried down from the old Slavic through many generations of peasant households. All the knowledge necessary to the organization of a national structure; the art of government, military science, theories of education, must be learned from outsiders. They must begin from the very beginning.

NATURALLY RADICALS

But among all these handicaps was one big advantage. While an aristocracy carries with it the culture of a race, it also brings with it many binding traditions that have grown obsolete, chief of which is the belief that the many must be governed by the few for their own class benefit.

The Bulgars began without this notion. Having been all equally slaves, they were now all equally citizens. And with no past glories to contemplate, their eyes must naturally be turned toward the future, their sight undistorted by old traditions. Wherefore the Bulgarians are by temperament democratic and keenly radical.

Poor Bie Ganio's eyes were indeed blinded by the wonders of Western civilization. In the absence of more refined representatives of the new-born little nation, the cultured Europeans condescended to receive him more nearly on an equal footing than they would have met their own peasants, just as our President receives an Indian chief from the reservation. To Bie Ganio's untrained perception, used as he was to the contumely of small Turkish and Greek officials, the condescension was not visible. But he did feel their immense superiority.

To Bie Ganio's untutored mind this superiority, vast though it was, signified only one thing: his own ignorance. The difference between him and them was in their wonderful command of knowledge. He had no native aristocracy to explain to him distinctions of birth. Therefore, since it was only a matter

of acquiring knowledge to become like these superior beings, he set hopefully to work.

BUILDING AN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The Bulgarian army battering down the gates of Constantinople happens now to be the striking indication of Bulgaria's progress since her birth as a nation, but to those who have lived in Bulgaria military efficiency is by no means the most remarkable feature of her national organization.

Much as has been spent on armament, even more has been spent on the national educational system. Almost every Bulgarian following a professional career began as a village schoolmaster. Even though only ten children may be assembled in a small village, the government thinks it worth while to send a schoolmaster there to teach them. Attendance is, of course, compulsory. Year by year the standard of requirements for the teachers has been raised, as the supply of young teachers from the normal schools increased. Girls, especially, have been encouraged to enter this career with the result that the thirst for knowledge, so prevalent among the younger generation, is equally keen among both sexes. Here again is visible the absence of old, hoary traditions. Sex equality has been accepted without question. Unfortunately, with the first breath of freedom strong within them, many of the young girl students have not been able to distinguish sharply the difference between a free womanhood and sordid license.

The director of the American missionary school in Samakov complained to me that the Department of Education would no longer accept a Samakov diploma as the equivalent of the regular gymnasial diploma. "No, it isn't religious discrimination against us," he said, honestly, "but we simply haven't had the means to keeping pace with the rising requirements of the regular gymnasial. We can't afford such a high grade of teachers. The government offers us assistance in getting them, but we can't pay the price."

SOFIA UNIVERSITY

In the early days the government sent young people abroad by the hundreds to study in foreign universities and it still sends many who are going to specialize in the various professions. But for a general academic training Sofia University answers the requirements as well as any foreign university. It was founded by a famous Russian scientist,

exiled from Russia for his socialist tendencies, whom the government invited to Sofia to take up the work of organizing its system of higher education. It has since been developed into an institution of such high standing (it is co-educational, by the way) that now Russian exiles go there to finish their studies instead of to teach.

SCHOOLS OF AGRICULTURE

Of the technical schools the agricultural colleges are fair specimens, but it is their influence on the agricultural population at large that is most conspicuous. Each of these colleges is not only a school of theoretic knowledge, but an experiment station and model farm to which the peasants of the surrounding region may come to see modern scientific farming methods demonstrated before their eyes. Our own Department of Agriculture would have little to teach Bulgaria. I happen now to recall one fair illustration of what has been accomplished in this line within the last few years.

For centuries the peasants down in southern Bulgaria have cultivated the silkworm, but never enough to establish an export trade. The Ministry of Agriculture determined to reawaken what was ten years ago a dying industry. First of all, through the coöperation of the Ministry of Education, the school-children were made to plant mulberry trees along all the public highways. Then young experts began teaching the old women how the worms should be cared for. I was told that for a year or two the old women resented the intrusion of modern educational methods into what they considered purely domestic affairs and that when the inspectors came to teach them how to raise silkworms, they took it pretty much as though they had come to show how stockings should be knitted. It required only one or two seasons to convince the old people that they had taken a wrong attitude; now, as one of these experts passes down the street on his periodical visits, the old women come to their doors, calling:

"Come in here, Yani, and see my worms. Tell me if you have seen such worms in all the province," or:

"Yani! Yani! Come in and give me your advice. My worms are not eating to-day. What shall I do?"

Meanwhile it must be remembered that only half of Bulgaria had been liberated. The Bulgar population spread through Adrianople and over most of Macedonia down to the gates of Salonica. Some writer once

remarked that the frontier divided modern Bulgaria from her own past. But that phrase is more picturesque than true. For there the people had been progressing too, mentally, if not materially.

TURKEY'S ATTITUDE

First of all, Turkey herself had grown more liberal. Little by little the authority of the Greek Patriarch over the Bulgars had been curtailed and Bulgarian schools were permitted. But, of course, the most powerful stimulus has been the proximity of free Bulgaria, where young Macedonians have gone by the thousands for the free schooling.

Under Turkey the mental development of a subject people must manifest itself in a form very different from that which it could take under a free democracy. In Macedonia anything new, by its very nature, must be illegal and revolutionary. On the other hand, however, it must be admitted that in some ways the Turkish system of government gave the people more freedom than is generally realized. No attempt was made to meddle with their inner life. So long as they paid their taxes when the tax collector came around they were left pretty much to themselves. Outside the large centers each community could arrange its affairs as it saw fit and sometimes months would pass without a Turk being seen in the village. This gave the first revolutionary agitators the opportunity to move about with comparative freedom and gain the ears of the peasants.

THE MACEDONIAN COMMITTEE

Being free herself, Bulgaria's desire to free her people still under Turkish rule assumed very much the nature of a religion. The building up of a powerful army was one of the means to this great end. But aside from the official measures taken to accomplish freedom for Macedonia, private individuals, mostly young schoolteachers, went down into Macedonia and spread the doctrine of a free democracy among the people. In each village they visited they organized revolutionary groups whose aims were at first rather vague, but from these local groups there gradually developed a country-wide organization which finally became the famous Macedonian Committee, so called even after its membership included whole solid districts of the population.

From the beginning the organization was based on strictly democratic principles. Each

village sent a delegate to a yearly provincial convention which elected a provincial executive committee. Each province also sent popularly elected delegates to a general congress, held secretly each year in some mountain fastness, which first drafted a constitution and later passed the laws governing the general activities of the organization.

Gradually there developed what was nothing less than a widespread, underground republic, a secret government of the people, shaping itself under the rotting husks of Turkish rule. So truly democratic was it in spirit, so fearful were the people of possible abuses of authority, that they would never delegate executive power to any one man, but always to committees,—a principle which became so fundamental to their system that all members of the organization became popularly known as "comitajis," or, as the Turks called them, "comitlara," the people of committees.

One of the principal objects of this organization was the education of the people in any subject that could be of any benefit to them. Through its system of couriers it was able to smuggle large quantities of literature into the country from Bulgaria; literature which included such a wide range of subjects as strawberry culture, books of poetry by Bulgarian authors, and "Principles of Socialism," by Kautsky.

Local conditions, however, forced the organization to become largely warlike in character. The same couriers that carried the literature from village to village also carried heavy loads of Mannlicher rifles and ammunition. The provincial committees created bands of armed men for fighting purposes; the "notorious brigand bands."

Foreign journalists and writers, commenting on the continuous turmoil in European Turkey, have often inferred from the apparent fact that the Christians fought one another as much as they did the Turks that national jealousies rather than a desire for freedom lay behind all this bloodshed. Bulgars murdered Greeks, Greeks murdered Bulgars, and both murdered Servians. Which was quite true, even that Bulgars murdered Bulgars. But Bulgars were obviously not going to fight one another from motives of race jealousy.

To distinguish the line that divides all these warring elements into two distinct camps it is necessary to know something of the internal affairs of the Committee, Macedonia's underground republic, a knowledge which is also essential to an interpretation of current

events. To the Balkan states now invading Turkey the attitude of the Committee has been even more important than that of the powers. On that would depend the difference between an invasion of an enemy's territory and a campaign in a home country with the enemy as the invader,—a difference of vast importance from a military point of view. Without the coöperation of the Committee the allies could never have expelled the Turks from Europe, especially from the mountain regions of Macedonia. And whether the Committee would extend this coöperation has been a doubtful question; some years, or even months, ago, it would not have done so. That it has now fully consented to aid the allied states implies an understanding between them of vast significance. I am not now pretending to any special knowledge of the course future events will take: when I have stated certain facts the reader will have the power to draw conclusions of his own.

One of the first principles on which the program of the Committee was based, as expressed in its constitution, was internationalism, as against nationalism. It opened its membership to all natives of European Turkey, regardless of race, creed and even sex. Bulgars did happen to form a large majority but Turks were as welcome as Bulgars. As a matter of fact Turks did join and the Macedonian Rumanians were in the organization solidly. The ultimate object was the solidarity of the people in one great democracy that should cover all European Turkey and, in theory, all the world, for the leaders were avowed Socialists. So deeply had this principle sunk into the people themselves that even the simple peasants refused longer to call themselves Bulgars, but insisted that they were Macedonians. "Yes, we are Bulgars by race," they would answer, if you insisted, "but we prefer to call ourselves Macedonians."

It seems almost like irony to make the statement, but their second great principle was peaceful evolution as against armed revolution, their policy being to employ armed force only as a defensive measure. The power by which they hoped to overthrow the Turkish autocracy was education; inculcating throughout all the masses a desire for a free democracy. Unfortunately their numerous enemies gave them very little opportunity to put this second principle into practice.

At a very early period, before the Committee had grown to its later dimensions, an inner clique of the Bulgarian Government had put

into effect certain measures of their own to arouse the revolutionary spirit in Macedonia. They sent armed bands across the frontier under the command of officers of the Bulgarian army, ostensibly on furlough, which overran all of northern Macedonia, imposing on the peasants a rude sort of military organization, inciting them to prepare for a revolution whose aim was a Greater Bulgarian Czarism ruling all the other races in the Balkans.

THE CONFLICT WITH IMPERIALISM

As the Committee expanded and came into contact with this system, a mutual antagonism manifested itself at once. Naturally, between the imperialist propaganda of the Bulgarian army officers and the socialism of the Committee's program there could be no sympathy. At first there was only friction, then quarreling, and finally there was an appeal to armed force. Bulgars fought Bulgars with a bitterness never exceeded by any race hatred. The superior armament of the imperialist bands gave them the first advantage, but at last the people in Bulgaria got wind of the true situation. Now imperialism is an idea especially hateful to the Bulgarian temperament. Even that spirit of nationalism which we call "patriotism," and sometime "jingoism" and which they call chauvinism is entirely absent among the Bulgarians. Therefore when the Macedonians in Bulgaria began protesting against the situation in Macedonia, public indignation compelled the stout general directing the Macedonian "revolution" from behind his desk in Sofia to recall his forces from the field and disband them.

But unfortunately there were other nations in the Balkans with imperialistic ambitions. Serbia also began sending armed bands across her frontier which soon came into contact with the bands of the Committee. By that time the Committee had grown to be quite a power and the Servian bands never got far below that district known as old Serbia. Here, too, bloody conflicts took place. While the Serbs are also Slavs by race, in temperament they differ somewhat from the Bulgars. By nature they are very democratic, but for reasons already stated they cannot forget that they once cut some figure in history. A book like "The Adventures of Bie Ganio" would quite upset them. If they could laugh more at themselves others would laugh at them less. It is true that a visiting Bulgar among them would be cordially received and they never showed any

fervent enthusiasm over the exploits of the Servian bands in Macedonia. but on the other hand they did not compel their government to recall them.

THE SPIRIT OF THE GREEKS

It was with the Greeks that the Committee fought its hardest battles. Not only the Greek Government in Athens but the Greek Patriarch in Constantinople, the two working hand in hand, instigated such a propaganda of terror in lower Macedonia that even the indignation of the Turks was aroused, although it was the policy of the Turkish authorities to encourage these campaigns against the Committee. During a local uprising in Monastir, in 1903, Greek priests would accompany the Turkish soldiers in their punitive expeditions against the revolting villages and point out the principal sympathizers of the Committee among the peasants. So ferocious was one of these priests, one of the assistants of the Greek bishop of Castoria, that an old Turkish major said openly, before his troops, when this priest proposed to accompany him on an expedition, "I don't want him with me; we can disgrace ourselves without him." The Bulgarian and Servian bands seldom harmed the peasants, but the Greek bands were especially vindictive against the villages known to have sheltered the bands of the Committee. They would enter such communities in broad daylight and massacre everybody in sight, women and children as well as old men.

In Greece there was apparently no restraining public opinion; even the massacres were openly endorsed by press and public meetings and the perpetrators, on their return, were feasted and heroized in public. The lateral split, running through all the other Balkan peoples, separating the progressives from the reactionaries, seemed not to touch Greece. As a people they stood pat, behind Church and State, shouting the cry of a reëstablished Byzantine Empire, a reborn Hellas, that should rule the neighboring barbarians as their ancestors of old did. In Turkey, too, they stood pat; rather have the Turks in power than give the Committee any opportunity to put its socialistic principles into practice.

PROGRESSIVISM AMONG THE TURKS

Except in accidental clashes with patrols the Committee's bands fought very little with the Turks.

In spite of their religion there is among the Turks a powerful progressive element. When

Young Turkey proclaimed the constitution which declared the equality of all natives of the Ottoman Empire, the Committee disbanded its armed forces and its leaders were received down in Salonica by the Young Turks with open arms. Yani Sandansky, the Bulgarian socialist and former "brigand chief" under the Committee, leading Young Turkey's army into Constantinople to dethrone a Turkish Sultan was symbolical of the ideals of all the progressive elements in the land, for years imbedded in the constitution and the program of the Committee.

But Young Turkey was unable to swing the masses of Islam into the ranks of the progressives. The Turks fell back into the reactionary camp. Once more the Committee was obliged to take up arms and Sandansky was again an outlaw and a "brigand." Had the Young Turks succeeded he would not now be fighting with the allies in Macedonia. There would have been no war, for what the people of Bulgaria and Servia want to accomplish, through the present war, would have been accomplished by the Turks themselves. Ferdinand and his inner clique are only following their people now, they are not leading them, just as the Greek Church is now following the Greek people against its old partner, the Sultan.

Apparently Greece has lined up with the progressives, along with its old enemy, Sandansky, and what he represents. If she has done so from real sympathy and not as a result of a cold bargain with the stronger side, then the Greek people have indeed undergone a change within themselves incomprehensible to one who knew them six years ago, a change that bodes no good to their Church.

For ten years the Committee fought Bulgarian, Servian, and Greek invasion and waxed powerful on the fight. Now it stands in the center of the alliance, its fifth member, inconspicuous to outsiders, but permeating its partners with the spirit of which it has always been the physical incarnation, the only spirit that could bring them all together. While prophecies are always a gamble, this is absolutely certain: You could not get Sandansky to fight for a cause that did not stand squarely for universal democracy, and he is fighting now as he never fought before. In the heat of the excitement Ferdinand may be permitted to crown himself Czar of all the Bulgars, but when the Bulgarian people have cooled down from their present ardor they will receive this proclamation as they received "The Adventures of Bie Ganio," with laughter.

FRANCE'S WAY OF CHOOSING A PRESIDENT

BY ANDRÉ TRIDON

THERE is something apparently illogical in the attitude the French people assume toward their Presidents. It can be stated without exaggeration that nowhere else on earth is there a ruler more completely shorn of all authority than France's first magistrate. On the other hand, we doubt whether any magistrate, first or last in dignity, is selected anywhere with greater care and a closer scrutiny of his past life, public and private. While not only the United States but the whole world as well is familiar with the physical appearance and the biography of the several Americans competing for the Presidential honors, not only the world but a large number of Frenchmen have to be told on the morrow of a presidential election who the obscure man was who obtained a majority of their representatives' votes.

No one outside of Parliamentary and political circles knew anything about Loubet when he came back from Versailles the elect of Congress, besides the fact that he was president of the Senate. No one suspected that Carnot would become a candidate at the eleventh hour, being elected, as he was, owing to the withdrawal of two acknowledged favorites.

Barring Carnot and Faure, who will be remembered for the former's violent and the latter's mysterious death, whose memory, however, will endure less than that of Caserio or Mme. Steinheil, all erstwhile presidents of France relapse at the expiration of their term into an obscurity deeper than that from which they emerged. France does not even do as much for her ex-presidents as do Latin American countries, which send them abroad as plenipotentiaries. She simply forgets them. Where is Loubet and who cares to know where he is? Who will, after next February, recall Fallières' first name?

NO NOMINATING CONVENTIONS; NO PRE-ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

France knows no party conventions, she knows not the thundering storm that breaks out after a magic name has been spoken before delirious crowds. There are no platforms submitted to the nation's approval.

For a French president is not the elect of a party; he has to hold himself above party disputes. "Where do you belong?" an usher asked Lamartine when the impractical poet had been elected to Parliament. "Right, center, left or extreme left?"

"I'll take the ceiling," Lamartine answered.

Unless a French president takes his seat "on the ceiling," unless he refrains from expressing partisan views or evincing a bias for certain legislation, an angered nation may clamor loudly for his resignation. Thus France protects herself against the possible return of monarchs or dictators. This is why no president of all parties and of all Frenchmen can have been a so-called leader at any time of his life. This is why also there cannot be any preëlection campaign with the American connotation of the word. While presidential candidates, or, I should rather say, presidential possibilities, may travel a good deal in the months preceding the great trial, attend many public festivities and accept many dinner invitations, their public utterances do not make over-lively reading.

They generally expatiate on the civic beauties of the city, remit a small contribution for the local hospital, kiss a few babies, and make themselves otherwise agreeable.

Some of the men in training for the presidency take up some harmless economic fad in which they acquire the reputation of being specialists and they are expected, whatever the occasion of their public appearance may be, to refer to their hobby unavoidably and exclusively. Thus Paul Deschanel's name is always associated with the idea of mutuality. Wherever he goes the burden of his speech is the benefit to be derived from mutual aid. Raymond Poincaré's special line of research is solidarity, quite as vague and uncompromising a topic as mutuality.

LIMITED POWER OF THE FRENCH EXECUTIVE

The average Frenchman is totally indifferent to presidential changes for one excellent



THIERS (1871-73)

MACMAHON (1873-79)

GRÉVY (1879-87)

CARNOT (1887-94)

THE FIRST FOUR PRESIDENTS OF THE PRESENT FRENCH REPUBLIC

reason: Such changes cannot in any way affect his position or his financial status. France is governed by ministers who only retain their mandate by sufferance of the Deputies. Premiers may precipitate war or conclude peace; they may propose or fight measures affecting the economic welfare of the voters. Ministers appoint office-holders on the recommendation of deputies. Therefore a Frenchman is vitally interested in Parliamentary elections and cabinet affairs.

The only individuals who pay any attention to the President's thoughts and ways are the wretches locked up in death cells, for the only act of authority the national figurehead may perform without incurring criticism, is the commutation of death sentences into life sentences. Technically he may veto any measure passed by the two houses but should he ever avail himself of this privilege barricades would rise and stones would fly in the neighborhood of the Executive Palace.

Casimir-Périer's son told the writer a few days ago that his father's unwillingness to accept the humiliating consequences of such a position had led to his resignation. The Cabinet had more than once given out to the press presidential decrees signed by Casimir-Périer of which Casimir-Périer not only did not approve but of which he had had no intimation whatever. Finally, when Premier Dupuy was overthrown Casimir-Périer, tired of the ridiculous posture in which he was kept for several days, (Dupuy refusing, in accordance with his constitutional privilege, to endorse the presidential decree appointing his successor) decided to exert his activity and his talents in a more thankful field of endeavor than the first magistracy of the republic.

HOW MEN MAY BE DISQUALIFIED FOR THE PRESIDENCY

This is why a well-known, popular individual could never fill the presidential position in France, to the complete satisfaction of all the parties. His personality would project itself in too strong a relief on the soft gray background of his official life. Any rash act committed in his youth, any indiscretion reported by gossips, might disqualify a man for the position. He might suffer a relapse and become rash again or some one might take advantage of that past indiscretion and force him through undue influence to depart from his neutral attitude.

Presidential ethics stands in violent contrast to the notoriously lax ethics of Parliamentary life. Grévy's career was at an end when a relative of his stood convicted of trafficking in decorations. A divorcée and the president of too many Egyptian and South American banks, Caillaux, remains eligible to hold any portfolio, but never could he think of running for President. Rouvier was to be a candidate at the last presidential elections; Delcassé threatened to divulge the shady means employed by Rouvier in conjunction with certain German interests to compel him to resign; Rouvier decided to withdraw his candidacy. Gabriel Hanotaux will never be presidential timber; gossip touched his life twice and last June his trip to this country enabled the authorities to remove to a distant province a woman who was seeking him, revolver in hand, in the lobbies of the Palais Bourbon.

Alexandre Ribot's hasty attitude in whitewashing too many public men implicated in the Panama scandal hasn't been forgotten yet



CASIMIR-PÉRIER (1894-95)

FAURE (1895-99)

LOUBET (1899-1906)

FALLIÈRES (1906-)

MORE RECENT PRESIDENTS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

and has disqualified him several times in the presidential race.

Charles Dupuy's "coincidences," carefully recalled by his enemies, killed long ago his chances of being elected: He is "unlucky." Under his prime ministership Carnot was assassinated, Casimir-Périer had to resign, Felix Faure died an embarrassing death, and Baron Christiani damaged with his cane Loubet's silk hat. Thus do cynics and free-thinkers suddenly evince a moral fiber and a superstitious streak in the hour of choosing the nation's chief clerk.

This eliminates a good many public men. The names of Combes and Clemenceau have been mentioned among the presidential possibilities. Combes' age and his record as an uncompromising anti-clerical, and the many enemies Clemenceau, "killer of ministries," managed to make for himself are decisive arguments against their election.

Léon Bourgeois has many friends and a clean record. He is a brilliant statesman of a philosophical turn of mind and was in 1906 the most popular candidate.

Although Léon Bourgeois is no longer in power in Parliament, for the so-called Radical party, of which he has been for so many years the recognized leader, is at present a dwindling group, as most of its members have evolved toward Socialism, he is probably unwilling to submit to the lethal process of election to the presidency.

A thoroughly safe man who would be elected if the conditions obtaining in 1906 were to obtain in 1913 is Antonin Dubost. As he is not identified with any definite political movement, was a minister only once, and crept up slowly from grade to grade and to the lofty though insignificant

position of a president of the Senate, which he has occupied since 1906, he would be the ideal candidate. It is said, however, that the leaders of all Parliamentary groups have decided not to elect him for one reason: He would be the third president of the Senate to become first magistrate of France; for Loubet and Fallières occupied that post. If this became a tradition the selection of presidents would be gradually taken away from the Deputies and left altogether in the hands of the Senate.

AMONG THE POSSIBILITIES,—DESCHANEL, POINCARÉ

Following our process of elimination we arrive finally at two men either of whom is almost certain to become president of the French Republic,—Paul Deschanel and Raymond Poincaré, younger men than any of the other candidates, for they are respectively fifty-five and fifty-two years of age. Deschanel has been in training for the presidency almost all his life and somehow he is expected to be president sometime,—if not now at least in seven or in fourteen years from now. The nation will take his election whenever it takes place as a matter of course, as it took his election to the Academy and to the presidency of the Chamber.

Poincaré, on the other hand, never was mentioned seriously and insistingly as a presidential possibility until this year. His journey to Russia and especially two incidents which marked that trip have had a strangely powerful influence in shaping public opinion. As the *Condé* was steaming off the Mecklenburg Coast the German fleet was ordered to proceed toward the French man-of-war; the three largest units flying the white *pavillon*

with a black cross of German admirals, hoisted the French tricolor on their main mast and fired a salute of nineteen guns.

At the close of a banquet in St. Petersburg, Minister Kokovtsov greeted Poincaré as the next ruler of the French nation. This was in bad taste but the French are still forgiving the Russians a great many things. The approval of Germany and Russia means a great deal for a candidate to the presidency.

Raymond Poincaré was born in Bar-le-Duc fifty-two years ago. His family was of the typically middle class type. His father was a civil engineer and his mother's father enjoyed a local reputation from having been elected nine consecutive times to the Chamber of Deputies.

Young Raymond attended the Bar-le-Duc lycée and then was sent to complete his classical studies at the Louis-le-Grand lycée in Paris. At eighteen he won his M.A. sheepskin and began to read law.

Poincaré was admitted to the bar when only twenty, but no one was rash enough to retain him as an attorney. This in spite of his ready flow of eloquence. That ready flow was not at the time allowed to inundate anything but lawyers' clubs.

Now the public has found out all about his wonderful fluency and Poincaré is in great demand for all public functions where verbosity and grandiloquence help fill up programs. Poincaré and Deschanel are always scheduled to unveil statues, to lay cornerstones, to open exhibitions, to welcome delegations, to preside over commencement exercises, and they always elicit a torrent of applause by enunciating in a musical voice, in new combinations of words that are not new, incontrovertible statements which flatter every member of the audience and never antagonize any one's convictions.

Twenty years ago, however, things were not going so smoothly. Poincaré had to take a little position in a big attorney's office and at night wrote court news for the *Voltaire*, where he had as co-workers some of Gambetta's radical friends.

The two employments combined brought him an income of about 150 francs a month. He was saved from that unpleasant situation by another Bar-le-Duc man, Jules Develle, who on becoming Minister of Agriculture took him as his official secretary.

In 1887, a deputy of his native town having died, Poincaré hastened home and was elected to Parliament. For three mortal years, however, the Speaker managed to ignore the youthful member from Bar-le-Duc.

In the meantime the youthful member learned a few things, particularly about finances. An influential friend secured him the enviable position of reporter of the Committee on Finances and at last on October 24, 1890, being then thirty, Poincaré addressed the Chamber for the first time. His future was assured, for France and her Parliament will always listen with patience and gusto to a good speaker.

Poincaré was reelected four times; in 1892 the exclusive budget committee welcomed him and in 1893 made him its general reporter. Poincaré was then, as they say in France, "ministérable," that is to say a member of the highest political inner circle. The same year he was entrusted by Premier Dupuy with the portfolio of Public Education, which he kept about six months. Then the Dupuy Ministry fell, came back into power, and Poincaré once more presided over the education of young France for ten months, first under Dupuy, then under Ribot.

After Ribot's retirement every premier endeavored to secure the services of Poincaré. Too shrewd to compromise his future by entering into dangerous combinations, Poincaré remained in his tent while the Dreyfus storm was raging and while France was taking a few Socialist ministers on approval.

Aside from his political activity Poincaré has succeeded in building up an enormous law practice. The law firm of Poincaré is perhaps the largest in Paris. In his leisure time he composes essays which grace the stodgier class of quarterlies. Two volumes of such literary productions, "*Idées Contemporaines*," and "*Questions et Figures Politiques*," in which the careful statesman displays his marvelous knowledge of modern politics without ever giving vent to any personal views, made him a fit candidate for a seat among the Immortals.

THE ARISTOCRATIC DESCHANÉL

Deschanel's biography is far less interesting than Poincaré's. Deschanel was spared the years of struggle from which his rival emerged only by desperate application to his chosen work. Deschanel was born in Brussels where his father, Emile Deschanel, famous as a critic and lecturer, had been exiled by Louis Napoleon.

The German victories of '71 opened to the exiles the road to Paris. Emile Deschanel resumed his lectures at the Sorbonne and Collège de France. In 1876 the erstwhile "red kid" became secretary to De Marcère,



RAYMOND POINCARÉ



PAUL DESCHANÉL

THE TWO LEADING CANDIDATES FOR THE FRENCH PRESIDENCY

Minister of the Interior. The following year he was offered a similar position with Premier Jules Simon. At twenty-one he became a sub-prefect; at twenty-eight a deputy. In 1896 he rose to the vice-presidency and two years after to the presidency of the Chamber; five legislatures have retained him in that position with only one intermission.

Paul Deschanel married Germaine Brice, the granddaughter of Camille Doucet, "perpetual secretary" of the Académie Française, and the literary world felt that the time was near when Paul Deschanel would don the green swallowtail of the Immortals. And he did don it very soon after.

Deschanel is invariably courteous and dignified, well tailored and well groomed. He is no longer "the red kid." In fact he has so studiously modeled his ways of thinking, speaking and acting after the ways of the two faubourgs that he has not quite kept up with the times. And this is where Poincaré may gain a certain advantage over him. For Poincaré has just enough radicalism in his make-up to be called a progressive without being hopelessly "revolutionary."

Paul Deschanel makes up for this weakness in another way. There is one of the Parliamentary committees about which very little

is heard in France and out of France, the committee on Foreign Affairs. Ministers of Foreign Affairs may come and go, the committee lasts at least as long as each legislature and very seldom changes its personnel. When the Minister of Foreign Affairs is dealing with a power he is little more than the mouthpiece of the committee. The sovereigns of England, Germany and Spain may have forgotten who the three men were who held the portfolio of Foreign Affairs during the acute stage of the Moroccan crisis. They certainly remember that the chairman of the committee on foreign relations was the courteous, diplomatic Paul Deschanel. The part he played as chairman of the committee has made Deschanel *persona grata* with the various European courts.

Deschanel has kept a diplomatic but unfortunate silence on every great political question of the day. Poincaré, however, was fortunate enough to take his stand on the popular side of the electoral reform known as "proportional representation" and France seems to expect the millennium from that reform.

After all France may yet elect a candidate whose name is never heard without a smile of gentle irony, Monsieur Pams, manufacturer of a well-advertised brand of cigarette paper.

EUCKEN, GERMANY'S INSPIRED IDEALISTIC PHILOSOPHER

BY THOMAS SELTZER

THE complaint of philosophers that the modern world turns a deaf ear to their teachings is rapidly becoming antiquated. William James, Bergson and Eucken are as popular to-day as Kant, Hegel, Fichte, and Schelling were in their days. They are known throughout the civilized world almost as well as in their native countries. Most wonderful of all is the fact that the philosophies of this great triumvirate are idealistic philosophies. What becomes of the contention that exact science has made us materialistic?

Rudolf Eucken is now in this country, having come here as exchange professor to deliver his new message personally to the students of Harvard. It is quite fitting that Eucken should preach his gospel in the seat of learning in which James evolved his philosophy of Pragmatism. The Pragmatism of James and the Activism of Eucken touch each other at essential points. Both lay the chief stress upon action and life; both look with suspicion upon mere speculation; both regard the intellect alone as inadequate to explain the world and the meaning of life, and to furnish a proper guide for human conduct.

But the differences between Eucken and James are nevertheless extremely important. Pragmatism says: Do you want to know whether a thing is true or not? See whether it has value to life, whether it is helpful. Activism says: No. Truth cannot be made to hinge only upon such a decision. Truth is truth, it is absolute, and therefore it cannot depend upon our experiences. But activity is the means by which we attain truth. It is through our actions, provided they are directed in the right channels, that truth reveals itself to us intimately and intuitively. We learn to know the truth by acting and by living, not by thinking and speculating about it.

The question, then, is how are we to find the right course of conduct, in order that, by following it, we may gain the truth, the reality, the higher life. The answer to this question constitutes the distinctive feature of Eucken's philosophy. Eucken is not a pantheist, he does not believe that God is in everything, that everything is divine. He admits, nay, he urges very strongly, that

there is evil in the world as well as good. It is this doctrine that forms the basis of his activist philosophy. If the world were all good, as the pantheistic optimists tell us it is, then there is no room for action, for striving, for progress. But it is not so. There is evil in the world which has to be overcome, and hence life is a fight, a conflict, a struggle to overcome the evil and develop the good. Man has to learn to free himself from nature, from the material. Zoologically, man is at the apex of evolution, spiritually he is at the bottom. Let him free himself from the coarse demands of the merely animal, let him struggle against the sordid and the low. This is the first stage of real progress. Then he can begin to live the spiritual life, developing it within himself and rising higher and higher until he becomes a part of the universal spiritual life.

The spiritual life is the sole reality of the world. It transcends nature and matter. By attaining it man gains freedom and personality. But no matter how high on the spiritual scale he rises he must remain constantly active, for the spiritual life is infinite, and there are no limits to the development of the spiritual personality.

In developing the spiritual life man acquires not only freedom and personality, he also gains immortality. The spiritual life being immortal, he, as part of it, must likewise be immortal. Eucken's philosophy, therefore, grants immortality only to those personalities which have freed themselves from the merely natural. Those who cling to the flesh are doomed to die and disappear without leaving a trace behind them.

In Eucken's philosophy religion naturally occupies a prominent position. There are, he holds, two main classes of religions—the religions of law and the religions of redemption. The religions of law conceive of God as outside the world, laying down the law to men, and rewarding or punishing them for obedience or transgression. Of the redemptive religions the Buddhist is merely negative. The only duty it imposes is that of renunciation. The world is vain and evil, and so Buddhism leads merely to renuncia-

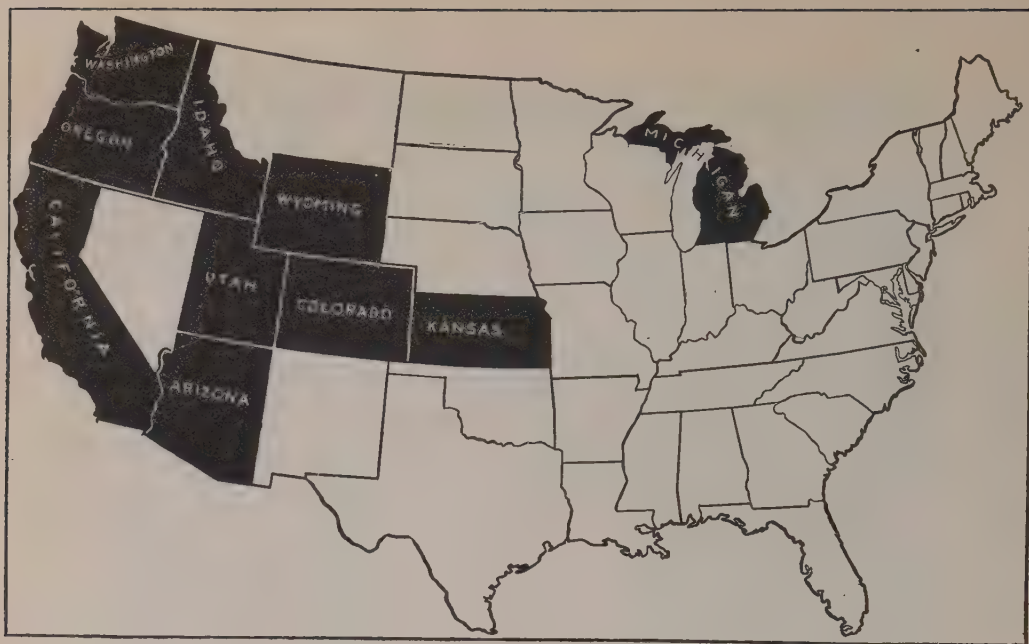


DR. RUDOLF EUCKEN, THE GERMAN PHILOSOPHER NOW LECTURING AT HARVARD

tion of the world and of self. Christianity, also a religion of redemption, is far superior to Buddhism. It is both negative and positive. While recognizing the misery and ills of the world it regards them not as inherent in the universal order, which in itself is Divine, but as the consequences of abuse. The teachings of Christianity, therefore, involve a life of action and striving; the evils are to be overcome and a higher life attained. The Christian God is the absolute spiritual truth; in Him the free personality finds its realization. Divested of the merely human and temporary elements which have been added to it in the

course of time, Christianity is the highest and noblest type of religion and furnishes a basis for the absolute religion. For just as there is but one and only truth, so there can be but one and only absolute true religion.

Rudolf Eucken was born in 1846, and has been since 1874 Professor of Philosophy at the University of Jena, where he has attracted many students from various countries to his lectures. His personality is quite in keeping with his philosophy. He is energetic, of an earnest, zealous temperament, and more of an inspired ethical preacher than a dispassionate academic scholar.



THE TEN STATES THAT HAVE CONFERRED GENERAL SUFFRAGE ON WOMEN

VOTES FOR THREE MILLION WOMEN

BY IDA HUSTED HARPER

ELECTION DAY, November 5, 1912, will ever be notable in the annals of the movement for woman suffrage as marking the greatest victory it has yet achieved. With the closing of the polls approximately 1,500,000 women voters had been added to an equal number who were already entitled to cast their ballots that day, and the six States where women have this privilege had been increased to ten. Michigan, Kansas, Oregon, and Arizona were the four that had just enfranchised women and placed them on an exact political equality with men. Now, with women enfranchised in all the neighbor States, the Nevada Legislature of 1913 may be counted on to submit a suffrage amendment to the voters, who are likely to accept it. Wisconsin had followed the example set by Ohio two months before and given a majority against the constitutional amendment. This action was not in the slightest degree due to any inferiority of the campaign of the women in its behalf, for in both of these States this was longer and more strenuously waged, more money was expended and more women were engaged in it than in any of the four where the amendment received a majority vote. The difference in the result was caused entirely by the difference in con-

ditions existing in the States. Some of these conditions will be suggested in this article.

CAMPAIGNING WITH AUTOMOBILES

The methods of work were practically the same in all. During the summer months the campaigning was largely out of doors, and automobiles loaned by friends of the cause played a prominent part, the women traveling thousands of miles. Their arrival in a town was advertised beforehand by the local suffragists and when with flags and banners flying they dashed into the park or public square the crowd was on hand to receive them. Sometimes they were met by the mayor or other officials who climbed into the car and made speeches. In some States they were accompanied by the cornetist, Miss Rose Bowers, of Oregon, and frequently a brass band met them at the edge of town and escorted them in. In the large cities at night they went from point to point and wherever they saw a crowd collected they stopped and held a meeting. If they came across a parade they joined it. At the noon hour they went to factories and wherever they could reach the workingmen and women. Their audiences numbered from a few hun-



MRS. ABIGAIL S. DUNIWAY
(Oregon)

REV. OLYMPIA BROWN
(Wisconsin)

MRS. CLARA B. ARTHUR
(Michigan)



MRS. HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON
(Ohio)

MRS. FRANCES W. MUNDS
(Arizona)

MRS. WILLIAM A. JOHNSTON
(Kansas)

PRESIDENTS OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE ORGANIZATIONS IN STATES WHERE THE
CAMPAIGNS OF 1912 WERE CONDUCTED

dred to four or five thousand and sometimes as many as a dozen automobiles were *en tour* in a State. Amusement parks were visited, picnics without number, Chautauquas, conventions of all kinds, and even the circus was utilized. In hardly a single instance did these parties meet with discourteous treatment; it was a picturesque form of campaigning which caught the fancy of the people and they entered into the spirit of it. When the weather was inclement the speakers went into school-houses, churches, halls, courthouses, and,

where it seemed necessary, into parlors, but it was largely an outdoor campaign.

State and county fairs offered an excellent chance for propaganda, of which the women largely availed themselves, visiting, for instance, seventy-five in Wisconsin. By permission of the managers they would furnish a tent or booth or veranda with pretty wicker chairs and tables in charge of attractive women who served tea and suffrage literature impartially; then their best speakers would go to the grand stand and address the



MISS JANE ADDAMS •

(One of the most effective speakers for the suffrage cause in the Middle West)

crowds, who would forsake everything else on the grounds. Mrs. La Follette spoke at nearly half of these fairs and also accompanied her husband, the Senator, on his political tour of the State, speaking for suffrage. Their talented daughter, Fola, the actress, assisted through the summer and autumn. The Rev. Olympia Brown, State president, at the head of the movement in Wisconsin for the past forty years, directed the work and made speeches throughout the campaign. The younger women were headed by Miss Ada L. James, daughter of State Senator D. G. James, sponsor of the suffrage bill.

A prominent and significant feature was the large number of women from other States who went to the assistance of those in the States where campaigns were in progress. In Ohio, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, the president, daughter of Ezra B. Taylor, who represented the Cleveland district in Congress for twenty years, had the help of organizers and speakers from twelve States. Among the scores who went into Wisconsin and Michigan were Miss Jane Addams, Mrs.

May Wright Sewall, honorary president of the International Council of Women; Miss Breckinridge, dean of women at Chicago University; the State Suffrage presidents of Washington, Nebraska, Illinois, Maryland, New Jersey and other States; Mrs. Glendower Evans, Miss Zona Gale, and the Rev. Ida C. Hultin, of Boston; Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch, the well-known lawyer, and Mrs. Stewart, wife of Oliver Stewart, M. C., of Chicago; Mrs. Pauline Steinem, of the Toledo school board; Dr. Mary Thomas, dean of women in the State University of South Dakota; presidents of several boarding schools for girls and a number of women college professors. Mrs. Clara B. Arthur, president of the Michigan Association had among her ablest State assistants the Rev. Caroline Bartlett Crane, Mrs. Jennie C. Law Hardy, of Australia, and those veterans in the cause, Mrs. Helen Philleo Jenkins, Mrs. Mary L. Doe, and Mrs. May S. Knaggs.

The Kansas campaign has been one of the most interesting under the direction of the president, Mrs. W. A. Johnston, wife of the Chief Justice, and Mrs. W. R. Stubbs, wife of the Governor. A small army of Kansas women have given devoted service and this has been one of the most thoroughly organized States, which partly accounts for the splendid majority of over 50,000. Women from eight or ten States have been helping here, among them Miss Laura Clay, president of the Kentucky Association; Dr. Helen Brewster Owens, of Cornell University, and Mrs. Clara B. Colby, editor of the *Woman's Tribune*. In Arizona, the president, Mrs. Frances W. Munds, has had besides the loyal women of her own State a number of experienced workers from California. The same is true of Oregon, where the venerable president, Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway, is now seeing the reward of fifty years of effort. Dr. Esther Pohl and Mrs. H. W. Coe were prominent workers here. In all of these States the amendment has had the strong support of the College Women's League, W. C. T. U., Federation of Women's Clubs, Teachers' Association, Grange and Federation of Labor, and of many prominent men in official and professional life.

BREAKING INTO THE MIDDLE WEST

The victories in Kansas and Michigan mark the first break in the middle section of the country. Of the two that in Michigan is perhaps more important, as it puts an end to the oft-repeated assertion that no State

east of the Mississippi River could be carried for woman suffrage. The result in the surrounding States must necessarily be an increase of effort on the part of the women and an advance in favorable sentiment among the men. The steady extension of woman suffrage in the States of the Far West justifies this opinion. A difficulty will be faced, however, which did not exist in Michigan. Women can be enfranchised only by amending the constitution of the State and that of Illinois by its own provisions makes amending for any purpose practically impossible. In Minnesota and Indiana an amendment requires a majority of the highest number of votes cast at the election, and as this is usually for President or Governor, these States have virtually put it out of their power to amend their constitutions unless a special election is held for the purpose. The same situation exists in Nebraska and so the only hope for the suffragists must lie in having the question submitted at other than the general elections.

OPPOSITION OF THE LIQUOR INTERESTS

Nevada will doubtless be the next State to enfranchise women. In the Middle West, however, Iowa offers the most promising field and the chances here will be vastly increased by the splendid victory just gained in Kansas. In the character of the population and in general conditions these two States are very much alike, but there is the great disadvantage in Iowa of its large distillery interests. It is not alone those directly engaged in the manufacture of liquor but the farmers also, who find in these distilleries the best market for their grain, that would expect to be affected by woman suffrage. These interests have been powerful enough thus far to prevent the Legislature from submitting the question to the voters, although a very representative body of women have been appealing to it for more than forty years and there is evidently a strong public sentiment in favor.

The result of the opposition of what is termed the liquor interests has been very evident in the defeat of woman suffrage in Wisconsin on November 5, and in Ohio on September 3. While there were other sources of opposition that was the main factor, as the breweries of those States are among the principal industries. Their most effectual method was to make the voters believe that the women would close every saloon and deprive the individual man of even his glass of



DR. ANNA SHAW

(An active campaigner for woman suffrage in many States)

beer or wine and they circulated thousands of leaflets to this effect, purporting to be issued by the temperance societies. This could not fail to secure an opposing vote from the immense German population, and in Ohio from the hundreds of thousands from Southern Europe employed in the mining regions and iron manufacturers. This kind of argument, however, can only be made disastrously effective where there are large cities and these do not exist in Iowa. With the exception of Des Moines, which has less than 90,000 inhabitants, the State has none that reaches 40,000, and when the Legislature votes to submit the amendment it will undoubtedly be adopted. North Dakota is regarded as a very promising State, more so than South Dakota, and a vigorous campaign will soon be commenced there and also in Montana. At present Oklahoma is not considered as offering much hope for woman suffrage or any other reform measure.

WHICH STATES NEXT?

The discussion of this subject is no longer academic. The winning of two more States will see women enfranchised in one-fourth of all in the Union, as they now can vote in ten

on exactly the same terms as men and are eligible for every office. In addition to the four gained at the recent election are Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington and California, named in the order in which they gave the franchise to women. The only question now to be considered is which will be the next States to grant this privilege and when will all of them do so? Although the agitation began in the Eastern States fifty years ago, has been continuous and has assumed large proportions, and although until recently there has been almost none in the South, it is not improbable that one or more Southern States may enfranchise their women before this has been done by a single State east of the Alleghany Mountains. The greatest drawback in that section has been the apathy of the women themselves. They have not had among them an enormous body of workingwomen to suffer the disadvantage of being without political influence; in all respects they have been slower to catch the progressive spirit of the age than the more highly stimulated women of the North, and they have been lulled by the tradition that chivalry was all women needed. Any tendency toward a desire for the suffrage has been promptly suppressed by the men, but all of a sudden they themselves have been brought face to face with a serious situation.

With the exception of Arizona, which is too new to be classified, all of these ten States which have enfranchised their women have heretofore been regarded as normally Republican, and an enormous body of voters has been added to the electorate, which, under past political conditions, would have been likely to give Republican majorities. While this would not directly affect the ratio of Presidential electors or members of Congress it indicates a tremendous influence in politics which will have to be considered and can only be offset by enfranchising a corresponding number of women who would supposedly be Democratic, and that would mean to give the suffrage to those of the Southern States.

The chief reason for the general interest among American women which began about four years ago was undoubtedly the revolution among those in England, but the changed attitude among men was unquestionably the result of the "insurgent" movement in the political parties. This found its first concrete expression in the submission in 1910 of a constitutional amendment for woman suffrage in Washington and its adoption by a vote of two to one throughout the State.

The men had repudiated the domination of the party "bosses" and wanted the support of women to enable them to hold their ground. A second and even more conspicuous example was given the next year in California, where the women had been vainly appealing to the Legislature for fifteen years to submit a suffrage amendment. The men of the State had thrown off the yoke of the Southern Pacific Railroad and other corporations, and in spite of the party "machines" had elected H. W. Johnson Governor and a progressive Legislature. The amendment was submitted with votes to spare and carried at a special election in October.

PROGRESSIVE POLITICS

In neither Oregon nor Arizona would the Republican and Democratic Legislatures submit the suffrage amendment and the women had to secure the necessary petitions for initiative and referendum. And so in Kansas and Michigan the women had gone in vain for years to the Legislatures, but largely through the influence of Governor Stubbs in the one State and Governor Osborn in the other their measure was sent to the electors and accepted. It makes no difference under what party name in any of these States the Governors and Legislatures were elected, their action was the result of freedom from the corrupt influences that long had dominated both of the old parties and of the progressive spirit which really desired reformation in government. They doubtless believed in the justice of giving a vote to women, but their efforts were not wholly altruistic, as they knew that political reforms were short-lived among men and that the only way to secure a permanent force for progress was to enfranchise women. In these views they had the hearty sympathy of a large number of men, who expressed it by voting for the amendments.

For a generation the issues before the people have been principally of a material nature—tariff, currency, trusts, subsidies—which men felt entirely competent to settle without the assistance of women and which did not especially inspire women with a desire to have a voice in them. It needed the great moral, social and industrial questions which now form so large a part of the political program to show the vital need of the judgment and influence of both men and women, and it is on the crest of this wave now sweeping over the country that woman suffrage must be carried to victory.



ONE HOUR'S "SPORT" WHERE "GAME" WAS ABUNDANT

(Two hundred and eighteen wild geese slaughtered in an hour by two men with automatic shotguns in Glenn County, California)

SHALL UNCLE SAM PROTECT THE BIRDS?

BY GEORGE GLADDEN

DURING its coming session, Congress will be asked to pass a bill providing for the federal protection of migratory birds—that is, birds whose habitat is not fixed, and whose regular northern and southern migrations cause them to spend only part of the year in any one State or Territory. It is proposed that the Department of Agriculture shall be authorized to adopt suitable regulations to give effect to the protection; and with the vast amount of scientifically collected and carefully classified information which it has at its disposal in the records of its various bureaus, the department undoubtedly is well equipped to undertake this task.

THE APPEAL OF SCIENCE

It may be as well to explain at once that not mere sentimentalists, but expert and cautious naturalists, and other persons who have studied the subject from the standpoint of the scientist, are responsible for this inter-

esting and significant expression of the relatively recent and steadily strengthening conservation movement. They include such men as Dr. William T. Hornaday, director of the New York Zoölogical Park; Mr. Madison Grant, Secretary of the New York Zoölogical Society; Dr. Henry Fairfield Osborn, dean of the Faculty of Pure Science, Columbia University; Dr. Theodore S. Palmer, of the United States Biological Survey; Mr. Edward H. Forbush, ornithologist of the Massachusetts State Board of Agriculture; Mr. John B. Burnham, president of the American Game Protective and Propagation Association, and Mr. T. Gilbert Pearson, secretary of the National Association of Audubon Societies.

These men advocate the federal protection of migratory birds (and especially the insectivorous species), because it has been scientifically established that such birds constitute one of the most effective of nature's balancing agents, and are, therefore, a highly valua-

ble economic asset of the country as a whole; and because as a result of the inadequacy of, or the lack of uniformity in the present State laws dealing with this subject, the number of these birds is undoubtedly decreasing at an alarming rate. Thanks to the determined and efficient work of the National Association of Audubon Societies, and to the establishment of bird refuges by the Government, to say nothing of the splendid assistance recently given by Mrs. Russell Sage (which will be described further on in this article), a great deal has been done to protect both the insectivorous and the game birds in certain parts of the country; but much more remains to be done before the general and efficient protection which is needed is assured.

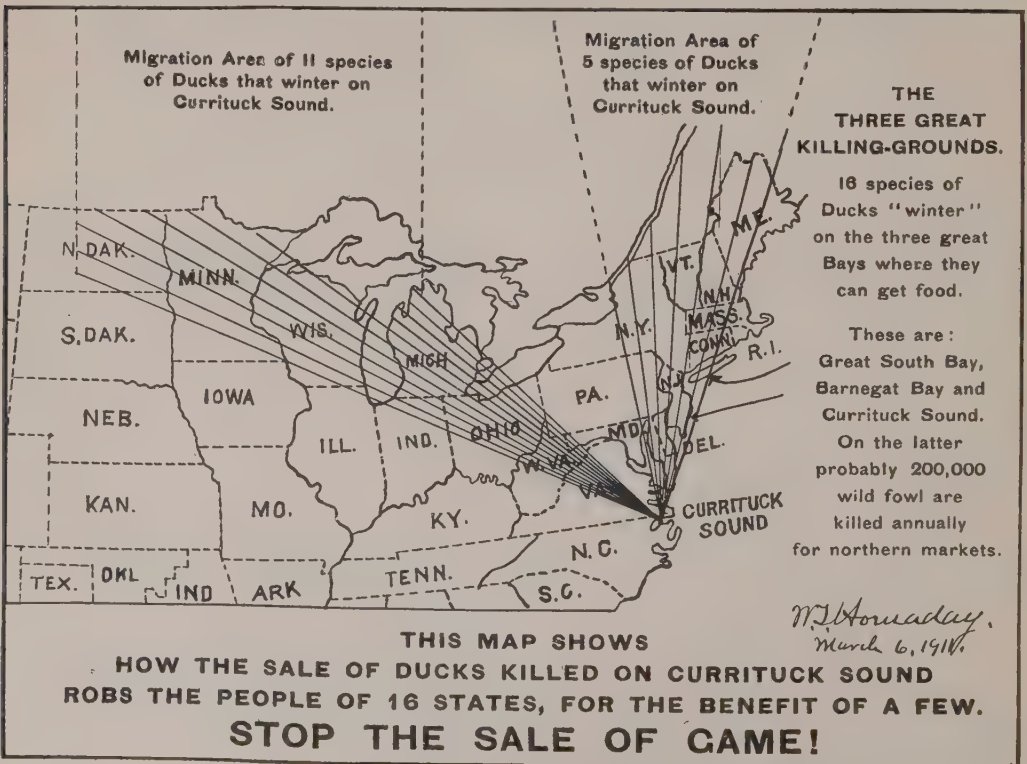
INCONSISTENCIES AND CONTRADICTIONS IN STATE LAWS

It seems clear that such protection can be most promptly secured, and most uniformly maintained by the federal government rather than by the State authorities. For evidence in support of this contention, one has only to consider certain existing conditions in various States. For example, in seven States,—Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South

Carolina, Tennessee, and Maryland,—the robin is legally a "game" bird, and as such is killed by the thousands annually, although it is undoubtedly one of the most valuable of the insectivorous birds, and for this reason—to say nothing of sentimental considerations—should be and is protected generally throughout the northern States. Again, four States,—Louisiana, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Pennsylvania,—legalize the killing of the blackbird, which though it consumes some corn, is an industrious destroyer of many kinds of harmful insects and worms; while in five States,—Colorado, Nevada, Nebraska, North Dakota, and Oklahoma,—there is no protection for cranes, and in *twenty-six*, doves (which are very valuable birds because they feed chiefly on weed-seeds) are slaughtered as "game."

LOCAL INFLUENCES AGAINST EFFICIENT PROTECTION

Instances of similar inconsistencies between the State laws having to do with insectivorous migratory birds could easily be multiplied, as many of them exist; and it is these flat and rather foolish contradictions which are cited as a cogent reason for vesting



WATERFOWL MIGRATION

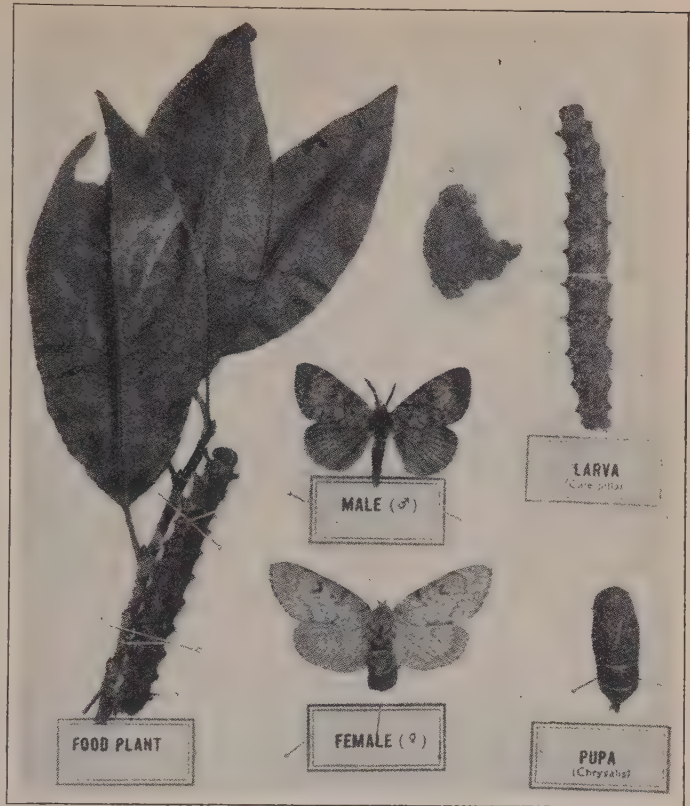
(Map used in support of the Bayne bill in New York)

in the federal government the power to make uniform laws on this subject.* The benighted conditions which obtain in certain of the States—and especially in the southern States referred to—appear to be due to the interaction of indifference, ignorance, and sheer brutality. That is to say, the ignorance or brutality (or both) of the class of men who kill insectivorous birds wantonly or for the “pot,” finds an ally in the indifference or ignorance (or both) of the lawmakers for the communities concerned. Indeed, it is certain that the voice of the pot-hunter is often heard and heeded in State legislative chambers, and by officers appointed to enforce laws which interfere with the “sport” of a certain kind of “sportsman.” On the other hand, the position of the Department of Agriculture places it beyond the reach of such influences, while agents of the federal government appointed to enforce the regulations of the department, would be much more fearless and efficient than are the present State game wardens who find the pot-hunter element arrayed against them.

WHAT WE LOSE THROUGH INSECT PESTS

The economic support of this movement is based upon statistics which are fairly startling. In 1904 the United States Department of Agriculture made a study of the annual losses to agriculture through destructive insects, and summarized the results of the investigation (in the Year Book for that year) by means of the following table:

PRODUCT	PERCENTAGE OF LOSS	AMOUNT OF LOSS
Cereals.....	10	\$200,000,000
Hay.....	10	53,000,000
Cotton.....	10	60,000,000
Tobacco.....	10	5,300,000
Truck Crops.....	20	53,000,000
Sugars.....	10	5,000,000
Fruits.....	20	27,000,000
Farm Forests.....	10	11,000,000
Miscellaneous Crops..	10	5,800,000
TOTAL.		\$420,100,000



THE GYPSY MOTH

(One of the most destructive of tree insects upon which many birds feed)

By way of the separate indictment of various individual insects, we are assured by experts that the codling moth and the curculio apple pest cause an annual shrinkage in the value of the apple crop of \$12,000,000 a year, to which must be added about \$8,250,000 spent each year for spraying the trees; that the chinch bug wheat pest costs wheat-growers about \$20,000,000 a year, and that the cotton-boll weevil damages that crop to the extent of \$20,000,000 annually; while the damage done yearly to trees by various pests is put at \$100,000,000. The number and especially the fecundity of highly destructive insect pests are amazing. Dr. Lintner, of the New Jersey Board of Agriculture, records 176 species which attack the apple tree, and about the same number infest peach, plum and cherry trees. The records of the United States Biological Survey show that the green leaf louse, which is very destructive to hop vines and many valuable fruits and vegetables, multiplies at the rate of ten sextillion to the pair in one season. The potato-bug is not so fecund, though one pair

will reproduce from fifty to sixty million in one season, while the natural increase of the gypsy moths would, in eight years, result in the defoliation of all of the trees in the United States.

HOW THE BIRDS CONSUME DESTRUCTIVE INSECTS

Weather conditions, parasites, fungi, insect diseases and mechanically applied poisons (most of which are both dangerous and expensive) together are insufficient to check the multiplication of insects without the assistance of insectivorous birds. Edward H. Forbush records seeing a pair of grosbeaks visit their nest 450 times in eleven hours, carrying to their young two or more larvae at a time. Sparrows, chickadees, vireos, martens and warblers made from forty to sixty trips an hour to their nests with all kinds of insects for their young. One of the reports of the Biological Survey records the finding of sixty grasshoppers in the crop of one nighthawk and 500 mosquitoes in another; thirty-eight cutworms in the crop of a blackbird and seventy cankerworms in the crop of a cedar bird. Professor Tschudi estimates that a song sparrow devours 1,500 larvae a day, and Professor Forbush says that a single yellow-throated warbler will consume 10,000 tree lice in a day. A scarlet tanager has been seen to devour gypsy moths at the rate of thirty-five a minute for eighteen minutes at a time. It is known that more than fifty species of birds feed upon different kinds of caterpillars, while thirty-eight species live largely upon destructive plant lice.

"By far the most efficient aids to man in controlling the codling moth are the birds," says the "Year Book" (1911) of the Department of Agriculture. A report of the Bureau of Entomology says that this insect does more damage to apples and pears than all of the other insect pests combined, this damage being estimated at from \$12,000,000 to \$15,000,000 a year. Thirty-six species of birds attack this insect, these species representing thirteen families, of which the three most important are the woodpeckers, the titmice and the sparrows. In some localities these birds destroy from 66 per cent. to 85 per cent. of the hibernating larvae of this insect.

GAME BIRDS ALSO SHOULD HAVE UNIFORM PROTECTION

Of much less economic value than the insectivorous birds are the birds properly classed as "game," though many of these render

important economic service to man. This is true especially of what are termed the "shore-birds" because they frequent the shores of all bodies of water, though many of them are also at home on the plains and prairies. Of the sixty-odd species which occur in North America, all deserve protection because of their economic value in destroying various harmful insects. Nine species (phalaropes, sandpipers and plovers) are known to feed upon mosquitoes, while twenty-four are persistent eaters of grasshoppers. Yet these birds are hunted so incessantly that they are nearing extermination. The Eskimo curlew has virtually disappeared, the golden plover, once very abundant, is now rare and the same is true of the black-bellied plover, which only a few years ago was common along the Atlantic coast.

The need of more efficient and uniform protection of game birds has long been apparent to every intelligent and unselfish person who has given the subject any serious attention, and to none more than to the *true* sportsmen, who are always in favor of legislation of this kind. For such men realize not only that all kinds of game is steadily disappearing, and that the decrease has been at an alarmingly rapid rate during the past twenty years or so, but that, as far as migratory game birds are concerned, this diminution is bound, within a short time, under the present conditions, to reach the point of absolute extinction.

AMERICAN DUCKS DRIVEN NORTHWARD

Taking up the case of the waterfowl, it may be explained that on this continent there are to be found, north of Mexico, sixty-odd species and subspecies of wild geese, ducks and swans. Formerly the greater number of these interesting and useful birds bred freely within the present limits of the United States, but now only about twenty species do so. The birds have been driven from place by place by advancing civilization, and its ruthless product, the market-hunter, and finally, during the past twenty-five years, have been deprived of their last great natural breeding grounds in this country, that is, the northern parts of Montana, North Dakota, and Minnesota, by the draining of hundreds of the lakes, ponds, marshes and sloughs in that region, and the building of the Northern Pacific and the Canadian Pacific railroads and their various branches. As a result, the great majority of North American ducks now breed in the lakes, streams, and marshes west of Hudson Bay.



THE RED-EYED VIREO¹

(An industrious eater of many kinds of destructive insects)



THE YELLOW WARBLER

(A common and diligent insect-catcher, with an especial fondness for cankerworms and injurious beetles)



THE WILSON'S SNIPE ("JACKSNIPE")

(A shore game bird which is rapidly disappearing, though it is very valuable as an insect-eater)



THE PURPLE MARTIN

(Likes the society of man, and is a persistent insect-eater)

MIGRATIONS FROM STATE TO STATE

The migration route of a large part of these birds in the fall is roughly a line between Great Slave Lake and Chesapeake Bay, and in the spring approximately the same route is followed in the return to the breeding grounds, though in both seasons many of the migrants doubtless follow the Mississippi

valley for a considerable distance. Large flocks also winter in the lower Mississippi valley, from Missouri southward, and especially along the coast of Louisiana, while those which breed west of the Rocky Mountains winter in southern and Lower California. It will be sufficient, however, for the purpose of illustration, to consider especially the fate of those which make their way regularly between the Great Slave Lake region and the Atlantic coast, from about Chesapeake Bay southward.

¹The bird portraits with this article are from William T. Hornaday's "American Natural History" (Copyright by him, 1904), and are reproduced here by the kind permission of his publishers, the Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

It is important to bear in mind that most of these ducks begin their southern migration in September or October, and their return to their northern breeding grounds in March or April. Some idea of the gantlet they are obliged to run, especially in their northern movement, will be derived from an examination of the following tables, which give the *open* season in most of the Atlantic Coast States in which they winter, and the inland States through which they are likely to pass, the spring shooting being indicated by italics:

North Carolina	November 1	to March 31
Virginia	October 1	„ May 1
Maryland	November 1-15	„ April 10
Delaware	October 1	„ April 10
West Virginia	September 1	„ April 20
Ohio	September 1	„ December 31
Michigan	October 15	„ December 31
Indiana	September 1	„ April 15
Illinois	September 1	„ April 15
Iowa	September 1	„ April 15
Nebraska	September 1	„ April 15
Wisconsin	September 1	„ January 1
Minnesota	September 1	„ December 1
South Dakota	September 1	„ April 10
North Dakota	September 7	„ December 15
Montana	September 1	„ January 1
Manitoba	September 1	„ December 1
Alberta	August 25	„ January 1
Saskatchewan	September 1	„ January 1

Now, for example, imagine a flock of canvasback ducks who have wintered in the Chesapeake Bay region and southward. They arrived from the north, say, about the middle of November, to find the shooting season in full blast, and from the hour of their arrival they are constantly harassed by the gunners, for the open season in Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, and North Carolina continues until long after the normal time for their departure for the North—in the early part of March. On their way northward, if they stop in West Virginia to feed or rest, they are shot at. Crossing Ohio they are protected, but in Indiana and Illinois they again find the gunners waiting for them, and also even in South Dakota, which permits spring shooting, while North Dakota does not, this being one of the many similar absurd contrasts between the game laws of adjoining States. But once over the line, and in Canada, these poor birds are safe at last, for here they will be protected by our Canadian cousins, who, it must be admitted, lead us easily in this matter of game preservation, as applied to both birds and animals.

The situation in the other States which lie along or near the Atlantic coast north of Maryland is generally better than from Mary-

land southward, though in these States there is much room for improvement, especially in Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. The open season in these States is as follows:

Maine	August 31	to January 1
New Hampshire	September 30	„ February 1
Vermont	August 31	„ January 1
Massachusetts	September 14	„ January 1
Rhode Island	August 15	„ March 31
Connecticut	August 31	„ January 1
New York	September 16	„ January 10
New Jersey	November 1	„ March 15
Pennsylvania	September 1	„ April 10

Many of the ducks from the Hudson Bay country move northward along the coast from Chesapeake Bay in the fall and spring, and there is another flight to and from the Labrador peninsula, though the number of these migrants is small in comparison with the great flocks from the northwest. It will be remarked that, of the States mentioned in the foregoing table, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania permit spring shooting, which means that the birds are hunted incessantly from the time of their arrival to their departure. And here again appear several absurd inconsistencies as between the open seasons in adjoining States. In Connecticut, for example, the season closes on the first of January, whereas just across the Sound, on Long Island, it continues for ten days longer, while in Rhode Island it is continued for *three months*, that is, until the 31st of March. Practically the same situation exists in New York and New Jersey; that is, the birds are protected in New York after the 10th of January, but if they venture over into New Jersey (a very short flight from the Great South Bay on Long Island, where thousands of them winter) before the 15th of March, they are likely to get shot for their carelessness. Again, the same fate awaits the New Jersey ducks who fail to remember that, although that State kindly permits them to live there after the 15th of March, just across the Delaware River is the State of Pennsylvania, which decrees that they may be slaughtered until the 10th of April.

WILD DUCKS IN DANGER OF EXTERMINATION

The foregoing facts will, perhaps, serve to explain why there is very real danger of the extermination of the wild ducks. In order to simplify the discussion, ducks only have been mentioned, but the situation is practically the same as regards the geese, swans, brant and other migratory waterfowl. The urgent need is for the immediate and absolute prohibition

of all spring shooting, which not only makes the open season unreasonably long, but is very destructive in its consequences. For it is known that many ducks mate early in the spring, and before they begin their northern migration. Market-hunters, especially, are very willing to take advantage of this fact. If they see a duck and a drake together, they will shoot the duck

first, knowing that the drake, after circling around for a while, will almost certainly return to find his mate. And the shooting of a duck who has already selected her mate means not alone the loss of that particular bird, but of an *entire brood*. It is the clear understanding of all this that

has brought about the prohibition of spring shooting in many of the States, and there can be no doubt that its continuance in other States is due largely to the influence of the market-hunters and restaurateurs upon the legislatures concerned.

MRS. SAGE'S GIFT OF
MARSH ISLAND

A mention has been made above of Mrs. Russell Sage's recent noble assistance to the cause of bird preservation in buying, as a permanent bird refuge Marsh Island, which is situated in the Gulf of Mexico, immediately west of the Mississippi delta region. The



THE ROBIN

(A most useful bird, beloved and generally protected in the North, but slaughtered as "game" in many Southern States)



THE DOWNY WOODPECKER

("Apparently this bird is almost worth its weight in gold to the farmer who has valuable trees and fruit"—Hornaday, "American Natural History")



THE BAND-TAILED PIGEON

(A useful bird of the Western States, where it is much hunted as "game")



THE NIGHTHAWK (SOMETIMES CALLED "BULL BAT")

(A valuable bird because it destroys great numbers of mosquitoes, beetles, and grasshoppers. It is frequently shot for "sport," as it flies)



THE BOBOLINK

(Minstrel of the meadows in the Northern States, and very useful as well as beautiful; but slain by countless thousands, as the "reed-bird" in several Southern States. This slaughter goes on every fall, within the corporation limits of the national capital—that is, in the lowlands along the Eastern branch of the Potomac River—and the street railway company has been asked to run special cars for the gunners)

island is about eighteen miles long, by about nine miles wide, and contains about 75,000 acres. It is chiefly marsh-land dotted by numerous lakes and ponds and threaded by a labyrinth of creeks and bayous, so it is an ideal winter retreat for waterfowl, especially mallards, black ducks, teal and canvasback ducks, besides blue geese and snow geese, herons, bitterns, loons, rails, and shore-birds. But there is also good shelter and plenty of natural food for the migratory insectivorous birds.



THE KILLDEER PLOVER

(An inland shore-bird, mainly insectivorous, which feeds largely on ants, grasshoppers, caterpillars, curculios, moths, etc.)

The dedication of this island in the future to bird-preservation is none the less satisfactory to the friends of that cause, for the reason that for the past fifty years it has been one of the greatest wildfowl slaughtering grounds on this continent. Every year thousands of ducks and geese were shot there for the markets of New Orleans, St. Louis, Cin-



THE WHITE-BREASTED NUTHATCH

(A hard-working little bird which stays in the Northern States the year 'round and feeds largely upon borers and other harmful tree insects)



THE AMERICAN EGRET

(Almost exterminated for its "aigrette" plumes, used in decorating women's hats)

cinnati, and Chicago. The acquirement of the island as a bird refuge was due primarily to the efforts of Mr. Edward H. McIlhenny of Avery Island, near by, and Mr. Charles



RETREAT OF EGRETS AND HERONS, MARSH ISLAND, LOUISIANA

(This island, long famous as a winter feeding ground for many species of migratory birds, has been purchased by Mrs. Russell Sage and dedicated as a bird refuge)



MAP OF MARSH ISLAND, WHICH MRS. SAGE HAS BOUGHT AS A BIRD REFUGE

Willis Ward, for it was they who secured an option on it and were chiefly instrumental in persuading Mrs. Sage to buy it,—at a price of about \$150,000. Apparently it is the intention eventually to offer this new bird sanctuary as a gift to the nation, provided the federal government or the State of Louisiana will undertake to preserve it for that purpose and to protect it against poachers. In all probability the Department of Agriculture

would gladly accept this responsibility and guardianship.

WHAT WILL CONGRESS DO?

Because of the novelty of the proposal involved, it is difficult, of course, to predict what will be the attitude of Congress toward the "Federal migratory bird bill," as it has come to be known. The fact, however, that



"WILL YOU LEAVE ANY ONE OF THEM OPEN?"

(Cartoon used in support of the Bayne bill, prohibiting the sale of game-birds in New York)



MARSH ISLAND AS IT WAS

(Market-gunner gathering a few mallards he has just shot)

From The Illustrated Outdoor World

three measures advocating federal protection for the birds, were unanimously reported to Congress last year after having had careful consideration by the Senate and House committees concerned, certainly indicates that those bodies did not regard the project as a dream of visionary sentimentalists. Indeed, the measure not only has the earnest support of naturalists, but has been declared sound by several lawyers who were engaged to look into the legality of the principle involved.



PROTECTED WATERFOWL AT MARSH ISLAND

THE NEW WOMAN IN THE MOHAMMEDAN WORLD

BY SAINT NIHAL SINGH

WHETHER you roam leisurely through the Mohammedan world, splotted, as it is, over Europe, Africa, and Asia—as the writer recently had the privilege of doing—or whether you carefully study the developments of Islam from your library table, no feature of present-day Moslem life is so outstanding as the transformation through which its female sex is passing, which already has given the various Islamic countries their vanguard of “new” women, and is steadily bringing forward the masses of femininity who lag behind. In Turkey, Persia, India, and Egypt, the principal lands populated by followers of the Prophet, this phenomenon is so prominent that he who runs may see it.

THE NEW WOMAN OF NEW TURKEY

No dispassionate review of the events which culminated in the removal of Abdul Hamid from the throne four years ago and the elevation of Mehmet V. to be the ruler of Turkey, can ignore the part played by the new woman in making the *coup d'état* successful. The fair relations of the male conspirators, secured by their sex from the workings of Abdul Hamid's spy system, carried messages from one leader to another, thus connecting up the various wires which finally fused into the revolt. Take these women plotters out of the Turkish revolution and it is hard to conceive just how the finely meshed net of espionage so ingeniously spread over his whole realm by the deposed Sultan could have been cheated of its prey.

To-day the new woman is playing just as useful a rôle in the Near East as she enacted during the days of the revolution. At the moment these words are being written, members of the fair sex belonging to the most exclusive families in Constantinople are selling flowers on the street to raise money for the sufferers from the earthquake which a short time ago devastated the eastern portion of the Ottoman Empire. What episode in the checkered past of the Caliph's capital can compare with this innovation!

Prominent in the ranks of advanced Turkish women is Selma Hanoum, the sister of

Riza Bey, who gained renown for himself as the President of the Turkish Chamber of Deputies, and is known to be an ardent advocate of female education. So radical is she that it is whispered she has been privately instructed by the “Young Turks” to dampen her ardor in advocating greater freedom for women, lest her sermons may prove too much of a disturbing factor in the erstwhile quiet harems. A shining member of this clever coterie is Hallideh Edib Hanoum, wife of Professor Salih Zeky Bey, of the Imperial University at Constantinople, who holds the distinction of being the first Turkish woman to secure an academic degree. Even as a child she was exceedingly bright, and was decorated, when she was fifteen years old, by the whimsical Abdul Hamid in a moment of generosity, for translating an English book into her mother-tongue. She contributes to the current literature of her land, and has written several volumes. Miss Nazli Halid, the second Mohammedan woman of Turkey to obtain the decree of Bachelor of Arts, is equally prominent as a worker for the elevation of her sex.

Among the other female Turkish authors may be mentioned Naghier Hanoum; Fatima Alihé Hanoum, daughter of Jevdet Pasha, famous as a statesman and historian, and Eminé Semie Hanoum, her younger sister; and Abdul Hak's sister, a popular poetess. These and many others contribute to the columns of *Hanoum lar Gazettaise*—“Women's Gazette”—published from Constantinople. Some of them are conversant with French, German, or English, in addition to their own language, and, in a few cases, they speak and write Persian and ancient and modern Greek as well. The most distinguishing characteristic of each member of this enlightened sisterhood is an irrepressible passion to contribute her mite to the uplift of less fortunate Turkish women.

THE FEMININE PATRIOTS OF PERSIA

The part played by the new woman in Persia's national crises during recent years is no less significant than that enacted by their



A GROUP OF MOSLEM STUDENTS IN THE AMERICAN COLLEGE FOR GIRLS AT CONSTANTINOPLE

Turkish sisters. When the constitution was given to the people of Iran, the progressive women of the land of Omar went into ecstasies over it. Some of them wrote hallelujahs congratulating the nation upon securing a more liberal form of government, and expressed the desire to take part in the demonstrations that celebrated the assembling of the first parliament at Teheran. Subsequently, when Mohammed Ali sought to crush out the liberties of his subjects and plunged them into a civil war, some of the women assisted the revolution by contributing to its exchequer the money secured by selling their personal jewels and ornaments; and lent their aid to their mutinous menfolk by transmitting political documents through the medium of the women relations of other leaders who passed them on to their relatives of the opposite sex, thus forming a sort of subtle endless chain of communication which defied detection. A few even went the length of demonstrating their love for freedom by actually donning masculine attire, joining the ranks of the soldiers, and taking part in the fighting.

Some of the public-spirited women of the Shah's domain sought to dissuade the statesmen from fastening the incubus of foreign

loans upon the country, and helped them in their endeavor to prevent the tide of Russian aggression from submerging their country. One of their many efforts in this connection took the form of a demonstration in the *Mejlis* or parliament. Scores of ladies emerged from the shadowy seclusion of the harems that had sheltered them throughout their existence from contact with the work-a-day world, and marched in a body to the Parliament house. Arrived there, they insisted upon being given a hearing by the representatives of the nation. Their faces were veiled in the orthodox style, but the eyes that gazed upon the unfamiliar scene flashed fire. Realizing that he had to deal with an unusually delicate situation, the President diplomatically decided to receive the deputation. Thereupon the ladies dramatically proceeded to impress the members of Parliament with the necessity of presenting a bold front to Slav encroachment, not hesitating, it is stated by responsible authorities, to flourish revolvers and vow to take the lives of their husbands and sons and kill themselves if their petition was ignored.

The Persian women have been equally helpful in constructive work. Mr. Morgan Shuster relates in his recently published work,



THE BEGUM OF JANJIRA, THE ONLY EMANCIPATED
QUEEN OF THE MOSLEM WORLD

"The Strangling of Persia," that a woman volunteered to furnish him certain figures which were badly needed by the Finance Department, of which he then was the head, which no one else could give. Although she endangered her own life and fortune as well as that of her family by her act, she readily gave aid to the government. Other feminine patriots of Iran have set themselves to work to educate girls and young women and inspire them to fight for the preservation of national entity and the advancement of emancipation.

THE ADVANCED MOSLEM WOMEN OF INDIA

The 60,000,000 Mohammedans of India, who, unlike their fellow-religionists in Turkey and Persia, are not convulsed by political spasms, but under the peaceful conditions secured to them by the firm hand of Great Britain, are quietly endeavoring to rise from the abyss in which they have lived ever since the downfall of the Mogul Empire—a task, for all its lack of ostentation, no less arduous than the spectacular revolutionary process through which the two westerly Moslem nations are passing—are being helped in their labor in no mean measure by the women of their community.

Prominent in the ranks of Indian Mohammedan leaders is the Begum of Bhopal, who enjoys the unique distinction of being the only woman in the Islamic world ruling in

her own name and right. Though she has not seen fit to cast aside the veil, she is recognized by all authorities to be an efficient administrator of her native state, nestling in the heart of India, which has an area of nearly 7,000 square miles and a population of about 1,000,000 souls. She has established several schools for girls and has made adequate provision for the medical treatment of her female subjects. Whenever she tours through any portion of her territory, she makes special inquiries regarding the condition of the women, and issues special orders to promote their welfare and happiness. On her recent return to India from a trip to England and Europe she set apart a large sum of money to endow a college for women at Delhi, which, judging from the details that have leaked out, promises to be a most up-to-date institution in every particular. By means of lectures, she is doing everything in her power to bestir the Moslems in all parts of Hindostan and inspire them to march forward in the path of progress.

This Mohammedan queen's example is being emulated by the Begum of Janjira, the consort of the Nawab of the state of that name located in the Bombay Presidency. She has induced her husband to set up many modern female schools in his domains, and just recently has established a woman's club in her capital.

Many other enlightened Moslem women of India, of lesser station, are working hard to advance the cause of feminism in their community. To mention only a few of these propagandists: A Mohammedan widow of Calcutta conducts a school for girls of exclusive families, who, on account of prevailing prejudices, have not hitherto been permitted by their relatives to take advantage of the educational opportunities offered by the government. In Delhi, the new imperial center of Hindostan, an Islamite woman edits a monthly periodical, every page of which is brimful of inspiration for feminine uplift. From Lahore—an important Mohammedan center in India—Miss Fatima (the daughter of Mahbub Alam, a celebrated journalist) issues another such publication befittingly entitled *Shareef Bibi*—"Gentlewoman."

PROGRESSIVE WOMEN OF EGYPT

In Egypt, where, on account of the British occupation, the followers of the Prophet live under conditions similar to those of their confrères in India, Princess Nazli, an aunt of the Khedive, is performing a task akin to that

undertaken in Hindostan by the Begums of Bhopal and Janjira. Herself highly educated, enjoying the advantage of European travel, and emancipated to the extent of receiving male visitors at her receptions, she is urging the men of the land of the Pharaohs to realize that female education constitutes the pivotal point of their national well-being.

Recently a paper prepared by Bahisht-el-Badia, daughter of Hafni Nasif, an influential Egyptian, was read at a Moslem gathering at Heliopolis, a suburb of Cairo, in which, amongst other things, she asked that parents who could afford it should be compelled to give at least primary schooling to their daughters; that better hospital and dispensary facilities should be provided for women, females admitted into the medical colleges, and a nurse and midwife maintained in every city and village in Egypt to attend women; that special schools should be established to teach girls domestic science and the care of children; that a competent teacher should be employed in every educational institution to instruct the female pupils in good manners and the tenets of their religion; that a university for women should be established; that the practice of polygamy should be discontinued; and that the hiring of women to stand around the coffin at funerals beating their breasts and faces should be forbidden. While some time must elapse before these reforms can be put into actual operation, their enunciation by Mme. Badia and several other women agitators shows the direction in which the wind is blowing in Egypt.

Not a few Moslem women of the Nile-land have lately displayed Pan-Islamic sentiments by collecting funds to help Turkey fight Italian aggression in Tripoli. Mme. Zubeiden Hanem Falhi, who collected over \$4,000 and forwarded it to the Turkish Minister for War, may be mentioned as a leading spirit amongst Egyptian feminine Pan-Islamites. Attention may be directed, in passing, to the fact that many Mohammedan women have distinguished themselves in warfare against the Italians in Tripoli during recent battles.

To-day, as one surveys the whole Mohammedan world, similar examples of the new woman are to be found scattered here and there. Many of them have taken it upon themselves to open small academies to educate girls, to write and translate books, to conduct newspapers and magazines devoted to feminine interests, to advance learning amongst the members of their sex, and to alleviate the miseries of their sisters by medical ministrations, nursing, and settlement work.

THE NEW MAN IN MOSLEM LANDS

Concurrently with the advent of the new woman in Moslem lands, a new type of man also has made his appearance. Educated either in the Occident or nurtured on Western education in his own country, it is given to him to realize that no race can progress and develop in a properly balanced manner if one-half of it is left uneducated and backward, and that the modernization of man alone will not be able to lift up the nation, but that it must simultaneously be accompanied by the betterment of the condition of the women. Awake to this fact, he understands that something more is required than progress along military, naval, industrial, and commercial lines, if the Moslems want to rise in the scale of nations to the height achieved by the Americans and Europeans. They must free their women from the hampering social customs that make it impossible for them to advance, give them an education that will enlighten, ennoble, and liberalize them, and reorganize society so that the gentler sex shall have an equal opportunity to grow, with that enjoyed by the males.

This attitude is not merely reflected in words, but finds expression in the actions of the new man of the Moslem world. For instance, the Nizam of Hyderabad, who rules over nearly 83,000 square miles of territory and more than 13,250,000 people (the largest area and population administered by any native chief in India), whose forefathers possessed as large harems as any in the world, is monogamous.

The changed attitude of the new type of Mohammedan man, in the nature of things, is resulting in bettering the status of the female members of their community. Indeed, it must be plainly stated that these men are the backbone of the movement which has created the vanguard of new Islamic women, and which is rapidly filing the fetters of the females of the race.

MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES AND INFLUENCES

The birth of the modernized type of humanity, of both sexes, in Moslem lands undoubtedly is due to the impact of the Occident upon the Orient, the missionary influence playing a large part in the liberalization of Mohammedan men and women. It is noteworthy that in every Mussulman country, without a single exception, the first girls' school was established under the auspices and through the instrumentality of the Western

(and eke American) religious teachers. To-day no part of the Moslem world (with the exception of Afghanistan, which still stubbornly repels the Christian propagandists) is without such missionary academies.

As a rule these institutions are of an elementary character, and only teach the rudiments of the three R's, a little sewing, and simple domestic economy. Girls of all classes are admitted, and in all cases proselytizing is subordinated to educational work. However, here and there the missionaries are

conducting academies where the highest form of culture is imparted exclusively to young ladies. The most prominent endeavor of this kind is the American College for Girls in Constantinople, established in 1871 as a high school, and in 1890 raised to the status of a college. Most of the members of its faculty are American women with American university diplomas, and it is being maintained through the liberality of American philanthropists. At present it has 125 pupils, about 31 of them Moslems, who are taught English literature and composition, German, French, vernacular, mathematics, the Bible, physiology, history, physics, Latin, Greek, chemistry, biology, ethics, and music. Another institution maintained by missionaries for the higher education of women in Moslem lands is the Isabella Thoburn College at Lucknow, India, which also owes its existence to American generosity.

GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS

These missionary schools are being supplemented by female academies established and conducted by the various governments. The Turkish administration, despite its financial difficulties and perplexing war problem, has provided girls' schools of a more or less modern type in all the principal cities, while in the

small schools attached to practically every mosque in the empire, children of both sexes are taught the rudiments of knowledge, in addition to learning the Koran by heart. The government maintains a well-equipped and adequately staffed institution for the training of teachers at Constantinople; another for medical and nursing training; and art and domestic science academies—all for the exclusive benefit of the fair sex. The Persian administration, in spite of the chaotic state of its affairs, has not altogether forgotten its responsibility in this matter.

India, of all the Mohammedan countries, is most fortunate in this respect, a network of female schools being spread over the whole peninsula, there being high schools and colleges maintained by the British-Indian Government exclusively for women. The British occupation of Egypt has been instrumental in bringing similar blessings to the Moslem woman of the land of the Pharaohs. Lord Kitchener, the new Agent-General at Cairo, is displaying commendable energy in multiplying girls' schools and is sanguine about the advance of female education in that part of the world. The European occupation of the northern belt and other Islamic



HADJI MIRZA YAHYA, OF TEHERAN
(Who is an ardent advocate of the emancipation
of Persian women)

parts of Africa is gradually resulting in the enlightenment of the rising generation of women.

These direct agencies for Moslem feminine progress are being supplemented, in an indirect manner, by the presence of American and European women, who to-day are to be found in all parts of the world, and whose example unconsciously and involuntarily is tending toward the freeing of Mohammedan women from handicapping customs.

The sum total of the effect of these agencies is evident in the presence of the vanguard of new women, who, in small numbers, are to be found in all Islamic lands, as it also is apparent in the recruits from the uneducated women.

THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS

THIS is the last of a series of seven articles which have appeared in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, beginning with the June number. "Big Business and the Citizen," by the same author as the present article, was published in two parts in June and July. It was followed by "The Borrower and the Money Trust," by A. W. Atwood, "The Efficiency of Labor," by Charles B. Going, "The Investor," by A. H. Gleason, "The Middleman," by A. W. Atwood. The series now closes with "The Captain of Industry" printed below.

It is believed that the general plan, which has been outlined in these articles, will do more to prevent the development and continuance of monopoly than any of the more drastic remedies which have been tried or suggested. Though not presented as a panacea, it will draw the fangs of the predatory representatives of Big Business, while bringing no injury to legitimate enterprise.

Publicity of all the essential facts of organization, methods and operation of those concerns which have control of a substantial portion of the field in any industry is the keynote. The facts are to be obtained by a Commission on Interstate Trade, which will substitute for the haphazard methods now being tried, a firm and orderly procedure.

In the present article the official representative of Big Business is discussed under the title, "The Captain of Industry." The invaluable services which he has rendered to Society are shown; but it is also indicated that he has, in later years, wandered far from his legitimate function. He has in many cases, become a speculator instead of a manufacturer, and our industrial efficiency has been threatened and our industrial progress has been halted thereby. Mr. Thompson shows that under a régime of Publicity the Captain of Industry will be forced to return to his proper task, namely, making the most effective combination of men and materials, to his own advantage and the advantage of the public.

THE CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY

BY HOLLAND THOMPSON

(Assistant Professor of History, College of the City of New York)

AT a public dinner in New York a year ago the subject for discussion was "The Relation of Government to Business." One of the speakers opened his address with the following striking sentence: "The most remarkable thing about the relations of the government to business seems to me to be that it is necessary to discuss them at all."

This statement expresses better than pages of description the attitude of many exponents of Big Business to-day. Business must not be impeded in its triumphal progress. No wrong may be righted, no injustice may be checked because such action would "disturb business." Years ago such an attitude was even more common, but in these days many of our industrial kings have seen the handwriting on the wall, and have amended their speech if not their practices. A large rem-

nant, however, has not yet comprehended the message.

Such industrial survivals of past ages do not realize that they are living in a new world. They do not see that they are loudly proclaiming the divine right of kings to an age which has, decisively and finally, repudiated that doctrine. The story of King Canute conveys no meaning to them. We are told that this monarch set up his throne on the seashore and commanded the waves to refrain from approaching him. The waves wet the royal feet, and if the throne had not been removed would have drenched and overwhelmed the royal person. This happened 900 years ago, and similar commands to respect royalty are no more powerful to-day. Our Captain of Industry must come to realize this fact.

Who Is this Captain of Industry?

That grim old Scot, Thomas Carlyle, is credited with coining the phrase "Captain of Industry," which has now passed into common speech, though, as often happens, with a meaning somewhat changed. The Captain of Industry whom Carlyle knew, was the strong man who had struggled to the front, often from the lower ranks of society. He was the potter, knowing his trade, who had become the master first of a few wheels, and then of many; or the cotton spinner, who had gathered a few operatives around him, and had seen his plant expand until he counted his workmen by the hundred. Under his charge the raw materials had been subdued and made to serve mankind. *Because he was able to make better combinations of men and materials than his fellows he rose from the ranks.*

We have seen a similar development in America. The Studebaker brothers, skilful in wood and iron, made good wagons, and a little factory was set up. Gradually it expanded as the demand grew, other kinds of vehicles were added, and the Studebaker name is now known far and wide. In a log hut Washington Duke manufactured, crudely and roughly, the tobacco grown upon his few acres, and then sold the product at retail from a wagon. The little factory grew during his lifetime into a great establishment which sent its products around the world. A half-century ago John B. Stetson with two workmen began the manufacture of hats. Now the employees are numbered in the thousands. A little woolen mill with a dozen looms established by a weaver who had saved a few dollars, has in the course of time come to clothe many thousands. Go back into our industrial history and hundreds of similar instances present themselves.

These men had no advantages over their neighbors, other than their skill, their shrewdness, and their ability to manage the men they called in to work for them. Their factories were their pride, their workmen often their friends and neighbors, who came to them for advice and counsel when difficulties appeared. Around their factories grew up little villages, many of which have become flourishing cities.

They bought their materials as cheaply as they could and sold their product for the best price they could get. They put honest material and honest work into their goods striving to make them durable rather than cheap. Their advertising was effective and cheap,—

the personal recommendation of satisfied customers. They kept no elaborate cost sheets but the size of the plant was such that the eye of the master was everywhere. Generally he had a fairly accurate idea of the efficiency of the different departments, and of the individual workmen, though the modern efficiency engineer might be able to show him many weak places.

Men such as these, and their establishments, were the product of their times. They were public benefactors, for they seized upon neglected opportunities and transformed crude material into the necessities of life. Capital alone or labor alone is ineffective. The man who combines them in due proportion renders high service, and deserves much from society. By them the machine was brought into service to replace the more wasteful methods of former days. Jealousy and envy hardly touched them, for it was agreed that their success was deserved.

How the Captain of Industry Changed as the Years Went By

Such was the Captain of Industry in an earlier, simpler America, but such conditions did not last. As the business grew to greatness, too often he or his son developed less attractive traits. He began to think of himself as made of different clay. His achievements seemed to him not of a different degree but of a different character. To the great god Success, as typified by his business, he was ready to sacrifice the public, his workmen, and in extreme cases his family.

When the public interest conflicted with the apparent success of his business, so much the worse for the public. If the people refused to yield to his demands he bribed or bullied their representatives,—aldermen, legislators, or even judges. Naturally there was resentment and in many cases our Captain of Industry went into politics, finding it easier to arrange that only men easily influenced were elected to office.

Once the employer and his men had felt that they were working together toward a common end; but gradually the former began to look upon the latter as no more than a part of his machinery of production. In his own eyes he became a superior being "giving work" to those of a lower order. Sympathy and fellow feeling were lost and the workmen began to think of rebellion. These attempts to thwart his will were met with mingled astonishment and rage by our conquering Cæsar, who could not comprehend such insolence. He was too much obsessed by

self to develop a social consciousness. In one respect at least he was a thoroughgoing individualist. He believed in perfect liberty—for himself.

The New Captain of Industry Who Has Succeeded the Old

At this point another figure comes to the front and usurps the position and the name of the Captain of Industry. The latter knew his particular mode of production from raw material to finished product. The usurper calls himself a financier and seeks control of various industries, the product of which perhaps he has hardly seen. He neither knows nor cares to learn the processes of manufacture. So we have "railroad kings" whose knowledge of that complicated activity was gained in a parlor car, and presidents of great combinations, dealing with the primary necessities of life, whose training for their positions was secured in a law office or a banking house. *In fact the new personages deal less in the real tangible product than in the paper evidences of a share in the control of such product.* They are, in numerous cases, with some notable exceptions, not manufacturers but promoters and speculators who expect their profits from the investing rather than from the consuming public.

In other cases they are but "hired men" placed in office by the financial interests which have undertaken to combine the leading concerns in that particular branch of industry. Their own stake in the business is often negligible, except as they may receive the crumbs which fall from their employers' table. They take orders from a board of directors as ignorant as themselves, and transmit them to their subordinates. Men, even whole establishments, are no more than pawns on a chessboard.

The New Managers Are Sometimes Successful

Justice demands, however, that we acknowledge that these financial agents have sometimes succeeded better than might have been expected. Sometimes a fresh point of view, a mind unfettered by the routine which has bound those bred in that particular industry, may discover opportunities for economy or for expansion hitherto unnoticed. Such cases nevertheless are rare.

Where the combination is successful, those in control are seldom manufacturers only. Their chief profits come not in dividends but from the stock market, from reorganizations, from exchange of stocks for bonds, or the

reverse. The common stock of the old American Tobacco Company and its affiliated organizations, in the beginning, was chiefly water, and was sold with difficulty. After a time bonds were offered the holders of the stock in exchange for the certificates, and the stock gravitated into the hands of a few men. When it was safely concentrated, dividends increased enormously, and we have seen the stock sell, even after the decree of dissolution was announced, at more than \$500. This case though more flagrant than most differs only in degree and not in kind from others which might be mentioned. The story is told at length in the report of the Commissioner of Corporations.

How Did Our New Captain of Industry Use His Power?

When several of the important concerns in every line of industry came under unified control, the attempt was made to include others, peaceably or forcibly. If the old-fashioned Captain of Industry wished to preserve the independence of the business which he or his father had built up, war was declared, *for the managers of the new organization soon learned that the anticipated profits of combination could not be reaped unless substantial monopoly was secured.*

This does not mean that there are not real economies in concentration and combination. There are many legitimate opportunities of reducing expenses, by eliminating waste and duplication of effort. Each plant may do the particular kind of work for which it is best fitted; a trade secret, or an improved method becomes the common property of all the mills, the selling force may be reduced, or the same force may be spread over a greater territory. A smaller office force is required, and the cost of supervision may be reduced. There are, however, certain disadvantages to which reference will be made later.

The war on the independent was waged with scant regard to fairness. The methods of attack were and are many. We have seen prices reduced only in the territory of a smaller competitor, we have seen a great concern making several grades or varieties of product reduce the price of one below cost in order to cripple or crush a competitor who made that one only. We have seen, and we see to-day, wherever the combination dares, the attempt to force the buyer or the lessee to deal only with the trust. Confidential agents of the combination have sought employment with the independent, or his employees have been bribed to report the

details of his business to the power which was striving to crush him.

Mysterious Forces Hamper the Independent Manufacturer

This modern Captain of Industry is, as was said above, often a part of a great financial organism which may be able to exert pressure upon the independent in various other ways. His raw materials may be delayed because the cars bringing them are mysteriously sidetracked at a way station; or the railroad may unexpectedly fail to furnish cars to carry away his products; or his bank may apologetically decline to extend further credit.

To what extent these unfair and dishonest methods have been employed is not known and will never be known. Men, jealous of their personal honor, exemplary in their private life, patrons of art and learning, liberal supporters of charitable institutions, have by some queer moral twist brought themselves to traffic with spies and informers. They have stooped to debauch a board of aldermen or a legislature, and in many cases the voters themselves, to the end that special privileges be granted them, or that the reasonable applications of a competitor might be denied, or that unfair burdens might be imposed upon him. In his private capacity the Captain of Industry often has a conscience which he does not exhibit when acting for his corporation.

Why Has the Captain of Industry Thought Such Actions Necessary?

One cause of such ruthless attempts to gain complete control was the failure of the original combination to return the expected profits from operation. The plants which were combined were not always the newest or the best equipped, and therefore the average efficiency could not be the highest. Almost invariably these inferior plants were taken into the combination upon an inflated valuation, and the concern was charged with a floating debt so enormous that the fixed charges absorbed the greater part of the income. If the stock was to be sold some profits must be shown.

But it is in this capacity of speculator that our modern Captain of Industry appears to the least advantage. In his private capacity he would serve as a trustee with unswerving honesty, but as trustee for the investor in the stocks and bonds of his corporation he has often been guilty of practices which cannot be defended under any code of morals except that of tooth and claw. Mr. Gleason in the October number of the REVIEW has shown some of the methods by which the insider has

been enriched and the public defrauded. All these are no part of his legitimate functions as a manufacturer, or as any other sort of a business man, for that matter.

The Largest Concerns Not Always Most Efficient

Here it may be worth while to emphasize the fact that the largest concerns are not always most efficient. There seems to be a point beyond which increase in size does not invariably afford increased economy, at least with the grade of managing ability so far developed. It seemed to be generally agreed in the testimony before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce last winter, that a steel plant with a capital of \$200,000,000, for example, can produce and sell, at least as cheaply as the Steel Corporation. The point of high efficiency in some other industries may be reached with a much lower capitalization.

"No tree reaches quite to the sky," is a phrase which may be applied to men even though we have developed financial giants. There is a limit to the number of men a general, however skilful, can use effectively. There is likewise a point beyond which even industrial generals can neither think nor project their personalities. Here is the weakness of combinations of abnormal size, as a study of our great industrial mammoths will prove.

Let us grant for the sake of argument that the great combination may be able to get, either by purchase, or by ownership of the sources of supply, cheaper raw materials than its smaller rivals. Let us acknowledge that it may reduce materially the selling cost. Grant further that, legitimately or illegitimately, it can cut the cost of transportation to the bone. Suppose also that its heads, through their financial affiliations, can force customers to buy at an exorbitant price. Let us agree that its size and influence can assure it an abundant supply of capital when needed. Grant all of these—though in doing so we may be too liberal—and we have not told the whole story. *The important factor of Labor engaged in production must be considered.*

Where Big Business Fails to Produce Results

The actual labor force is seldom so efficient, man for man, in these great combinations as in single independent concerns, because it is not so well handled. Thomas Carlyle was not an economist but we are beginning to

comprehend that in his wildest frenzy there was much economic truth. For example, when he says, "Love of men cannot be bought by cash payment and without love men cannot endure to be together," he utters a profound truth. How can men feel affection for an employer who, perhaps, has never seen the plant, or feel loyalty toward a force?

Big Business has always been weakest in dealing with labor. In the production of an article in which the chief cost is the raw material, or the expense of distribution, the weakness may not be so apparent *but it seems to be established that as the proportion of labor rises, the efficiency of Big Business declines.*

Therefore a well equipped concern, large enough to gain economies in buying and selling,—provided that its manager be correspondingly efficient—will be able to exist and prosper in the face of *any combination likely to be formed, provided that it be protected from unfair and predatory competition on the part of a stronger adversary.*

This does not mean that the unfit should be bolstered up. The sooner the incompetent manufacturer fails and gives way to the wiser man who can use the opportunities to greater advantage the better for the public. The sooner the badly located, improperly constructed plant is closed the greater the public gain. And yet, because the public does not always think clearly, it sometimes blames the trust for doing what is in some cases, the only justifiable thing, that is, closing down a plant which can not produce goods cheaply in comparison with others.

Nor is this demand for protection of the smaller concern from unfair competition a plea for mediocrity, nor is it an attempt to restrain the strong from developing legitimately. *But these concerns over which our new Captain of Industry reigns, have not grown; they have been made.* Few would deny the right of a single concern to grow larger, for bigness has not yet been declared a sin. It is size attained by absorbing or destroying other concerns to which we object. No concern is likely to dominate a field absolutely on account of its natural growth.

An absolute monopoly is of course difficult, if not impossible of attainment, and except in the easily regulated natural monopolies, will not be tolerated in the present temper of the American people. They are not willing to accept monopoly regulated or unregulated. It is the settled belief of the great body of our citizens that no man or set of men can be trusted with absolute power. To accept absolute monopoly means to deliver the tax-

ing power into irresponsible hands. No principle is more firmly fixed than that taxes may not be imposed without the consent of those taxed. Yet this is not the most serious reason for refusing to allow the Captain of Industry to assume dictatorial powers.

Possible Extortion Not the Most Serious Objection to Monopoly

On first thought it would seem that this power of extorting monopoly price, and the probability of seeing the power exercised must be the most serious objection to monopoly. This view is shortsighted and superficial. There is a deeper objection, from the standpoint of the public welfare.

The greatest evil accompanying monopoly is the inevitable hindrance to technical progress. Though the size and wealth of a great combination may enable it to maintain a staff of scientists and inventors, the fundamental improvements have not been made to order. They have been worked out in laboratories or workshops, they have come because they were needed under the spur of necessity. A substantial monopoly is inclined to rest upon its oars, even to the extent of burying patents. Why send costly machinery to the scrap heap or make extensive and expensive charges in processes and plant when the consuming public must come to buy?

Just what difference does this make? A moment's thought will give the answer. *We cannot maintain our present standards of life, to say nothing of raising them, unless improvements in processes and machinery continue to be made.* The poorest home to-day contains comforts and luxuries which the richest could not have a generation or two ago, because the amount of labor necessary to produce an article has been so reduced, that the labor set free may engage in the production of other articles. To illustrate: Once the whole energy of the population was devoted to securing enough food to maintain existence. Less than a hundred years ago over 80 per cent. of the population of the United States reported by the Census as engaged in gainful occupations, was engaged in agriculture. In 1910 less than 36 per cent. was so engaged, though the population as a whole has a fuller, more varied diet. If as much labor were required to produce a bushel of wheat to-day as a hundred years ago, bread would be a luxury.

Instances can be multiplied. Nails are so cheap that it has been calculated that it is cheaper for a carpenter not to stoop to pick up one he has dropped. The invention of

machinery for nail making has replaced the labor formerly required. The same is true of matches, of paper, of cotton cloth, and of hundreds of other things.

As our natural resources become exhausted, and as our population grows, not only through natural increase, but through immigration, we must continue to substitute machinery for hand labor, must devise new processes to the same end, or go backward. These machines, these processes, though carefully guarded for a period, become common property in time. We should not begrudge the inventor's gains. Though they may seem exorbitantly large, our condition is no worse than it was before the invention was made, and after a limited time all share the benefits.

Monopoly has always been slow to take advantage of changes and improvements, upon which our continued progress depends, and this is the most important objection to allowing complete concentration.

How Can Monopoly Be Prevented?

Since the strongest weapon of the combination is predatory competition, any method by which this competition can be checked is likely to prevent the development of a complete monopoly. Though the American Tobacco Company, for example, continued to absorb many independent concerns, there is a limit to the continuance of such a policy. In an industry where the profits are large, independent concerns will constantly be organized, and, as they are bought up others will come into existence, sometimes for the purpose of selling out to the combination. Obviously our Captains of Industry cannot continue such a policy of absorption indefinitely. But where, by any, or all, of the predatory methods mentioned above, they can threaten the existence of the competing concern, fewer men will enter the industry.

Publicity the Cure for Predatory Competition

Full publicity of the organization, operation, and methods of a great concern will do more to keep its managers in the paths of rectitude than any number of penal statutes. The statutes will be necessary in some cases, for there are men who are hardened and defiant, but the number is small.

A Commission on Interstate Trade armed with the power to secure full knowledge of the workings of a business, and then to publish the result of its findings, would check unfair methods almost instantly. Heretofore, the

doings of the directors and officers of Big Business have been shrouded with an impenetrable veil of secrecy. Tear it aside, make it impossible for them to strike in the dark, and the blow will be withheld. Men do not openly plot wickedness.

The different forms which this commission might take were discussed at some length in the July number of this magazine. They differ in detail but the essential idea of Publicity is common to all. Two bills to establish such a commission were introduced in the United States Senate at its last session.

The plan of Senator Newlands provides for a commission of three members, with liberal salaries and a long term of office. The powers given are chiefly those of visitation, examination, investigation and publication. All the essential facts of organization, condition and methods of all corporations doing a business of more than \$5,000,000 a year, are to be reported at regular intervals and so much of this report as seems expedient may be published. The commission may on its own motion, whenever it seems desirable, make a fuller investigation of the affairs of any concern and publish its findings.

The plan of Senator Cummins calls for all this and more. In his bill the commission is charged with the duty of preserving competition, by preventing any concern from employing an undue proportion of the capital engaged in the industry. To prevent too great a community of interest interlocking directorates and dummy directors are forbidden, holding companies are forbidden, and also the ownership of one corporation by another. The close association of the officers of great corporations with the banking power is also hindered by preventing such officers from acting as directors of banks. Both of these plans recognize and rely upon the overwhelming power of public opinion, the greatest force in the world. The publicity of wrongdoing would have a wonderful effect. The consumer of the product would benefit no less than the investor in the securities of the corporation. Labor would find some of its demands answered, and finally the citizen who generally falls into one or more of the other divisions as well, would be relieved.

What of the Captain of Industry Under a Régime of Publicity?

In one aspect the Captain of Industry is a public benefactor, in another a menace. So long as he was satisfied with his proper functions, he was a constructive force. Many have been seduced from their proper function

by the lure of illegitimate profits. Publicity of corporate affairs would make such profits impossible of attainment and their energies would be turned back into their proper channels. *The proper function of the Captain of Industry is to make the most effective combinations of men and materials of production, a task difficult enough, and important enough to absorb the whole energy of any man.* This task he would be compelled to undertake, or else surrender his command to another more fit. He would cease to be a speculator and would again become a manufacturer.

The present erratic and unsatisfactory method of "regulation by lawsuit" would fall into disuse. The terror of the sword of the law would threaten only the guilty, instead of being waved before the eyes of all as at present. A sane and orderly procedure would succeed the present chaos.

When forced to cease relying on unfair methods, some of the Captains of Industry now accounted great will prove incapable and some of the great combinations will fall apart, for, as the investigations of the Bureau of Corporations have clearly shown, only those combinations with a substantial monopoly have been able to make exorbitant profits. As these concerns are forced to fight according to rules of fairness, the importance of the independents will increase.

Now let us survey the field over which we have come since this series began six months ago. It has covered much ground, has viewed the great problem from many different angles, and now let us gather together and formulate the impressions, the facts, and the principles developed in the discussion by summarizing the articles which have gone before.

We have found that our great problems which we have thought so new are really old. The problem of monopoly (which we have not yet reached in our industrial life) is as old as the ages, older than competition, in organized society at least. The mere problem of bigness is not new. Many times in history great aggregations of capital have appeared and have controlled a large share of the business, whatever it may have been.

The fact that a problem is old, does not make it less real, or less important, however, and the citizen has come to believe that the problems of present day Big Business are vital. At the same time he feels his ignorance, and his inability to learn the truth for himself. Both the methods and the results of Big Business are presented to him in the most contradictory forms. The citizen de-

mands to know the methods by which these results were reached. Then he can make up his mind whether there is inherent evil in bigness alone, a decision at which he has not yet arrived. The citizen is coming to feel that perhaps bigness is inevitable, but he does not know. He would like to keep active competition alive if it be possible, but he has learned that brutal, unrestrained competition must end in monopoly and he wishes to learn whether a tolerant competition is possible.

He has become convinced that some of the ills arise from the secrecy by which the policy of Big Business is shrouded. He has seen the value of publicity as a regulator of public utilities, and in political affairs, and he is disposed to determine its value in industrial and commercial undertakings. He has a feeling that it will correct many of the evils which he fears. He feels that he has a right to do this, for the good of the whole of society is superior to the selfish interests of a few.

We have seen also that Big Business has entered many fields. Naturally, banking, the most logical of trusts, because in it the economies of concentration are most obvious, has been invaded. While Mr. Atwood, in his sane and informing article (see REVIEW OF REVIEWS for August), was able to find no formal organization, no president, no board of directors, he did find an uncrowned king. He found an amazing degree of concentration in the money-lending power, a decided community of interest among the great units. This great unformed, unorganized institution, the money trust, wields enormous power *and wields it secretly, unsupervised and unchecked.* This is one trust which economic laws called into being. For its evils, publicity is a palliative, if not a cure. Its transactions must be done in broad daylight.

One reason for the age-long contest between labor and capital has been the lack of standards by which the relative earning power of each might be measured. Another is the neglect of the fact that labor is not a mass but a collection of individuals, varying both in natural powers, in aptitude, and in skill. Only by restoring the individuality of the laborer, by erecting standards by which the attainment of each may be definitely measured is true progress possible. Here again publicity, in one sense, is a remedy for many existing ills, as Mr. Going showed in his singularly original article (see REVIEW OF REVIEWS for September).

Another sin of Big Business is the deliberate deception of the investor by various methods which our present laws permit. By conceal-

ing earnings, withholding dividends, or declaring them when not earned, *in short*, by *omitting to give information the public has a right to know* these professors of High Finance have profited at the expense of their stockholders. Along with these sharp practices has developed a motley crew of practitioners of Low Finance whose frauds have created untold misery and developed dangerous unrest.

The duty of the government is plain. While it cannot and should not prevent its citizens from taking risks, it must replace the old principle of *caveat emptor*, "let the buyer beware," by a new attitude. The information necessary for wise investment, information which few individuals can secure for themselves, must be made accessible to all, and this can be done only by governmental action. Under the fierce, white light of publicity the rapacity of the buccaneers will be checked, and the nefarious schemes of the smaller swindlers will be thwarted, as Mr. Gleason has so convincingly shown. (See REVIEW OF REVIEWS for October.)

The increasing cost of living is driving many a man to desperation. Some of this increase is inevitable, but much of it is due to wasteful and expensive methods of distributing the product to the consumer. We may say that the problem of cheap production has been solved. The problem of cheaper distribution of these products remains. Mr. Atwood has shown (see REVIEW OF REVIEWS for November) that some of the enormous cost with which the middleman is credited may be prevented by requiring full publicity of all agreements which might tend to avoid the wastes of competition, no matter how innocent they may be. Publicity, full and complete, will help to relieve the constantly increasing strain.

When we come to the Captain of Industry, the exponent of Big Business, we have seen that he will gain, no less than the citizens whom some of his activities have injured. He will lose his speculative profits which have come from juggling with the stock market, and he will no longer be able to cause the consumer to stand and deliver, but there are compensations. He will gain unmeasurably in public esteem, he will be freed from the apparent necessity of trampling the laws of his country under foot, and from uncertainty as to the action of the Department of Justice. Corrupt representatives of the people will no longer be able to hold him up and demand bribes, and he will no longer be afflicted with

total loss of memory, an unfortunate malady which has seized so many industrial and financial magnates on the witness stand.

Nor will his actual monetary gains necessarily be less. The energy which has been devoted to destroying competitors would work wonders if devoted to improving the efficiency of his plants. Increased efficiency means greater profits for him as well as cheaper goods for the consumer, and this increased efficiency would follow the transfer of the center of gravity from Wall Street to factories themselves.

Are There Real Objections to Publicity?

The plan which has been discussed in these pages was conceived by economists, and not by demagogues, or by the representatives of particular interests. It is not a partisan question and such considerations should not enter into the discussion or the decision. Of the two bills now pending in the Senate, one was introduced by a Democrat and the other by a Republican. Both Senators are members of the Committee on Interstate Commerce and took an active part in the work of the committee last winter.

Naturally the plan does not appeal to all. The type of business man mentioned in the opening paragraph of this article, objects to being forced to make any details of his business public, and would deny the right of the government to demand them. This attitude was fully discussed in the article published in July, and the fundamental fallacy was shown. It is not necessary to repeat the argument here. The hysterical agitator denounces the plan because it does not propose to destroy all business root and branch. Sane persons can, however, disregard the man who is willing to burn the barn to get rid of the rats.

It has been charged that this plan by attempting to regulate Big Business, thereby legalizes monopoly. Such a charge is foolish, and shows a sad confusion of thought. A condition exists. Whether or not we approve the concentration which has already taken place, these great organizations are here, and in some form or other are likely to remain. Shall we see that they keep within the laws as thus far interpreted, meanwhile collecting all the facts which will enable us to make a final decision, or shall we allow them to go their own way except as they are restrained by the fear of the Attorney General? Surely there can be but one answer.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

WHY THE PANAMA CANAL SHOULD BE FORTIFIED

THERE have been noticed in this department of the REVIEW during the past few years several articles dealing with the question of fortifications for the great waterway now approaching completion. Some of the writers have held that to fortify the Panama Canal would violate its neutralization, implied if not specifically mentioned in certain treaties, and that, therefore, as a matter affecting our national honor, we should see to it that no fortifications are constructed. Others have insisted that the guarantee of neutrality carries with it the right to adopt such measures as may be necessary to insure the fulfilment of that guarantee, and that this object can only be attained in two ways, namely (1) by the presence of the Navy in waters contiguous to both ends of the canal, or (2) by permanent fortifications.

At this time of writing the latest authoritative statement on the fortification question is an article in the *Scientific American* from the pen of Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson. Assuming that the legal right of the United States to fortify the canal is now no longer seriously questioned, Mr. Stimson briefly summarizes the legal situation and then treats at some length the "necessity of fortifying the canal as a matter of national expediency." One point that is frequently lost sight of is, "that it is of vital importance to this country not only that the canal shall be open to *our* fleet in case of war, but that it shall be closed to the fleet of our enemy." This is the difference between an American canal and an international canal: the latter, "kept open and defended by agreement between the powers, from its very nature would have to be open to our opponent as well as to ourselves." Another feature that is often forgotten is that if the canal were not fortified, "it would destroy the tremendous protection which the continent of South America is to us at the present day." As Mr. Stimson rightly observes, "the three months which would be consumed by a foreign enemy in going around Cape Horn, or through the Straits of Magellan, might

make the difference between a successful defense or complete disaster on the part of those communities against which the attack was intended."

It has been objected that fortifications are unnecessary on the ground that the defense of the canal would be assured by our naval forces. Mr. Stimson considers that this objection "arises from a complete misconception of the true function of the navy."

The navy can be used to advantage only when operating on the offensive; and it will be free to operate in this manner and to go where it can do the most good, only when our vital interests are not dependent for protection on it alone. To relegate the navy to the rôle of passive defense, and to tie it down to one locality, would not only be the most expensive possible form of protection to the canal, but it would concede to the enemy at once the command of the sea, and permit him to operate unhampered, without danger of interference by our fleet, against all other portions of our coast line. . . . To secure an effective protection for the canal by means of naval forces only, without at the same time unduly exposing our seacoast to naval attack, would involve an expenditure for battleships so great as probably to be found prohibitive. An equal degree of protection can be maintained by means of fortifications and a military garrison at a very small percentage of such cost.

Another objection is that it will be impracticable to secure the successful defense of the canal because of its isolation with respect to the United States. To this Mr. Stimson replies:

The fact is, on the contrary, that the Panama Canal Zone is unique in its possibility for reinforcement from the United States. Situated as it is upon two oceans, its position lends itself better to a successful defense than does any other of our oversea possessions. . . . So long as the United States holds the canal, it will be impracticable for the enemy to interrupt communication in both oceans; and consequently the garrison of the Canal Zone can always be reinforced by troops from the United States.

The objection, urged by the late Admiral Evans, that the topography at the Atlantic terminus of the canal was unfavorable for the construction of fortifications sufficiently

strong "to keep a hostile fleet at such distance from the mouth of the canal as to prevent its destroying our fleet in detail as it emerges in column," was referred to the General Board of the Navy and found to be entirely unfounded.

The defenses to the Isthmus, upon which Congress has finally agreed, are divided into two general classes: (1) a seacoast armament with submarine mines at the termini of the canal, for protection against a sea attack and to secure a safe exit for our fleet in the face of a hostile fleet; (2) the construction of field works and a mobile force of troops to protect the locks and assure important utilities against an attack by land. Concerning these defenses Mr. Stimson gives the following interesting particulars:

The seacoast fortifications will include 16-inch, 14-inch, and 6-inch rifles, and 12-inch mortars. This armament will be of more powerful and effective types than that installed in any other locality in the world. At the Atlantic end of the canal the armament will be located on both sides of Limon Bay. At the Pacific end the greater part of the armament will be located on several

small islands, Flamenco, Perico and Naos, which lie abreast of the terminus. Submarine mines will complete the seacoast armament and will prevent actual entry into the canal and harbors by hostile vessels.

In addition to these fortifications, and the necessary coast artillery and garrison to man them, the defensive plans provide for the erection of field works, and for the maintenance at all times on the Panama Canal Zone of a mobile force consisting of three regiments of infantry, at a war strength of nearly 2000 men for each regiment, a squadron of cavalry, and a battalion of field artillery. These latter fortifications and the mobile garrison are intended to repel any attacks that might be made by landing parties from an enemy's fleet against the locks and other important elements or accessories to the canal. As an attack of this character might be coincident with or even precede an actual declaration of war, it is necessary that a force of the strength above outlined should be maintained on the Canal Zone at all times. This mobile garrison will furnish the necessary police force to protect the zone and preserve order within its limits in time of peace. Congress has made the initial appropriations for the construction of these fortifications, and they are now under construction. A portion of the mobile garrison is also on the Isthmus, and the remainder will be sent there as soon as provision is made for its being housed.

SMOKING AND FOOTBALL PLAYERS

THE question, "to smoke or not to smoke,"

if one is a football player, would seem to have been conclusively answered, assuming that the data collected by Dr. Frederick J. Pack, of the University of Utah, and published by him in the *Popular Science Monthly*, are to be relied upon. These data establish the following suggestive points: (1) Only half as many smokers as non-smokers are successful in the try-outs for football squads. (2) In the case of able-bodied men smoking is associated with loss in lung capacity amounting to practically 10 per cent. Incidentally they show that smoking is invariably associated with low scholarship, and that smokers furnish twice as many conditions and failures as do non-smokers.

The facts presented by Dr. Pack in his interesting study of this question are based upon information received from coaches and athletic directors of fourteen American colleges and universities; and on the blanks on which the particulars were supplied the following footnote appeared: "By 'smoker' is meant one who habitually smokes when not in training and not an individual who indulges at very infrequent intervals." Data relating to try-outs were received from six institutions only as follows:

	No. Competing	No. Successful	Per Cent. Successful
Smokers	93	31	33.3
Non-smokers.....	117	77	65.8

It will thus be seen that only half as many smokers as non-smokers were successful in gaining the coveted positions.

In the fourteen institutions reporting, the total number of football men was 248, of whom 109, or 44 per cent. were smokers, and 139, or 56 per cent. were non-smokers, as will appear from the following list:

	Smokers	Non-Smokers	Total
Amherst College.....	9	9	18
Drake University.....	2	9	11
Haverford College.....	4	17	21
Michigan Agricultural College.....	3	14	17
Northwestern College.....	12	5	17
Tulane University.....	7	14	21
U. S. Naval Academy.....	7	5	12
University of Colorado.....	5	7	12
University of Kansas.....	10	9	19
University of Montana.....	12	7	19
University of Pennsylvania.....	12	12	24
University of Tennessee.....	11	10	21
Western Maryland College.....	7	12	19
Yankton College.....	8	9	17
	109	139	248

The two classes of men were practically of the same age and weight, the average age of the smokers being 21.91 years and that of the non-smokers 21.04 years, while the average weight of the smokers was 161.5 lbs. and that

of the non-smokers 161.0 lbs. But, though the differences in age and weight were both in favor of the smokers, in lung capacity the non-smokers of six institutions reporting showed an advantage of 22.6 cubic inches, as indicated in the subjoined table:

Number of Men	Average Weight	Average Age	Average Lung Capacity
Smokers.....	47 162.9 lbs.	21.06 yrs.	286.3 cu.in.
Non-smokers.....	61 159.6 "	20.88 "	308.9 "
Difference.....	3.3 "	.18 yr.	22.6 "

The difference in favor of the non-smokers thus amounts to 7.3 per cent. It is worth noting that in not a single institution of the six reporting was the difference in lung capacity in favor of the smokers, the advantage with the non-smokers ranging from 5.8 to 38.7 cu. in.

Information was solicited concerning the ability of the men as all-round football players, the athletic directors of the various institutions being asked to classify their men as "fair," "good," and "very good." The replies showed the following ratings for the fourteen institutions:

Number of Men	Fair	Good	Very Good
Non-smokers.....	139 68	50	21
Smokers.....	109 49	39	21
109 non-smokers would furnish.....	53.3	39.2	16.5

At first sight it would appear that smokers make the better football players; but, as Dr. Pack suggests, certain points should be kept in mind when interpreting the results here presented. Thus:

In the case of the "very good" men only forty-two individuals are involved, a number rather small from which to draw reliable conclusions. A single institution reporting four or five "very good" smokers or non-smokers and none of the other group (as several institutions have done) is quite sufficient to swing the totals one way or the other.

Even if the above data were perfectly reliable, there is still another vital point to be kept in mind. In the items of "try-outs" only half as many smokers as non-smokers were successful. In other words, only the very best smokers were chosen, while with the very best non-smokers a group of second-grade non-smokers was included. At the beginning of the football season when the selections were made the first and second grade non-smokers combined were equal to the first grade smokers.

Furthermore, it is a well known fact that of two men, a smoker and a non-smoker, of equal ability at the time of beginning training, the smoker will develop into a better man than the non-smoker. This is the case because the non-smoker before training, is very much more nearly at his best than is the smoker. As soon, therefore, as the smoker begins training (and consequently stops using tobacco) he has a much better chance for improvement than the non-smoker, who has not been kept back by the use of tobacco. If smoking does not in any way injure one's ability on the football field, the smokers and the non-smokers should supply an equal percentage of the "very best" men.

Now, when it is borne in mind that in the "try-outs" only one half as many of the smokers are chosen as non-smokers, it follows as a simple mathematical deduction that the smoking football men should supply twice as many "very good" men as the non-smokers, a position which, if the above tabulated data were wholly reliable, they come far from reaching.

From the foregoing it is evident that the apparent superiority of the smokers is really an inferiority.

WILL CHRISTIANITY BE THE WORLD-RELIGION?

"THE problem of the future, which is already knocking at our door, is this: as the solidarity of humanity becomes more and more an actuality, as East and West meet, for meet they must, as civilization and culture spread among the savage peoples, the necessity of a world-religion will become imperative. Will Christianity, as we know it, be that religion? Will it be Christianity, modified by the influence of other faiths? Shall we have an amalgam of many religions? These questions are propounded by Principal A. E. Garvie, in the *International Review of Missions*, in an article entitled "The Christian Challenge to Other Faiths." This challenge "must be condemned as audacious and insolent" unless its justification can be proved on two grounds:

On the one hand, it must be shown that Christianity is the absolute religion, meeting adequately and finally the necessities and the aspirations of the soul of man; and that therefore its missionary intention is warranted by its universal value for mankind. On the other hand, it needs to be proved that whatever truth and worth there may be in the other religions, yet even at their best they do not fully meet the religious needs to which they bear witness, and are still less capable of evoking and completing that higher development of man as a moral and spiritual personality which is found only where the influence of the Christian gospel has been felt.

Principal Garvie reminds his brethren in the mission field that the Christian Apostles had the conviction that what they had to offer was "the pearl of great price," to obtain which "the surrender of the most sacred possessions could not be regarded as too high a

price." The missionaries in the field to-day are "exposed to the twofold danger of lowering their claim for Christianity as the absolute religion for mankind, and of laying such stress on the good in other religions as to raise the question whether the missionary enterprise is not a mistake or a wrong." It is, however, to be remembered that while many converts have been won from heathenism by the labors of missionaries "who had a rigid and complete system of theology," yet so far "no moral and religious genius of the first order" has been brought over to Christ. In Dr. Garvie's judgment, "a fuller recognition of what is true and good in the beliefs, rites, and customs of other religions, and a greater readiness in every missionary to admit what is temporary and local in our own presentation of the gospel, seem to be necessary conditions of further progress."

In answering the questions at the beginning of this article, Dr. Garvie reminds his readers that religions have been classified as:

(1) Natural and ethical.

The religions in which prayers and sacrifices are offered to the gods to secure the supply of bodily needs are admitted to belong to a lower stage of religious development than those in which men seek the divine pardon of sin, purity of heart, peace of soul. Now Christianity is assuredly an ethical religion. "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you." This utterance declares the subordination of natural goods to the ethical good. . . . Test any of the other religions of the world by this principle, and does not Christianity remain in solitary supremacy?

(2) Spontaneous and founded.

There are many religions which are rooted in, and grow out of, the thought and life of the tribe or nation without any trace of an historical beginning and a personal founder. Such religions smell of the soil from which they have sprung, and will not bear transplanting. . . . When we are told we must not carry our English religion to India or China, we may recall the fact that Christianity is not a spontaneous but a founded religion. It is not the native religion of England, or indeed of any European land.

(3) National and universal.

Confucianism is a founded religion, yet. . . Confucianism as a whole is so bound up with the structure of Chinese society that it can lay no claim to universality either in capacity or intention. A religion which regards all strangers as "foreign devils" condemns itself as narrowly national. In Judaism too we have a religion inseparable from a race. . . . The political status of the Mohammedan states to-day is surely the judgment of history on its incapacity. . . . Enterprising and progressive nations cannot find in Buddhism a moral or religious guide. Can any comparison be

made between Mohammed and Jesus as regards personal worth? And even the Buddha, attractive as his personality is, falls far short in purity and beneficence of the Christ, while he offers only man's pity, not God's grace.

But while it may be conceded that Christianity alone can be the religion of mankind, this "must be a Christianity detached from the accretions which belong to it in the West, and adapted to the genius and ethos of each race." To quote Dr. Garvie further:

The Westminster Confession or the Thirty-nine articles, or even the Nicene or the Athanasian creed, do not assuredly give us the form in which Christianity is to be taught throughout the world. I at least cannot imagine that a sacramental priesthood or an historic episcopate is essential to a universal gospel. We must learn that no creed, or sect, or polity, fashioned in the conditions, conflicts, and controversies of the European Churches can be imposed on all races as alone valid and absolutely authoritative. But while sectarian ecclesiastics contend for their own "shibboleths," is there not a growing agreement among Christian scholars as to what is the original and essential Christianity,—the faith in God as Father, through Christ as Saviour, in the Spirit as renewer of man? Literary and historical criticism as applied to the New Testament and to the records of the Christian Church is an ally of the foreign mission enterprise in that it is surely, if slowly, separating the kernel from the husk, the gospel of the kingdom of God from all local and temporary forms, in which it has too often been buried rather than embodied. Scholarship is showing that forms which are claimed as "catholic," and thus as permanently and universally valid, were never so actually. The decisions of a majority can be called "catholic" only if we are prepared to deny the Christian name to the minority. The ecumenical creeds did not unite, but divided Christendom. There is to-day a movement toward unity among the Christian churches; of that movement the foreign mission enterprise is a potent factor.

There is, however, an adaptation of Christianity in China and India that might be a deformation. The aim of the Reformation was "to recover Christianity from adaptations to environment which had proved destructive."

Modern theology is seeking to free the doctrine of the Person of Christ from the Greek metaphysics, to which in the creeds it is adapted. Has Hindu metaphysics a higher claim than Greek? When an Indian writer rejects the Occidental Christ of the European missionary, and claims that India shall be left free to shape its Oriental Christ, we must try to save India from the mistake Western Christendom has made of localizing the universal, of temporalizing the eternal.

Does the gospel of Jesus the Christ need to be supplemented and corrected? "I have not," says Dr. Garvie, "yet discovered the reason for an affirmative answer."

HOW AUSTRALIA CARES FOR THE CHILDREN

THAT a country's first duty is to see to its children, as they are its most precious national asset; that to allow a single child to die who might, if properly cared for, live and thrive, is a blunder as well as a crime: it is to deprive the fatherland of one who might defend it and work for it, to throw away a possible source of national security and wealth, and thus to sin against the decrees of statecraft and political economy, as well as the decrees of humanity—these are the opinions held by the governing authorities of two countries on this globe of ours, Hungary and South Australia. In the *Contemporary Review* for October Miss Edith Sellers gives a most interesting account of the Australian experiment, she having already, some months ago, described in the same magazine what Hungary has done in a similar field.

It appears that in South Australia until early in the eighties destitute children were regarded and treated as little paupers. They were lodged in the same institutions and were under the same officials as paupers. But the government became alarmed at the spread of pauperism, and realized that, as far as it concerned the young, their poor-relief system was nothing but a system for increasing the supply of paupers. Then a clean sweep was made of all the arrangements in force for children, and subsequently a law was passed which brought about a complete change in their position. To quote from Miss Sellers' article:

No matter how poor and degraded a child may be, he—or she—does not rank as a pauper; he has nothing whatever to do with paupers or pauper authorities, and he may not be lodged in a pauper institution. If he be normal, indeed, he may not be lodged in an institution of any sort. For South Australians have set their hearts on having no paupers at all in their land; and they are firmly convinced that the only way they can escape having them is by bringing up the children for whom they are responsible in such a way as to secure their developing, so far as nature allows, into self-respecting, self-reliant, thrifty, hard-working men and women. And, as they have learnt by experience that this can rarely be done in institutions, they insist on their being brought up in homes, real homes, workingmen's cottages, just as they would be were they being provided for by their own parents, instead of by the state. They insist, too, on their being brought up in the country, amidst wholesome surroundings, and under conditions which, while insuring them against ill-treatment, give them the chance of leading free, happy, human lives—of making friends for themselves, while having their corners knocked off, and learning how to fight their own battles.

The relief of children is vested in the State Children's Council, which is virtually a Government department. The council's duties and powers are very comprehensive:

It is the official caretaker of all the children in the province who are maintained by the state, excepting those who are maintained together with their parents. It appoints local committees to act as caretakers of the children in a district, to watch over them, to see that they are properly clothed, housed and fed, that they go to school regularly, and that they are kindly treated.

The council can take into its own keeping any child, whether destitute or not, who is unruly, a truant, or a beggar, or whose parents are vagrants, drunkards, or criminal. In South Australia a father who does not provide proper food for his offspring, who allows them to live in unwholesome surroundings forfeits all claim to them.

Unless a father does his best for them, the council relieves him of the care of them, although not of the expense they entail. So long as he has a penny beyond what he must have to provide himself with bare necessities—tobacco and beer do not rank as necessities—that penny must go toward the cost of their maintenance. . . . His children are lost to him until such time as he can prove that he has changed his ways and may be trusted to bring them up properly. If he tries to communicate with them, he is fined £5 (\$25); and if he tries to obtain possession of them, he is fined £10 (\$50) and is imprisoned with hard labor for three months.

There are three state institutions for children, of which the council is director and controller, namely, a receiving house, a reformatory for boys, and a reformatory for girls. No woman may act as foster-mother without a license under a penalty of £20 (\$100). A child is boarded out on the subsidy system till it is thirteen, and then on the service system until eighteen, or in the case of certain girls till twenty-one.

Under both the subsidy system and the service, the council's wards are lodged with respectable working-class foster-parents, who, in the case of subsidy children, must live within easy walking distance of a good school. They must be fairly well off, industrious, and intelligent; and they must pledge themselves to treat their charges in all respects as if they were their own children—not only to be kind to them, but to have thought for them, and try to influence them for good. And care is taken to insure their keeping their pledge. In South Australia the law is stringent in what concerns persons who deal negligently or wrongfully with the state's wards. There "a foster-parent who shall ill-treat, injure, or neglect any

state-child . . . or who shall not well and truly do all that he or she has undertaken to do, is liable to a fine of £20 (\$100) and six months' imprisonment with hard labour." Any person, whether foster-parent or not, who shall assault, ill-treat, or injure any state-child may be fined £20 and be imprisoned with hard labor for six months; while any foster-parent who allows a subsidy child to stay away from school, even for a day, without good reason, is liable to a fine of £10 (\$50).

Under it [the subsidy system] children must be sent to school; and, beyond giving a helping hand to their foster-parents, must do no regular work. The fundamental difference between this system and the service system is that, whereas under the former the foster-parents are paid by the council for taking charge of the children, under the latter they pay for being allowed to keep them and have their services. No child may be boarded-out in a service home until it is thirteen; and while it is there it is practically an apprentice, although still a state-child under state protection. If a boy, his foster-father must be a skilled artisan or farmer, able and willing to teach him his craft and put him in the way of becoming a good craftsman. During the first three years the man has him, he must house, feed, and clothe him, and give him wages at the rate of 1s. a week for the first year, 1s. 6d. for the second, and 2s. for the third. During the fourth and fifth years he must house and feed him, and pay him 5s. a week during the fourth year, and 6s. during the fifth. During these two years the boy must provide himself with clothes. During the first three years three-fourths of his wages, and

during the last two not less than 1s. a week, must be deducted from his money and handed over to the council, which deposits it for him in the savings bank. . . .

Anyone who receives into her house a service girl must undertake to be a foster-mother to her as well as a mistress; to watch over her, help her, and keep her out of harm's way, while securing for her a fair amount of recreation. She must teach her housewifery, how to cook, clean and wash; she must teach her also how to make her own clothes; perhaps, too, if she can, how to trim her own hats. The law requires her not only to turn the girl, so far as she can into a good servant, but also to fit her to be a good citizen, a good wife and mother. It requires her, in fact, to do for her what she would do for her own daughter.

It is satisfactory to read that this service-home arrangement answers its purpose admirably both for boys and for girls. It insures their being well trained, while leading natural lives amid home influences and home surroundings. And it is noteworthy that cheapness is a marked characteristic of the whole South Australian system, the average cost of a boarded-out state-child having been last year 2 shillings (24 cents), if a service child, and about 5s. 8d. (\$1.36) a week if a subsidy child. Moreover the death-rate among the children last year was only 1.9 per cent.

THE CONTEMPORARY THEATER IN CHINA

THE astounding political changes of recent occurrence in China stimulate our interest in such changes as may occur in the intellectual and artistic development of the people. A first step towards intellectual advancement has already been taken in the substitution of a phonetic alphabet for the ancient method of composition, which involved the committing to memory of no fewer than 8000 idiograms.

This change alone will doubtless have a far-reaching influence on every form of literature, including the drama.

Of the present state in China of the art of the theater comparatively little has been written. We quote from an excellent article on the subject by G. de Banzemont in *La Revue*.

In Europe the theater is considered one of the expressions of civilization. The nations, in their diversity, find therein the mirror of their peculiar genius, their ideals, their temperament, their character, their qualities and lacks, their virtues and faults, their passions and aspirations. All the idiosyncrasy of Athens is in the comedies of Aristophanes, all that of Paris in Molière, as the Scandinavian soul is in Ibsen, and the Slavic in Tolstoy.

At the moment when China awakes from its

apparent secular torpor, changes the axis of its destiny, opens a breach in its famous wall to allow the passage of modern currents, it is interesting to study its dramatic evolution.

The Chinese have indeed no Aristophanes, no Molière, no Shakspeare, but their tragic or comic authors are not ignorant of irony and emotion, or of the art of depicting intrigue or action. . . . Like ourselves they borrow their scenes from history or from ordinary life and carry extravaganza into the domain of fantasy. They create types of heroes of every class, misers, Tartuffes, prodigals, libertines. Their Don Juan, whom they call Lu-Chai-Lang, is close kin to the seducer of Seville. . . .

While tradition has it that the Chinese theater mounts to as remote an antiquity as the 18th century B. C., the author believes that in fact its beginnings may be found considerably later than the miracle plays and mysteries of Europe, in the dynasty of Youen.

The learned, despising the vulgarity of these productions, excluded them from their works, their libraries, and their catalogues. Hence, out of over 500 pieces whose names are known, only a few remain, which constitute to-day almost the whole repertory. . . . Scenic representations accompany religious festivals. Every year, at the period when the tutelary divinities of the locality are venerated, a pavilion of bamboo and cloth, with

a straw mat for roof is erected in front of the temple. These are large enough to hold a thousand persons, and the cost is defrayed by assessment.

The stage is a platform with two doors. The actors enter all together by one and leave by the other. There is no curtain and no *entr'acte*. When an act is finished the characters go off and others succeed them. There are a dozen pieces, generally of one act each.

The public crowds into pit and balcony, the orchestra being reserved for functionaries. Entrance is free but refreshments are paid for.

The audience is seated on benches before which are tables on which food and drink are served.

The stage is oriented towards the south, east, or north, but never towards the west, which is the dangerous quarter menaced by the White Tiger. The decorations are represented by tables piled one on top of another, indicating mountains to be scaled, ramparts to be taken by assault, or serving on occasion for the exercises of acrobats. The actor takes his tea as well as the public; interrupting himself to empty his cup, and then returning to his rôle.

The costumes are of silk or gold and silver brocade when worn by an emperor, a general, or a dignitary. Citizens, merchants, and poor devils are dressed simply as in real life. Emperors and phantoms don horrifying masks with huge beards. The others paint the face in colors, but the nose is always white.

When an actor enters he declares his name and business. A protagonist who is supposed to appear on horseback merely bestrides a stick on which he prances back and forth. The audience accepts him with perfect gravity as a skilled cavalier.

All the rôles are filled by men, female parts being taken by young boys. . . . The feminine public has been denied access to the theater since the end of the eighteenth century, when the mother of an emperor desired to become an actress against her son's wishes.

Each theater is directed by an impresario who collects a company, composed, ordinarily, of 56 actors who have been trained for the stage since their ninth year. A skilled actor should know from 100 to 200 parts perfectly, since there is no prompter.

As in the early days of the European drama the profession is held in contempt by the public, enjoying even less public esteem than

that of the common executioner! Each actor is supposed to be equally proficient in tragedy, comedy, and farce, but those who play dignitaries do not assume humbler parts.

Likewise reminiscent of Elizabethan days is the fact that the rich have private theaters, the actors being considered domestics. However they are well paid and allowed certain privileges. To these performances ladies are invited. They attend, escorted by their servants, and the program is always submitted to them beforehand, nothing licentious or shocking being permitted. In the public theaters the impresario takes 20 per cent. of the receipts, the remainder being divided among the cast, famous actors receiving a bonus.

The plays are both military and civil, taken from history or contemporary life.

There are historic and religious dramas, comedies of character and of intrigue, mythologic pieces and judicial scenes. The police lay snares for thieves, who mockingly evade them as in our *guignol*. We find vaudeville situations, scabrous *équivoques*, broad and spicy dialogues, the surprises of marriage, the ruses of the lover, the artifices of women curious of adventure, the unexpected appearances of husbands, and wrath attended by explanations and exculpations. Usually the language is adapted to the action. It is frequently trivial, and obscenity is not banished, whence the accusation of immorality, which is hardly justified.

The dramatic repertory in fact, differs little from ours, but with less refinement and less subtlety.

We can not enter on the description of different plays here, but may specify the one known as the "Ball of Flowers," of which de Banzemont remarks:

Grace, delicacy, and poetry are united in this charming work, whose author has written in verse, and which has a freshness equal to that of the loveliest compositions of a Gabriel Nicond or a Zamacois.

ALTRUISM AMONG ANIMALS

ABOUT twenty years ago the eminent Russian zoölogist K. Kessler, referring to what he termed "the dreams of Darwinism," demonstrated that all animal biology was traceable in reality to the instigations of hunger and of love, the former determining the struggles to assure satisfaction of the appetite, summed up in the maxim "Each for himself;" the latter, on the contrary, inviting conciliation and association. This tendency toward association is a characteristic not of the human race only, but of the

animals generally. The individual left to himself must provide for his wants or perish as the victim of obstacles and accidents which he cannot surmount, save by a community of effort. The fact that animals are fully conscious of this obligation of aid received and rendered, is now well established. Some remarkable proofs of this are furnished by M. G. Roux in *La Revue* (Paris), one of the most curious being that afforded by certain ants. In describing the "visiting ants" of West Africa and their peculiarities, he says:

The *Anomma arcens* of West Africa, commonly known as the "visiting ant," evinces some extremely interesting peculiarities. About a centimetre in length, it is as nomadic as voracious, attacking man during sleep as well as animals—rats, mice, poultry, etc., among which it pursues its work of destruction. Woe to those whom it surprises defenceless in the woods. Existing in legions it pounces on its victims with ferocity, with its powerful mandibles, which grip like pincers, tearing out the eyes and lacerating the body. Even enormous serpents and giant monkeys become its prey. A veritable band of exterminators, these ants travel only at night, hiding during the day in the grass or under fallen trees. At times, when failing to find shelter from the burning rays of the sun, they take heroic action. Then they may be seen to brave even death courageously. The vanguard sets to work and with a secretion from the mouth kneads the earth or clay and rapidly constructs a gallery, an arched passage, so to speak, which serves to protect the march of the rest of the army.

M. Roux relates some other equally remarkable actions of these ants, such as forming a living bridge to cross ponds, rolling themselves into a compact ball which is steered across a stream by ants upon the surface. In these and similar cases there seems to be no hesitation on the part of some of the insects in sacrificing their lives for the good of the mass.

Sociability among mammals is no less remarkable; several illustrations are given by M. Roux. He says in substance:

Among the rats and mice of the house, the granary and the field this characteristic is not apparent so long as they do not embark on a distant expedition. The reciprocal invitations of the rodents exist only in the pages of Horace or La Fontaine. But when the animals flock together to seek fresh habitations they accomplish prodigies of association, rendering one another mutual aid. They traverse ponds, even rivers, forming bridges of the bodies of the stronger of them, over which the feeble and less courageous pass in safety.

Certain animals, as the marmots of the Russian steppes and the chamois of the Pyrenees, post sentinels and scouts to warn of approaching danger, while the beavers in their marvelous work of dam-building do not fail to call on their fellows for aid if, for instance, they find a branch which they desire to use is too stout for them to break individually.

A remarkable fact to which M. Roux calls attention is that altruism among animals is exercised not only in association, but by individuals to individuals and under conditions which leave no room for doubt as to the sentiments that evoke it. Totally different species, too, will help each other from no other motive than sympathy. He cites a number of examples in support of this. Among the most interesting is that of the African rhinoceros and the buphagus bird.

In Africa it is no uncommon sight to see a rhinoceros in company of a buphagus, a small passerine bird of the beef-eater family. The pachyderm is infested with vermin which suck its blood and cause it atrocious sufferings. Happily, the bird perched on the neck or the head of the animal, like a woodpecker on a tree, delivers it from the intolerable punishment, chasing the enemy, which it snaps and eats, constantly searching for it in the folds of the skin. It does more. When the rhinoceros, overborne by the heat of the sun, seeks repose in sleep, the bird suddenly by a little cry will warn it of the approach of danger. A similar association exists between the ratel and a certain bird in tropical Africa. The ratel, a small badger-like animal, is very fond of honey. The bird does not care for the honey, but it feeds on the larvæ of bees. When the bird discovers honey in a rock, it acquaints its friend, which, after gorging itself, leaves the larvæ to the bird.

In Argentina the association of birds and quadrupeds is common. There one may see swallows and hares sharing the same lodging and so familiar that they come and go together. When in the spring the swallow seeks other shores, the hare grieves at its departure and impatiently awaits its return. The little swallows are endowed with affection and good nature, which, according to the father of positivism, are the characteristics of altruism. The Argentinians will tell you that they often see the swallows arriving from their sea voyage on the shoulders of some crane which sympathetically transports them, and to which they express their obligations by little cries unintelligible to man, but which in the bird language signify thanks. When the hare sees them again, it manifests its joy by leaping around them, and, if one may judge by their gestures, the companions relate their several adventures.

But perhaps the most extraordinary of all such associations is that of certain crustaceans and marine plants, of which the hermit crab and the sea anemone furnish a curious example. M. Roux says of this crab and its association with the anemone:

This crab, constantly at war with its fellows, has, in spite of its strong, pincer-like claws, certain dangers to provide against. It is vulnerable in the abdomen, as Achilles was in the heel, and thus finds itself without defence against an enemy better armed. It therefore seeks, in default of a cuirass, an empty shell in which it hides its body, protruding only the claws and head. When it becomes too large for the shell, it perforce has to seek a new and larger one. Now the sea anemone frequently attaches itself to the shells in which these crabs live, forming, so to say, the crown of the habitation. When the crustacean is compelled to change its dwelling, it detaches the anemone with the greatest precaution, and places it on its new casque.

Whether this proceeding is prompted by warlike vanity or by a love of the panache, it attests, in the view of the writer, from whom we have been quoting, the existence of zoölogical altruism.

AUSTRIA AND THE ALBANIAN QUESTION

THE attitude of Austria-Hungary toward the new situation that has been created in the Near East by the action of the Balkan States is so equivocal that it is evident the readjustment of the territorial division of the Balkan Peninsula cannot be effected without some outside interference. The cause for it is in the solicitude of the Dual Monarchy for the interests it has always had in the countries lying between its southern boundary and the Egean Sea, and bordering the eastern side of the Adriatic. Austria-Hungary has ever regarded that part of the Balkan Peninsula west of Servia and Bulgaria and north of Greece as more or less within her sphere of influence while the Turk remained in Europe, and subject to her occupation when the day might come for him to take his departure.

So firmly was this idea rooted in the Ball Platz at Vienna that after the Congress of Berlin the Austro-Hungarian Government proposed to the British Government that England should undertake the organization of the civil administration of what is now called Macedonia, while Austria would occupy it with her troops. This proposition was promptly rejected by the British Government and events were left to take their course, to arrive in the fullness of time at the conditions we now see. In view of this fact the present equivocal attitude is natural, and she has an additional motive for it in the existence of Albania which has little affinity for its eastern neighbors.

The consideration of this last phase of the Balkan question leads up to many possibilities. Assuming the reports that Austria-Hungary favors the creation of an autonomous Albanian state between Montenegro and Greece to be true, the fixing of its eastern boundaries would be more than likely to raise serious trouble with Servia which has occupied large sections of Al-

banian territory, and perhaps also with Bulgaria. That Russia already has interested herself in Albanian matters there is evidence from an unexpected quarter—no less than the spokesmen for the Albanian Christians of the Eastern Orthodox Church here in the United States. It comes in the form of a letter addressed to the Dean of the Russian Church in New York by the Priests of the Albanian Orthodox Christians in Boston. A noteworthy feature about it is the intense animosity exhibited by the Albanians toward the Greeks.

THE CHRISTIAN ALBANIANS AND THE BALKAN WAR:
AN OPEN LETTER TO THE RUSSIAN SYNOD,
To the North American Ecclesiastical Consistory of the Russian Church.

REVEREND FATHERS AND BROTHERS IN CHRIST:

In a letter we had the honor to receive from the Very Reverend Father Alexander Hotovitzky, Dean of the Russian Cathedral of New York, we



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MALISSORI TRIBESMEN OF NORTHERN ALBANIA

(A recent snapshot amid the crags of Mount Klementi on the Montenegrin frontier)

were asked some information about the attitude of the Christian Albanians of America in the Balkan war. Although the Very Rev. Dean's letter is of a more or less private character, and although he declares that he does not mean by his friendly inquiries to interfere in any way with our views,—we feel it a duty, in order to avoid any mistaken interpretation of our attitude, to take up the whole question and explain openly the nature and the causes of our policy. If we succeed in making our reasons clear, we feel sure that the Most Reverend Fathers of the Holy Synod, and through them our Holy Mother the Orthodox Church and the noble Russian Nation will understand our point of view and do justice to our feelings.

The Christian Albanians are whole-heartedly united with the Turks and desperately defending their fatherland against the foreign invaders. The explanation of this statement is easy to give and easy to understand.

One has only to open a map of the Balkan peninsula to see that Albanian territory is the battlefield of the Greek, Montenegrin and Servian armies. It is obvious to any student of Balkan politics that, should the Turks lose, Albania will be divided among the belligerent Balkan States and done with forever. Among Albanians of all creeds and political parties the idea prevails that this war is nothing else than an attempt to crush the Albanian nation before it is in a position to oppose aggressions against its rights. This belief is strengthened by the fact that the Balkan States have declared war against Turkey just when the Ottoman Government, wishing to put an end to a long and bloody rebellion, had officially recognized the Albanian nationality and granted us the right and freedom to reopen our national schools, which the former cabinet had brutally closed. By their sudden aggression against Turkey, the Balkan allies have succeeded in preventing the Albanians from enjoying natural rights that did not encroach upon the rights of anybody else and could do nobody harm. The agreement between the Ottoman government and the Albanians marked the end of a long era of moral sufferings and exceptional injustice. These are the national reasons of our attitude. There are other reasons of a different character.

One reason that makes the Albanians throw their lot with the Turks under the circumstances, is this fact: first, that the allied Balkan States have done in the past more harm than Turkey to the Albanian people; and second, that the Albanians are convinced they would receive a more pitiless treatment at the hands of the Christian invaders than they have ever received at the hands of Turks. You are well acquainted, through our reports in the past, with the unheard of crimes of the Greek prelates in Southern Albania. Need we recall to your minds the stupidly solemn anathemas, thundered by the Greek bishops against our national language, their wholesale excommunications of Orthodox Albanian patriots, the refusals of sacraments for political reasons, their army of informers who denounced to the authorities and ruined hundreds of families during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid, their bands of criminals who assassinated at their instigation laymen and clergymen whose only fault was a sincere and natural love for their country? For all these crimes of the Greek Bishops, we call to witness the Bulgarians themselves who have suffered at their hands as much as we have.

An example of what the Albanians are to expect in case of a Christian victory is given by the action of Servia after the treaty of Berlin, when a slice of Albanian territory had been given to Servia. That Christian state carried out the work of civilizing the annexed territory by deporting 100,000 of Albanians, confiscating their property without granting any indemnification and causing thousands to die from hunger and exposure. We challenge any Servian patriot who knows the history of his country to deny this gross and barbarous injustice.

As to the Montenegrins, it would seem that we repay with ingratitude the hospitality tendered by them to the refugees during the uprising of the Malissori, or Albanian highlanders, two years ago. The truth, however, is the King of Montenegro has been paid by the Young Turks ten times over the price of the miserable corn that he gave to the wretched refugees and, as soon as he received the money, he compelled the Albanian insurgents to accept the terms of the Young Turks and so return to their homes without any guarantee for their safety. As a proof that the royal house of Montenegro has no other regards than those of money, and that the above assertion is not slander, we beg the permission to recall to the minds of the Russians that, during the Russo-Japanese war, the Russian government, owing to financial difficulties, withheld the annual subvention to the King of Montenegro, and that a reply, as incredible as it was heinous, came from Cetinje in the form of a toast, proposed by the crown prince Danilo for the health of Admiral Togo, and of the gallant Japanese army and navy.

And, if they were so ungrateful towards Russia, who sacrificed millions of lives and billions of rubles for their emancipation, we could not expect them to be fair and just towards the Albanians. They accuse us at the present moment of taking the side of the Turks in a struggle against Christians. To this vile declaration we have a ready answer, drawn from their own policy in the past. These Christian States, in order to stamp out the Albanian nationality, did not shrink from giving whole-hearted support to the deposed Red Sultan and being, under the cover of benevolent neutrality, the accomplices of the bloody expeditions of the Young Turks against Albania. In order to defend our fatherland against the foreign invaders, we feel it our duty to be loyal to a Sultan, whose life is without blemish, and support a government that dealt in a just and fair way with the Albanian nation.

We want, however, to make it clear that we do not oppose the allied states of the Balkans out of hatred for the races which compose them, but on account of their unjust policy and their arrogant pretensions to civilize the Illyrian peninsula. We appreciate such virtues as they have but we deplore the fact that they are wasting their energies in an unjust war calculated only to gratify the ambitions of their rulers and their petty "politiciens de café." The task they set before themselves is, in the opinion of all impartial observers, beyond their permanent power and moral capacity. It is a well known fact that the civilization of the Christians of the Balkan States is by far inferior to that of the Turks. This is as true as it was in the case of the fanatical crusaders of the Middle Ages in comparison with the Moslem Arabs, who possessed a highly developed civilization. The Bulgarians, the Greeks and Servians, committed

in Macedonia against each other horrors of an unspeakable nature, for which one would look in vain in the Turkish history. They are going to repeat them and jump at each other's throats over the spoils, if they prove successful in their present war. Europe has but to wait and see. But we hope this will never happen, and that the Ottoman army will drive back these invaders intoxicated with ambition, and quiet them down once for all.

These in brief are the reasons that make the Albanians feel more confident under the crescent of the Turks than under the unchristian cross of the allied Balkan States. The Albanians think that this is not a war of Christianity against Mohammedanism but a mere attempt of the Greeks and the spurious Balkan Slavs to extend their frontier lines mostly at the expense of Albania. The Turks are simply fighting our battles. Our people realize this so well that, when we called them to express their opinion in several meetings in the East as well as in the West, they unanimously adopted the resolution to forget all their grievances against the Turks and to stand by the Ottoman government as one man. And not only that, but they clamored for prayers for the victory of the Ottoman armies. We did in consequence pray for their success, at Boston, Southbridge, Mass.; Biddeford, Me.; Jamestown, N. Y.; and Akron, Ohio. We saw our people weep when prayers were offered to God to crown with victory the armies of the Sultan. These same men would have stoned us and the Moslem Albanian patriots themselves would have been the first ones to throw the stone, had we made such an attempt a few months before.

We did our best, Reverend Fathers, to explain to you the attitude of the Albanian people in these circumstances and we think that it is as logical as it looks paradoxical. We feel it our duty to do our utmost to defend our country against the

foreign invaders, in her struggle for life and death. We are sure that like magnanimous Russians, you will appreciate our patriotic feelings, even if your point of view differs from our own, and that the sympathies of your nation for the allied Balkan States will not prevent you from doing justice to our cause. Attacked on all sides by hypocritical and treacherous Christians, Albania can find no better refuge than the banner of the crescent. Should Albania come victorious out of this war, our nation will be deeply grateful to the Holy Synod of Russia for recognizing in the United States a national Albanian Church, that may become to-morrow the Church of Albania. Should we lose and survive our national disaster, we shall humbly beg you to let us spend the rest of our miserable lives in some far off Russian monastery in Siberia.

Praying to God for the speedy end of a war, which as Christians and Priests we deplore, we remain,

Your respectful and obedient servants,

The Albanian priests of America.

FAN S. NOLL.

NAUM V. CERÉ.

(Signed)

The foregoing suggests many reflections, one of them being that Austria may think it to her advantage to bring within the bounds of her composite empire a population of mixed religions, Moslem, Catholic and Eastern Orthodox, but racially a unit and non-Slav. It would seem as though the Albanian question is likely to assume an important feature of the readjustment that, whatever turn it may take, is bound to follow the events of the past two months.

FEMINISM'S NEW PROPHETESS

A LONDON weekly review, not yet a year old, recently caused great excitement among the English newspapers. It was said that this review was a medium of "literature of an abnormal, immoral, and dangerous character." Also that it stood for "free love," anarchy, and other dark and dangerous doctrines. Though it has been said that the new journal was published under the ægis of the suffragists, the fact is that "the latter, especially the militants, are fighting it with all their might." The reason is, says Frances Maule Björkman in the *Forum*, that the *Freewoman*, that being the journal in question, is "spiking the suffragists' game." We read:

The suffragists, both in England and America, have been trying all these years to convince the public that they were asking to be free only in order that they might serve the more effectively. This is the keynote of the most modern of the suffrage literature and the theme of every suffrage "soap-boxer." Nor is this attitude confined to the

suffragists. The women who have won nationwide recognition for their social services—the Jane Addamses and Florence Kelleys—show that their demand for wider opportunities for women is based on their appreciation of women's untapped capacity for "usefulness." Then came the *Freewoman* with the incredible heresy that . . . the woman movement was nothing if not an effort on the part of women to lift themselves forever out of the "servant" class and to place themselves definitely and finally among the "masters"—using their faculties, like all masters, for the upbuilding and development of their own personalities and the advancement of their own personal aims.

It admitted freely that this would entail enormous and fundamental changes in the social structure and in the relations of the sexes—that it would involve, first of all, the achievement of absolute economic independence of men by women; the repudiation, by women, of the marriage contract, at least in its present form; developments in domestic labor and administration so vast as to have all the outer aspects of "breaking up the home"; readjustments in the world of politics and industry great enough to accommodate double the present number of productive thinkers and workers, demanding, not only admission, but pay.

The raising of these issues was regarded as nothing less than an act of treachery, and the Women's Social and Political Union formally condemned the paper. It is stated, however, that the paper "has now, in less than a year's time, won for itself a secure position among a small but rapidly growing group of thinking people in England, and is beginning to find support and recognition in America." The editor is Miss Dora Marsden whose own articles "not only give the paper its unique quality—its originality, its honesty, its fearlessness—but chiefly warrant its claim for consideration as a social symptom." Of the young lady herself the *Forum* writer gives the following particulars:

This extraordinary young woman has shot into the literary and philosophic firmament as a star of the first magnitude. Although practically unknown except as a settlement worker and a suffragist before the advent of *The Freewoman* last November, she speaks always with the quietly authoritative air of the writer who has arrived. Her style has beauty—at times, great beauty—as well as force and clarity. Merely as an essayist she compels admiration and makes us wonder why we have never heard of her before.

Miss Marsden [who is a Lancashire woman] was graduated from Manchester University with the degree of B. A. and took up teaching as her profession, working incidentally in the University Settlement.

Immediately after Christabel Pankhurst's first militant protest, Miss Marsden threw herself heart and soul into the militant suffrage movement—even leaving her post as teacher to become an organizer for the Women's Social and Political Union. When challenged to explain this fact in view of her present hostile attitude toward the W. S. P. U., Miss Marsden stated editorially in *The Freewoman* that at that time she believed that she was allying herself with a general woman emancipation movement, which, she found later, was not the case. In the meantime, however, she ran the full gamut of suffragette experiences. She served two months in Holloway Gaol for her all too gallant defense of "the colors" in the clash between the police and the Lancashire women's deputation to the House of Commons in 1909. She

went through the hunger strike and was strait-jacketed in Strangeways Gaol in Manchester, where she had been committed for throwing a rock through the glass roof of a hall in which a Cabinet Minister's meeting was in progress, and she was arrested and discharged too many times to count. The newspapers of Lancashire called her "Dauntless Dora."

On the occasion of Winston Churchill's visit to Southport during the campaign of 1900, Miss Marsden succeeded in outwitting the police in the face of the most extraordinary precautions against suffragette interruptions. A large sum had been spent on extra police protection. Yet when Mr. Churchill began to explain that the people ought to support the Government because the Govern-

ment represented the people, from high up somewhere near the ceiling floated down a thin feminine voice:

"It does not represent the women, Mr. Churchill."

Far out through a ventilator above the stage leaned the figure of Dora Marsden, small and slight, and with her thin, intense little face wan and pale from nearly twenty-four hours of fast and vigil. But her voice rose crisp and clear above the uproar, and she coolly proceeded to deliver her message until the stewards, who had at first been utterly demoralized by the interruption, found their way into her loft and dragged her forcibly from the opening. Delighted crowds in the streets saw her thrust through the broken glass of a window and set rolling down the sloping roof—from which she must certainly have fallen had she not found a slight hold in the projecting coping—and then pulled down and hustled off to jail.

During the years from 1908 to 1910, the newspaper of the militant society, *Votes for Women*, was eloquent in praise of her courage, her resourcefulness, her devotion. During 1910 she was mentioned less and less frequently, and at the beginning of 1911 she disappeared from its columns altogether.

Miss Marsden's concern is "that women shall acquire the habit of appraising their individual worth as separate 'spiritual entities,' apart from any of their relational aspects. They must learn to judge themselves as individuals and not as mothers, wives, sisters, or daughters—not even as 'world-mothers' or creators and conservators of life." She writes thus of the duties of the freewoman:



MISS DORA MARSDEN

She must produce within herself strength sufficient to provide for herself and for those of whom nature has made her the natural guardian, her children. To this end she must open up resources of wealth for herself. She must work, earn money. She must seize upon the incentives which have spurred men on to strenuous effort—wealth, power, titles and public honor. . . .

It is neither desirable nor necessary for women, when they are mothers, to leave their chosen money-earning work for any length of time. The fact that they so often do so rests largely upon a tradition that will have to be worn down. In

wearing it down vast changes must take place in social conditions, in housing, nursing, kindergarten, education, cooking, cleaning, in the industrial world and in the professions. These changes will have for their motive the accommodation of such conditions as will enable women to choose and follow a life-work, apart from, and in addition to, their natural function of reproduction.

It is not surprising that "Miss Marsden . . . fully understands how hard is her doctrine and how limited must be its appeal."

NORMAN ANGELL AND HIS GOSPEL OF PEACE

A FEW years ago there appeared a thin octavo volume of about a hundred pages entitled "Europe's Optical Illusion." The book was a study in international politics, and its author was Mr. Norman Angell, "then quite an unknown personality in the greater world of letters." The work, destined later to be regarded as epoch-making, "fell absolutely flat; it was ignored both by the press and the public alike; and now at the present moment it is being translated into seventeen languages!" Well may Mr. Robert Birkmyre, writing in the *London Bookman*, say: "Mr. Norman Angell has every reason to feel grateful to whatever gods may preside over the fates of authors for the fortunate turn of events that has placed him almost at a bound as it were in the forefront of European authors." Under its present title, "The Great Illusion," Mr. Angell's book has influenced the enlightened leaders of thought and opinion in two hemispheres. "Men like Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Winston Churchill have allowed the tenets of 'The Great Illusion' to shape their thoughts and to mold their policy; and the work has been honored by complimentary reference in the French Chamber—an unusual experience for a book."

Of Mr. Angell personally, the writer says:

The career of the author of "The Great Illusion" was not always passed in the study poring over the problems of peace and war. Indeed, to anyone who knows Mr. Angell personally, and the facts of his life, it is a matter for wonder that he could have found the time necessary to devote to the study even of his own particular subject and the strenuous work of putting his ideas into book form. For unlike so many beautiful and artificial creations in literature "The Great Illusion" was not the work of a night; it did not "arrive" by accident; the author did not dream it as the poets both great and small dream poems; he built it steadily bit by bit in his brain, as the builder builds a monument and the work took years of patient and laborious study.

Mr. Angell's volume has been subject to so much misconception and misrepresentation



NORMAN ANGELL, AUTHOR OF "THE GREAT ILLUSION"

that the *Bookman* writer deems it advisable to state what the propositions laid down by the author really are. He tells us:

The whole idea of "The Great Illusion" is simply that war is an unprofitable undertaking in the twentieth century, both to the nation and to the individual who is part of that nation owing to the delicate interdependence of trade and finance. We are blinded by traditions that have passed away; haunted by shibboleths and have never really paused to think the matter out in a clear and logical manner. Mr. Angell preaches the gospel of peace but objectively; that is to say, if he had felt that any real profit, moral or material, could arise from the art of war as it is conceived and practised at the present day there would have been no need for his book and the slow, patient

years in which he devoted himself to the problems of international warfare would have been given to more profitable things; but feeling and having expounded in "The Great Illusion" the folly and fallacy of war he advocates peace: it is the only alternative. He does not say, remember that war is impossible, which is a favorite misinterpretation; it is more than possible; it is even likely; and it is because it is so probable that "The Great Illusion" has become such an important factor on all questions touching on international policy. Mr. Angell endeavors in "The Great Illusion" to put the clock right for us; we are slow by several centuries; and while we are so advanced and have made such gigantic strides in other things in the domain of international politics we are absolutely stationary and remain rooted where we were at the beginning of history when plunder was the price of war, and the rough and ready methods of the Huns and the Vandals will not work in the twentieth century. Mankind has developed materially and morally since then (whether they know it or not) and at the present moment when the nations are more than ever bound by economic interdependence and considerations of trade; when the division of labor is a tie between State and State and man and man, war and the benefits that war is supposed to bring is an individual and national "illusion." It is not war we want, but coöperation, not strife but federation. That is the real and only possible interpretation of "The Great Illusion," if read with the usual modicum of light and understanding.

Mr. Angell, whose full name, we believe, is Ralph Norman Angell Lane, was born in 1874 in England. His life, writes Mr. Birkmyre, "belongs more to fiction than to fact."

He received most of his education in France and migrated to Western America. It was here in this last country that that large slice of adventure befell him, and where he awakened to those unique ideas on world politics that were later to stir and influence all deep-thinking men both at home and abroad.

The life of the frontiersman, which includes such a pleasant variety of occupations, as ranching, mining, "cow punching," etc., probably taught him more than all the schools; for one learns living close to nature what the man who is habituated to a humdrum city life can never learn to the full extent; those sterling qualities of resource and decision which are as necessary in an author as in a man of affairs; and Mr. Angell is both. He was always an eager student of political and abstract questions, and in his journalistic work of this period one already traces the style and methods of the present author of "The Great Illusion." We next find him in France stemming with success that seething vortex of newspaper life in Paris; and then came the great opportunity of his life when he became connected with the business direction of one of the biggest journalistic enterprises in the French capital which brought him into immediate contact with the foremost political and commercial minds of Europe and indeed celebrities of all kinds who helped and encouraged him in his great work of political reformation. Such is the brief epitome of the twenty crowded years which resulted in "The Great Illusion."

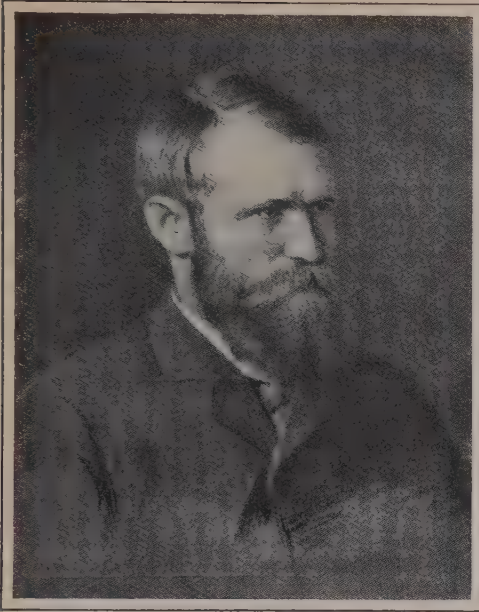
The opinion has been expressed that Mr. Angell has an excellent chance of receiving the Nobel Peace Prize.

THE INTERESTING PERSONALITY OF GUSTAV FRENSEN

TO be the writer of a book of which over a million copies are sold within a year of its first appearance, argues the possession of some special talent in writing or of the faculty of choosing and skilfully treating a theme which awakens emotion and pleasure in the reader. This observation applies in an eminent degree to Gustav Frenssen and his novel *Jörn Uhl*, first published in 1901. Writing of Frenssen in the *Queen's Quarterly*, Mr. E. J. Williamson, of Hobart College, describes the book as "not a story with startling incidents, but a plain homely tale," a story of toil and trouble, "far removed from the morbid pictures of life which we get in the naturalistic novel." Here "man is not represented as the soulless product of material changes and environment, but has an inner, better self which has the power to strive and assert itself against the hardest conditions of life." To those readers of the REVIEW who have not read *Jörn Uhl* in the original German the following synopsis of the

novel, condensed from Mr. Williamson's article, may be of interest:

Jörn Uhl, the youngest son of a rich Holstein farmer, is left, on the death of his mother when he is still a mere child, in charge of a faithful old maid-servant, Wieten Penn. A shy, reticent, boy he grows up with an exorbitant feeling of responsibility. Noticing how his father and older brothers fritter away their time gambling and drinking, while the old farm goes to ruin, he renounces his aspirations for study and resolves to devote his life to saving the "Uhl." From early morning to late evening he leads a life of relentless drudgery behind the plough. Sneered at by his shiftless father and brothers, he goes his own way, heedless of all else save his one chosen duty in life. Despite his sacrifices, affairs at the Uhl do not prosper. On his return from the Franco-German war he finds that his sister Elsbe, a wild rollicking girl, has eloped with a worthless fellow; the farm has been shamelessly neglected; and there are heavy debts that cannot be paid. About this time his father is thrown from his carriage after a drunken carouse, and becomes a helpless invalid for life. The creditors decide to place the estate in the hands of the industrious Jörn; the brothers are paid off and turned out to shift for themselves; and finally Jörn is master of the heavily encumbered farm.



GUSTAV FRENSEN, AUTHOR OF "JÖRN UHL."

He now settles down to a life of constant toil. Study he regards as a forbidden pleasure. Though he devotes his few leisure moments to his favorite astronomy, he keeps his books and instruments carefully concealed. Everything, however, seems to conspire against him. His young wife dies; a brother commits suicide; and a plague of mice threatens the budding crops. Finally the homestead is burned to the ground by lightning, and the weak-minded old father dies from the shock. Jörn now decides to give up the farm and start life anew. "I believe," he says, "I've been a poor unfortunate fool; but now I mean really to try and get back my soul that I've buried here in the Uhl." With his little son and the faithful Wieten he goes to live with his mother's brother, and ultimately gains success as an engineer.

What gives the novel its greatest value is "the naturalness of the persons portrayed therein and the genuinely human character of the struggle through which Jörn passes." Frenssen "has succeeded in making his figures stand out in such true and living forms that we almost forget that they are merely artistic creations."

Frenssen, who was born in 1863 in the little Frisian village of Barlt, began his literary career as a writer of stories, in 1895, and in the following year, with a serial story (*Die Landgrüfin*), written for a Berlin magazine, he laid the foundation of his success as a novelist. In 1898 appeared his second novel, *Die drei Getreuen*, one feature of which was the "very human interest evidenced by the author in the social questions and conditions of the time by his treatment of the labor problem." Jörn

Uhl made Frenssen famous and caused him to resign his pastorate and to devote himself entirely to literature. His next novel, *Hilligenlei* (1905), became the subject of much adverse criticism. It is the story of a quest after God and Jesus; and the last part of the book consists of a life of Christ, covering more than 100 pages.

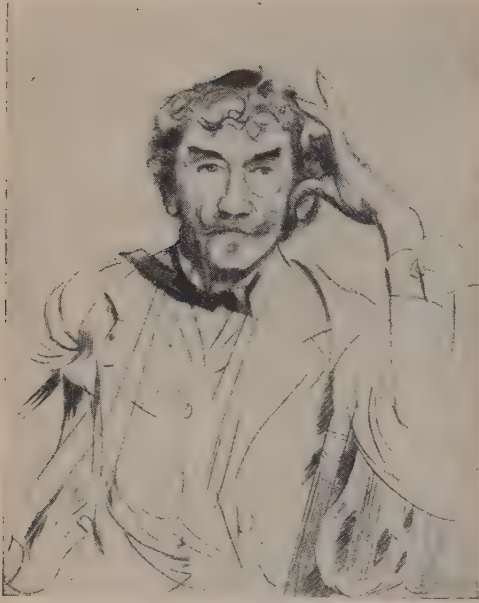
The Jesus depicted in the *Hilligenlei* is a noble, beautiful type of manhood. But he is nothing more than a man. He is simply one of those great leaders who has had a clearer vision of the Divine than his fellows, and who was therefore misunderstood by his contemporaries. . . . His miracles are represented as the natural outcome of his wonderful influence over men. . . . In the end he had to suffer and die, "for the unfathomable law of creation has decreed for man death and sorrow: progress is gained only by the sufferings of the best among mankind." His resurrection is represented as a vision which came to the disciples and followers who loved and adored him so much.

"The insertion," says Mr. Williamson, "of a religious-philosophic treatise of this sort into a novel is certainly out of place. Frenssen himself acknowledged this in a verse which he wrote for the hundred thousandth copy, issued one month after the appearance of the book."

Frenssen's last longer novel, *Klaus Hinrich Baas*, published in 1909, is a companion work to *Jörn Uhl*; but whereas Jörn Uhl was shy and humble, Klaus Hinrich Baas has inherited a haughty, ambitious spirit. . . . It is not until he reaches the age of forty-five and has almost ruined his happiness that he becomes fully conscious of the baneful effect which his insatiable passion for power and advancement is exercising on his life, and resolves to crush the serpent before it is too late."

Besides the works mentioned above, Frenssen has written a drama, *Das Heimatsfest*, and *Peter Moors Fahrt nach Südwest*, a sketch dealing with the native rebellion in German Southwest Africa; also an interesting story of double personality, *Der Untergang der Anna Hollmann* (1911). Certain critics have assumed that Frenssen has been influenced by Sudermann's *Frau Sorge* (1889); and he has doubtless learned much from Wilhelm Raabe. But even where he is influenced by others, Frenssen retains his originality. "He has his own way of looking at things, and his personality stands behind all that he writes." Though he has given up his pulpit, he "is a preacher from first to last"; and whether we agree with his views of religion and life or not, we "must at least give him credit for being honest in his attempt to place faith and morality on a sound foundation."

JOSEPH PENNELL ON WHISTLER



JAMES MCNEILL WHISTLER—A PEN SKETCH
BY HIMSELF

JAMES MCNEILL WHISTLER and his art have been the center around which has waged one of the bitterest controversies of modern times. Decried, belittled, characterized as *poseur*, mountebank, and as "the Idle Apprentice"—this last by a president of the Royal Academy—Whistler has had one friend whose faithfulness has never failed him and who is determined, now that the artist is no longer able to defend himself in the flesh, that his memory shall not suffer for lack of a champion. This friend is Joseph Pennell, who, as is well known, is joint author with his talented wife, Elizabeth Robins Pennell, of the authorized life of Whistler. Concerning this biography Mr. Pennell writes in the *Bookman* (London) as follows:

To have believed in him [Whistler] always was our good fortune; and it was an opportunity which has come to no one since Boswell to be asked to write such a man's life, to be asked by him to write the life of the greatest artist of modern times, and our greatest friend. We have written as strongly as we could and we have nothing to take back—we have told the truth as we know it, and we stand by it. We shall never again see a man in whom we can believe with all our mights and with all our hearts and with all our souls. We know that Whistler was the greatest artist of modern times, and the most interesting man of our time. We have made the world see this, and we have hastened his coming into his own. But

without us or any writers, by his work alone he would have been acknowledged the great man he is. We have had the chance to show it—the chance of our lives—and we are proud of it. We have done the best we could.

Mr. Pennell entitles his article in the *Bookman* "The Triumph of Whistler"; and, as might naturally be expected, the text fully justifies the caption. Thus we read:

His [Whistler's] eminence among artists is now assured, as almost all his most important canvases have been secured by the most important galleries of the world. . . . In portraiture, in his nocturnes and marines, he is the modern master. In etching he is the supreme artist of all time, and his supremacy is universally acknowledged. His pastels and water colors and lithographs are among the triumphs of the art of our day. His works thus cover nearly every phase of the graphic arts. . . . In literature—for he was no mere painter—"The Ten O'Clock" and "The Gentle Art" are classics that, founded on the rock of tradition, will endure for ever. By his personality and his wit he will live with Dr. Johnson and Cellini. But this is not all. His theories are accepted by those who never knew he propounded them. . . . His sayings—and the things he never could have said—are the stock-in-trade of the journalist as well as the author, now that they have ceased reviling him. . . . His pictures, which for years he could not sell, are found in reproductions in every home and on the popular postcard. His etchings and lithographs are the base of every collection—and their possession the ambition of every collector.

Although only nine years have elapsed since Whistler's death, nearly a score of complete books about him have been published. One of these, "With Whistler in Venice," by Otto Bacher, contained some "most extraordinary letters" of the artist; and "Miss Philip, Whistler's executrix, having eventually seen them, suppressed the volume." The non-publication of Whistler's letters is thus explained by Mr. Pennell:

When Miss Philip brought suit against us, and endeavoured to get out an injunction to prevent our issuing the "Authorized Life," and failed, she swore that Whistler asked her to edit his letters, and that she was to take her time about it—that at any rate she has done—but even to this day there are large collections she has never taken the trouble to look at. . . . I have no idea what material she has, but I know much that she has not, and without several collections which she has never seen she cannot do the work properly. Yet others are—by the law of copyright and her enforcing of it—prevented from doing that which they are only too ready and willing to do, and cannot, and she will not. A properly edited collection of Whistler's letters would be one of the most remarkable books of modern times.

Mr. Pennell defends himself from the charge that has often been made against him,

of praising everything by Whistler. He writes:

Over and over I have condemned things both in the man and his work I did not like—because I did not believe in the way he was painting or acting. But I did it to his face, never behind his back; and this is possibly one reason why I never had a quarrel with him, though we had endless fights. . . . At any rate, I tried to be true to the man and to fight with and for him—in exhibitions—in life—in the press—and I mean to be true to his memory. . . . A man more devoted to the highest perfection he could attain never lived. To achieve this, he took incredible and endless pains; and he was a genius, whether taking pains makes one or no.

The world of art having "acknowledged Whistler's greatness by three memorial exhibitions—a tribute no other modern has received—in America, France, and England," it is interesting to read, "in this day

of best sellers and biggest prices," of the surprisingly small sums actually received by Whistler during his lifetime for his etchings and lithographs.

Whistler's "Douze Eaux Fortes" was sold by him for two guineas (or fifty francs) a set of twelve, thirteen with the cover. The sixteen Thames etchings for twelve guineas. The Venice etchings, first set of twelve, sold for fifty guineas, about four each—and it was years before the Fine Art Society got rid of them, and they never issued another set for him. . . . The second Venice set contained twenty-six proofs, and he could only get for these twenty-six fifty guineas. . . . He never could get anyone to publish a set for him after this. . . . For single etchings, proofs, he got from two guineas to fifteen at the end; for his lithographs, until his death, from two to five guineas.

Whistler "never worked for anything but his art. He believed in that, and knew it would be appreciated—as it is."

THE POETRY OF MODERN AMERICA

THERE have been a number of articles of late in the magazines expressing the hope, if not the belief, that modern America is coming into her own at last so far as a national literature is concerned. The announcement of the new American magazine *Poetry*, established expressly for the encouragement of the art, and having "pledged subscriptions amounting to five thousand dollars annually for five years," would seem to indicate that poetry flourishes in the United States. A somewhat different impression is however received from the opening paragraph of an article by the editor of the new periodical just mentioned, Miss Harriet Monroe, appearing in the *Poetry Review*, which reads:

In the United States to-day the poet is rarely able to devote his best energies to his art because, unlike his fellow artists in painting, sculpture and architecture, he cannot make it yield him even a bread-and-water living. In addition to this disadvantage, which he shares with most of his European confrères, he suffers from the decentralization of literary taste and authority. His world is not a coterie in a capital, with an entrenched group of critics whose judgment, right or wrong, arouses comment; but a few inaccessible readers scattered over a wide area, and served by journalists who usually misconceive or ignore poetry altogether. Moreover his public is still sufficiently colonial in taste to distrust its own opinion and listen too eagerly for the verdict of London or Paris.

Thus the poet of serious purpose detects a response so slight, or of such foggy vagueness, that his voice may be gradually muffled. Even a hero cannot lead to victory without an army behind

him, and the most heroic artistic vocation is powerless against public apathy. Yet the apathy is more apparent than real. The people are intensely imaginative, with deep dreams calling for a truly interpretative modern poet. Public sympathy is not dead, but remote and scattered and unaware. An organized effort to unite and inform it may be the one thing most needful; perhaps this will be one of the century's important achievements.

Miss Monroe considers that "the people are eagerly responsive to familiar and humorous verse." Since Lowell with the "Biglow Papers" and Bret Harte with "The Heathen Chinee," we have heard James Whitcomb Riley and Eugene Field "singing for the average farmer or town-dweller of the Middle West, Drummond for the French-Canadian habitan, Paul Lawrence Dunbar for the Southern negro, Joaquin Miller for the Far-Western rover, and many lesser rhymes for their special neighbors."

Mr. Riley, the most eminent of these poets now living, begins with a rare intuition of the feelings of little common country children, expressed in such lilting child poems as "Little Orphant Annie" and "The Raggedy Man;" and continues through a wide range of grown-up human sentiment to such ecstatic lyrics as the joyous "Knee-deep in June" and the sad "Bereaved." Eugene Field should live with "Little Boy Blue" and "Wynken, Blynken and Nod," and Paul Lawrence Dunbar, passing too soon, left as his supreme achievement not a plantation melody, beautiful as some of these are, but one of the finest death songs of the language.

The late William Vaughan Moody was "the most nobly impassioned and technic-

ally proficient of our poets; the one who most completely fused serious devotion to his art, and a philosophic sense of life with a poet's vision and skill," while of his three friends Percy Mackaye "prefers the dramatic form," Ridgely Torrence "in casual poems of personal feeling and episode strikes whimsically an instrument of delicate music," and Edwin Arlington Robinson has a "style of a tense and stern simplicity, capable at times of austere dignity and beauty." Robinson's "The Master" is "a simple and noble expression of the average citizen's love, at once intimate and reverent, of Lincoln." Edwin Markham is "another poet who is moved by Lincoln and thrilled by modern issues." His "Man with the Hoe" is "worthy of Millet's picture which inspired it, a powerful presentation of the eternal tragedy of labor." Bliss Carman is "cursed by facility, but has moments of high emotional joy and true lyric harmony."

Of singers of "the gentler sex," if one may use this term now-a-days, Miss Monroe cites by name Emily Dickinson, "shy and intensely lyrical," Marguerite Wilkinson, "an obscure new little prairie poet," and Mrs.

Josephine Peabody Marks, "an authentic woman voice singing with intense intimacy and a new variety in her 'Canticle of the Babe.'" Then there are scores of other women grouped together because one wins from them all "a sense that the woman-spirit is getting effectually into modern literature."

In the van of the younger crowd of men are Ezra Pound and John C. Neihardt, and from this crowd "one hears a number of virile voices big and free and inspired by a modern democratic vision of life," like Arthur Daison Ficke and James Oppenheim. Others "sound the democratic note—protestingly, pleadingly, triumphantly, in divers keys; voices like Charles E. Russell, Constant Lounsbury, C. H. Towne, Silvester Viereck, New York's luxurious pessimist, and George Sterling."

Miss Monroe closes her paper in more hopeful vein than that adopted at its beginning. "Now and then," she says, "the beauty of some casual poem, in a passing magazine or new thin book, moves one to wonder whether the poetic Renaissance, if not yet here, may not be close on the way."

ONTARIO—AN OBJECT LESSON IN DEVELOPMENT

PROGRESS, as a characteristic of Canadian provinces, has come to be regarded as a natural order of things. In addition, however, to the evidence of development along what may be termed ordinary lines, Ontario is able to show achievements of a special kind which fully justify the designation "Progressive Ontario," applied to it by Mr. J. C. Boylen in the *Canadian Magazine*. For instance, the province has demonstrated that a government-owned railway can be made to pay.

The administration and operation of the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway is a triumph for public ownership and a tribute to the railroad ability, business acumen and public spirit of Mr. J. L. Englehart, the Chairman of the Commission operating the railway for the Government. The success of the operation of this railway is no small achievement when it is remembered that it received no assistance whatever in the way of a Dominion subsidy, such as other railways have received. In 1906 the earnings over expenses were \$181,525 while in 1910 the earnings over expenses were \$426,490. The line has a strategic position in connection with the transcontinental lines, running as it does north and south. To take full advantage of this position much of the older por-

tion of the railway has been rebuilt. The Grand Trunk system has secured running rights over this line which connects its Ontario system at North Bay with its transcontinental artery at Cochrane. For these rights the Grand Trunk Railway is to pay a rental of \$300,000 a year and a percentage of the maintenance charges of the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway.

Further, the day of the perpetual franchise in Ontario is over. Since 1906 no railway has been allowed a franchise extending beyond twenty-five years, and a "Railway and Municipal Board" has been established, so that the public know just where to look for a settlement of all grievances arising from the operation of railways under provincial jurisdiction.

Another and a unique achievement by the province is the inauguration of a transmission system for the distribution of electricity generated by the waterfalls of the province to provide a supply for municipalities and other users of power at cost. This work, says Mr. Boylen, is "a monument to the unselfish labors of the Honorable Adam Beck and is a triumph of engineering. To date it is the last word in the distribution of electricity."

The Hydro-Electric enterprise, comprising a high-tension system at present extending over three hundred miles with over three thousand steel towers carrying over twelve hundred miles of cable and its scheme of plain but wonderful transformer stations, was carried through for a sum within the estimate, something new in the construction of a public work. Opposition to the project on the part of the private interests antagonistic to it was so determined that even the very right of the Legislative Assembly to enact the legislation authorizing it was attacked. Ontario's answer to that application was one so unanswerable that the legislation was undisturbed. As an assertion of the rights of provinces to legislate on matters within their own jurisdiction Ontario's answer on that occasion is a state document of prime importance. So thoroughly does it deal with the matter that the likelihood of such a question being raised again is remote. Now some of the benefits of the Whitney-Beck cheap power policy are being felt. Ontario's pre-dominance as a manufacturing province is assured.

The farmer is being shown that what is done for the city dweller can be done for the agriculturists also. Demonstrations are given of "the threshing of grain by a separator driven by a portable motor installed at the barn door and supplied with power by a cable hooked onto the transmission line at the roadside."

In the science of penology the province has made a new departure. In Ontario, the line, "Stone walls do not a prison make," may be read literally.

The Honorable W. J. Hanna has inaugurated a new era in the work of treating the criminal. Instead of being guarded behind walls and made an unwilling competitor with free labor, he is put on his honor and sent out into the fields of the new prison farm near Guelph by the Provincial Secretary. The unfortunate whose liberty the law has demanded is no longer caged and confined in the manner that the term convict has long expressed. He is put out in the open and there are no striped clothes to make him feel that he is an outcast. He goes to his rest like a human being and is not herded into a cage like a wild beast by guards who cover the corridors with rifles. Humane as the old Central Prison was thought to be with its patch of garden, its broom factory and woodenware shops, it is a relic of barbarism compared to the central corrective institution of the Province to-day and its companion institution at Port Arthur. Instead of the congested old Central Prison being a reformatory it is too often a confirmatory. Its disappearance to make room for industrial progress will be the removal of a landmark that many unfortunates will show no haste to remember.

The offender has cause to take hope when he is taken to the prison farm to serve his term. It lies with him whether he will serve the full length of that term, for in connection with the institution is the Parole Board, which rewards good conduct and obedience with shortened terms. The liberated man goes out to the world with no prison pallor on his face and with spirit unbroken. Neither does he go penniless. His term of toil brings pecuniary reward which enables him to return to employ-

ment dependent on no one, with a new attitude toward the future.

Population is what counts; and the authorities are energetically tackling the problem, how to develop the territory and at the same time support the increasing number of inhabitants. The Ontario boy is not told to "Go West!" The slogan that rings in his ears is, "Stay in Ontario!" The Ontario Agricultural College shows the boy how he can become a successful farmer, and the farmer how he can get the best out of his land; and the College is affiliated with Toronto University, which is not only a seat of learning but a research center as well. A Market Commissioner, with headquarters at Winnipeg, keeps the Ontario fruit farmer posted on the condition of the prairie market; and within the past few years Ontario peaches have been introduced by the London office of the Ontario Government to the marketers of Covent Garden.

"Maritime Ontario with ports on tide-water," is the great scheme to which the Government's efforts are now more particularly directed. The upper portion of the Province is about the size of a European empire; and to develop and populate this virgin country Sir James Whitney and his colleagues are pledging Ontario's credit for \$5,000,000. The province has at least one good harbor on James Bay, and the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway is within 175 miles of it. Surveys for the necessary extension are being made at the present time.

These are a few of the extraordinary things that are being done in "Progressive Ontario." Of ordinary developments the following summary, which is given by the writer of this article, speaks for itself:

From a revenue of \$6,128,358 in 1904 to one of \$9,370,833 for the latest fiscal year indicates that Ontario has increased in material wealth. In seven years her field crops have increased in value by over forty million, eight hundred thousand dollars and the lands which produced them have increased in value by a like sum. Ontario's field crops to-day represent over one hundred and seventy-five millions in cash and the fields in which they grow by over six hundred and eighty millions. Live stock on farms to-day is worth twenty-five millions. The total permanent assets of the agricultural industry exceed one billion three hundred millions—an increase in seven years of nearly one hundred and fifteen millions.

With the discovery of Cobalt and the finding of Porcupine the mining industry in the Province has bounded from an output valued at \$11,572,647 in 1904, to one valued at \$41,976,797 in 1911. Ontario is first in nickel and third in silver among the mineral countries of the world.

TURKISH OPINION ON THE EUROPEAN CRISIS

JUST before the beginning of hostilities in the Balkans the Turkish press, with characteristic Oriental calm and cynicism, discussed the probable outcome of impending battles, the attitude of the European powers toward each other, and the intrigues and games of the group to which they belong.

As to the responsibility of the "bloodiest" war of modern history, all the journals, without hesitation,—and in this the Turkish press fully agrees with the publications of the Balkan allies,—attribute it to the greed, ambition and intrigues of the European powers. Thus the *Jeune Turc* before the war, said:

On whom will fall the moral responsibility of the blood which will flow?—nobody can hesitate to answer. They are the great powers, who, by their stupidity and indecision, have brought matters to this fatal end. Who will believe to-day that if they earnestly agreed to stop the war, they could not have done so? To-day even their language is full of duplicity, their behavior enigmatic. Read, for instance, what Sir Edward Grey says. This representative of a country which could do much toward peace, speaks a language which an oracle of Delphos alone could understand. He gives, at the same time, no right to us and to our enemies; he simply excites one another to war . . . and yet our government even in the face of threats, offered to do everything in the way of reforms . . . But it was evident that these were not wanted; they simply attack our honor and integrity, and if the blood overflows, the responsibility will fall on those who have provoked and encouraged this awful drama.

Thé *Djenine*, heir to the famous Young Turkish organ *Tanine* (*Echo*) which had been suspended by the government for its attacks, under the signature of Babanzade Ismail Hakki Bey, one of the foremost writers and a Young Turkish leader, says:

It is impossible not to see behind the stage-curtain the incendiaries of the present war, which will ruin the Balkans, and whose sparks will possibly inflame Europe. True that in appearance Europe has tried to make peace, but too late. . . . No doubt that twenty days ago this war could have been avoided by effective action on the part of the Balkan States, who laughed at Europe. . . . During recent years events followed each other fast. Russia stilled, in the north of Persia, her anger provoked by the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. England acted likewise in Southern Persia. France took Morocco and Germany the Congo. Italy, who had remained outside the feast, threw herself on her prey; now the same desire has taken hold of the small hunters of the Balkans. Europe should not escape the moral and material

punishment which weighs on the conscience, as a result of this example of immorality which she has given. That punishment could not be anything else than the general war, whose name every quivering lip begins to pronounce.

Taking up the European entanglements and the antagonism between Persia and Austria-Hungary, under the title "Expiation," the *Jeune Turc* says:

Never believe the sincerity of their lamentations about their inability to maintain peace. They lack not power, but will. Austria has declared, through her Foreign Minister, that "under no circumstances" would she remain inactive before the development of events in the Balkans, where she has "most vital interests." Russia has officially and unofficially said something to the same effect. . . . Will not both fear the "surprises" of a European Conference? Will not both think it better to come to the conference table, armed with *faits accomplis*, the best argument for right? Decidedly the great powers have not figured right. What they prepared for the small ones, will certainly catch them too; they will be caught in the wheel; the tragic hour and the expiation will soon come for them. The center of the general fire is "Panslavist Russia." If the war inflames Europe, this will be due to clerical and panslavist Russia. . . . She threatens in her anger, not only her old enemy Turkey, but Austria, and her press assaults most savagely her ally France and her friend England for not being more decisively ready to take up arms for the Balkan States. Russian Panslavism, which worked up the present war, is preparing Russia to intervene in their behalf. Will it succeed in these despairing efforts? Will France and England be caught in this intrigue? We admit that we ignore it. But we know that Russian Panslavism is the center of a general conflagration for poor Europe.

The same journal and most of the other prominent papers continue to discuss the "pros and cons" of a European war, and the various reasons and interests of the powers and the groups to which they belong. They conclude that the struggle between Slav and Teuton will have to come, violently attack France and England for siding with Russia against their own interests, as Moslem powers, and state that the only way to avoid a general war would be the ultimate success of Turkish arms and a strong Turkey, concluding with these words of the *Neue Freie Presse*, of Vienna:

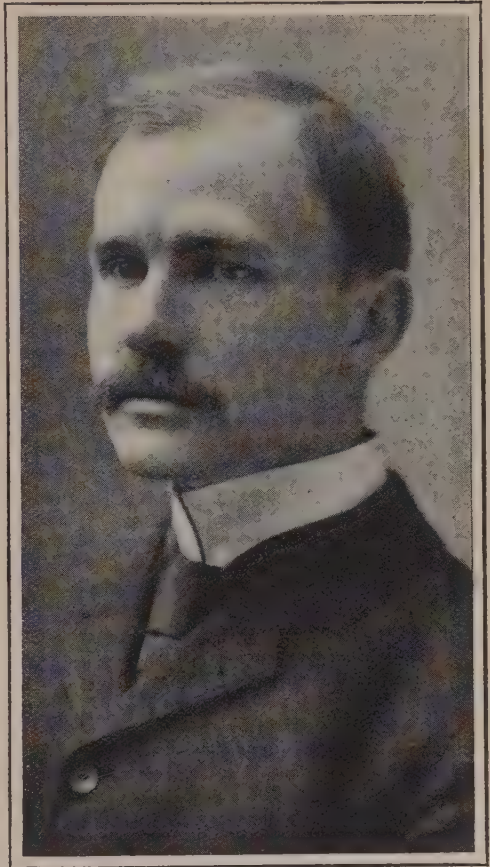
Turkey does not fight for herself alone, she fights for all of Europe too. Every success of hers brings us nearer to general peace, and nothing would be so deplorable as her military destruction.

THE AMERICAN MIND

MR. BLISS PERRY has published his series of lectures on "American Traits in American Literature," availing himself of the Jeffersonian phrase for a title, namely, "The American Mind."¹ He begins his theorizing with the scepticism of Professor Josiah Royce of Harvard, as to our being able to arrive at a definite analysis of ourselves as Americans. "A race psychology," he declares, "is still a science for the future to discover. We do not scientifically know what the true racial varieties of a mental type really are. No doubt there are such varieties. The judgment day or the science of the future may demonstrate what they really are. We are at present very ignorant regarding the whole matter."

Just what may be adjudged truly American must be our primary consideration. Have we anything in our mental and physical characteristics that is not a copy of some foreign original? Is there any voice raised from Maine to the Golden Gate that is not an echo of the murmurs of some older and mayhap wiser civilization? The word "American" has less precise connotation than the word "New Zealander," according to Mr. Perry. Racial questions are complicated; the blending of foreign blood and our own sectional differences are to be considered, likewise our rampant individualism and unevenness of culture. Which is typically American—Lincoln reading Voltaire or Mr. Jones reading "Mr. Potter of Texas?" To identify the American and truly differentiate him from his fellow men, Mr. Perry sends us far afield—to the Continent to observe that unmistakable type, the "American traveling abroad." As Mr. Perry sees him, he is obviously well-to-do, kindly, considerate, patient, genial; he uses his eyes well on general objects, but his lack of historical training limits his curiosity. He is critical of foreign ways from lack of acquaintance with them; he is intellectually modest and self-distrustful and he invariably tells you "just how many days he is away from God's Country."

The charge against us from the European critic is that there are "certain grave defects in the American mind, defects which if you had not had, as Thomas Carlyle said, 'a great deal of land for a very few people,' would long ago have involved you in disaster. You admit the mental defects, but you promptly shift the question to one of moral qualities, of practical energy, of subduing the wilderness, and so forth. You have too often absented yourself from the wedding banquet, from the European symposium of wit and philosophy, from the polished and orderly and delightful play and interplay of the civilized mind,—and your excuse is the old one: that you were trying your yoke of oxen and cannot come. We charge you with intellectual sins, and you enter a plea of moral preoccupation. If you will permit personal examples, you Americans have made ere now your national heroes out of men whose reasoning powers remained those of a college sophomore, who were unable to state an opponent's position with fairness, who lacked wholly the judicial quality, who were vainglorious and extravagant, who had, in short, the mind of an



BLISS PERRY, WHO HAS ANALYZED THE AMERICAN MIND

exuberant barbarian; but you instantly forget their intellectual defects in the presence of their abounding physical and moral energy, their freedom from any taint of corruption, their whole-souled desire and effort for the public good. Were not such heroes, impossible as they would have been in any other civilized country, perfectly luminative of your national state of mind?"

Mr. Perry suspects that the European critic is right, but he reminds him that we are somewhat excused by the fact that "here in America everything was to do" and goes on to say that "No one can understand America with his brains. It is too big, too puzzling; it is an onward movement; it is optimism and ideality and fellowship and faith."

We have conservatism in our blood and radicalism in our brains, hence we are a cross breed and must be a law unto ourselves. Carlyle's theory he thinks outworn, Whitman's premature. We must look to the Middle-West mind of America, to the individualism, the literature and the art produced in the great Mississippi valley, for the expression

¹The American Mind. By Bliss Perry. Houghton Mifflin Co. 249 pages. \$1.25 net.

of the true American mind. Chicago is more alive to actual American needs than New York or Boston.

Mr. Perry continues: "There is a period, no doubt, when the individual must painfully question himself, test his powers, and acquire the sense of his own place in the world. But there also comes a more mature period when he takes that place unconsciously, does his work almost without thinking of it as if it were not his work at all. The brain has gone down into the spinal cord; the man is functioning as a part of the organism of society; he has ceased to question, to plan, to decide; it

is instinct that does his work for him. A nation passes out of its adolescent preoccupation with plans and materials. It learns to work precisely as Goethe bade the artist do his task, without talking about it. We too shall outgrow in time our questioning, our self-analysis, our futile comparison of ourselves with other nations, our self-conscious study of our own national character. We shall not forget the distinction between 'each' and 'all' but 'all' will be increasingly placed at the service of 'each.' With fellowship based on individualism and individualism based on fellowship, America will perform its vital tasks."

NEW POEMS AND PLAYS

MR. P. P. HOWE has written a critical study of John M. Synge. If ever there lived a man who could have swept the strings of Tara's harp after

The Bard of
Modern Ireland Tom Moore's hand was stilled, that man was Synge. He was a kind of a "Pied Piper" and although he has gone from us and the "door in the mountain is shut," we are still hurrying out of our literary burrows and tumbling over one another to follow on to his enchanted country. So new and strange is the music of his words that it has turned the heads of the critics and they are hastily acclaiming him as a peer of Marlowe or even as the greatest dramatist in English tongue since Shakespeare. Mr. Howe errs in the matter of over-estimation. Synge is a dramatic genius—perhaps not a great one or even to be compared in the same breath with Marlowe, still a cunning artificer of plays. But it is not as a dramatist that Synge is great. He is more than a maker of plays; he is a bard. His plays sing like the harps of Ireland. The rhythms he worked into his prose set the mind delirious and send it swinging into space a "blossomy twist" upon the pendulum of the emotions.

Synge's works have been gathered together and published in a complete edition of four volumes. Slender as they are—they contain only six short plays, a few poems, and his sketch books of Kerry, Wicklow, and the Arran Islands—they make his fame secure. He has not mixed poetry and metaphysics, as Yeats has done, neither has he resurrected the Ireland of a thousand years ago, as Lady Gregory in her "Gods and Fighting Men." He has given us the simple facts of the lives of the humble folk of the west of Ireland and through the workings of their minds has led us to secret places. There is no more perfect drama structurally than Synge's "Riders to the Sea," nor is there a more perfect lyric in the soft Irish-English tongue. It carries the sound of the sea beating on the rocks, the lashing of the waves on the desolate shores; it lays bare the bottom of the sea on Judgment Day when the sea gives up its dead; it keeps the hopelessness of human sorrow beneath the wings of the Angel of the Resurrection.

"The Shadow of the Glen" and "The Tinker's Wedding" fared better with the public on both sides the water than "The Playboy." This play, greeted by cat-calls and hisses and missiles and judged to be an insult to every man with Irish blood in his veins, is after all nothing but an inoffensive satire of the psychology of the common

mind that casts a halo of glory over an audacious criminal whose crime is veiled in mystery. Irishmen are not the only victims.

Synge's last play, "The Sorrow of Deirdre," while inferior to the others structurally and more often than any of the plays lacking in that consummate music of words that is the glory of Synge's genius, is still by far the greatest in its conception of the eternal progression of life. It is a Celtic version of the philosophy of Maeterlinck with a touch of the pagan spirit of Pater. "There is no place to stay always," Deirdre tells us (Deirdre of the Sorrows, who flees from King Conchubar with the fair Naisi and his brothers the Sons of Usna and abides in the greenwood seven years until the blight of weariness falls upon their love). The tragedy of the brevity of mortal existence is voiced in a single sentence: "'Tis the sorrow of the wise that but for a short time we have the same things only."

John Masefield writes of Synge: "Synge gave me from the first the impression of a strange personality. He was of the dark type of Irishman though not black-haired. Something in his air gave one the fancy that his face was dark from gravity. Gravity filled the face and haunted it as though the man behind were forever listening to life's case before passing judgment. The hair was worn neither short nor long. The mustache was rather thick and heavy. The lower jaw otherwise clean-shaven was made remarkable by a tuft of hair too small to be called a goatee upon the lower lip. The head was of good size. There was nothing niggardly, nothing abundant about it. The face was pale, the cheeks were rather drawn. In my memory they were rather seamed and old looking. The eyes were at once smoky and kindling. The mouth not well seen below the mustache had a great play of humor in it. But for his humorous mouth, the kindling in his eyes and something not robust about his build, he would have been more like a Scotchman than an Irishman.

"When someone spoke to him he answered with grave Irish courtesy. He offered nothing of his own. When the talk was general he was silent. Sometimes I heard his deep, grave voice assenting 'ye-es, ye-es,' with meditative boredom. His manner was that of a man too much interested in the life about him to wish to be more than a spectator. His interest was in life, not in ideals."

There is no doubt that Yeats influenced Synge just as he has influenced Masfield and many others. Yeats has the angelic gift of believing in

Irish Plays of
To-Day

genius that is obscure and which nobody save a few specialists believes in. He is a great poetic personality who does not grudge his earnest encouragement and sympathy to younger writers. We have this month the second volume of his plays¹ enlarged and revised. They include "The Countess Cathleen," "The Land of Heart's Desire," "Shadowy Waters," "On Baile's Strand," "The King's Threshold," and "Deirdre," all of which are included in the repertory of the Abbey Theater in Dublin. There is more solid food in Yeats than in Synge. We cannot come very close to Synge; he passes above us like a restless spirit of the air. Yeats is not a master of the music of words—perhaps for the reason that his mind is forever wandering off into the realm of metaphysical speculation. "We are here" was Synge's cry: "We shall not be here always," answers Yeats. The "ever-living" to whom past, present, and future are as naught, pass like gray shadows through his dramas. In "The Shadowy Waters" he has poured himself—all his dreams and metaphysical speculations. Forgael, the master of the ship, steers his course by the flight of the man-headed birds to shadowy, unknown waters whence he shall not return. Deirdra, the pale queen with hair of "dull red and a copper crown," sails with him to the land of the "ever-living." Forgael explains his quest:

"For it is love that I am seeking
But of a beautiful, unheard-of kind
That is not in this world.

What the world's million lips are seeking,
Must be substantial somewhere."

Richard Middleton, the young English poet who recently committed suicide in Brussels at the age of twenty-nine, left a "giant's robe" behind

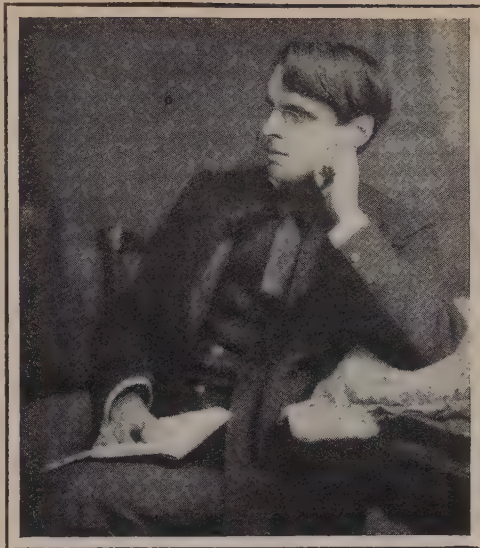
A Youthful En-
glish Dreamer

him. He was unknown, an obscure journalist who died because he could not compass in objective life the greatness that lay within him. Just as the world was beginning to find him out, his courage failed and his voice that had been ever the servant of beauty, passed into silence. His writings have been collected and published in London by T. Fisher Unwin.² They will be brought out next month in this country by Mitchell Kennerley under the titles: "The Ghost Ship and other Stories" and "Poems and Songs."

Mr. Henry Savage, who has written the preface for the "Poems," gives a pen picture of Middleton:

"He was of striking appearance. His unfashionable, thick beard, his massive, lined forehead and fine eyes compelled attention, but to me he is chiefly memorable for a certain air of dignity and self-respect." Of his genius he writes: "I am not using words idly when I say that it is of that rare quality that will sooner or later ensure him a recognized position, in the front rank of English poets."

Middleton was a pagan of pagans—a youthful Francis Thompson without the heaven of Thompson's saving mysticism. Pleasures palled, the mirror of life became tarnished, and death snatched him away. Yet toward the end he felt that he was



W. B. YEATS, THE IRISH POET AND DRAMATIST

passing into a larger life. "I grow a little warmer," he writes from Brussels. "I feel drawn toward children and young people who are kindly and not too clever. They give me a glimpse of the life that I have missed in my passionate search for enjoyment."

It is difficult by means of a few selections to convey the beauty of Richard Middleton's poesy. His songs are for the most part to love and for lovers. He belonged to the race of dreamers, and his the dream that had no end. These verses are illustrative of the poet's style:

UNDER THE WHIP

It may well be that death is God's last boon
For with the hours life's tapestry is blurred
To strange unshapen nothings; I have heard
Eve in the twilight singing to the moon
The passionate song that has no human tune,
And some fierce echo in my bosom stirred,
Greeting the cry, as an imprisoned bird
The piping of the day. O Death be soon!

For there is nothing left in life but this,
And to this scarlet shrine is beauty fled
Since Paradise grew earth and men were wise;
But who can breathe beneath your final kiss,
Love, and who would not rather be well dead
Than feed the torment in your laughing eyes?"

TO H. S.

Love is life's enemy for we who hold
Within our dreams our passionate carouse,
Count not dawn's silver or the sunset's gold,
Winning dim jewels for our vision-house.
When all the noontide blossoms lose their scent
And all life's flowers droop their faded heads
We gather roses from celestial beds
And lilies from the starry firmament.

And being born of dreams they shall not die,
For though the dreamers perish, these shall wake
Earth, with their fragrant immortality,
And on the hills their lovely buds shall break;

¹Plays. By W. B. Yeats. Macmillan Company. 533 pp. \$2.

²Poems. By Richard Middleton. Mitchell Kennerley. 44 pp. \$1.50.

While of our dreams new lover's dreams shall be,
And in our night time they shall find their rest,
Watching the sun pass down into the west
Stained by the wine of our old ecstasy.

We saw the new-made stars dance forth above,
And we shall see them flicker out and die,
We are but moments in the tide of love,
Yet we are one with love's eternity.
And when the Immortal wearies of His moods
And is no more, our song shall capture still
The place of timeless silences, and fill
With grateful rapture the cold solitudes.



ARNOLD BENNETT, THE ENGLISH PLAYWRIGHT

In "Romance, Vision, and Satire,"¹ Miss Jessie L. Weston has newly rendered the great English alliterative poems of the fourteenth century in their original meters. The poems of the 14th Century in translation are "Sir Gwain and the Green Knight," "The Adventure of Arthur at the Tarn Wadeling," "Morte Arthure," "Cleanness," "Patience," "Pearl," and "The Vision of Piers Plowman." It is a pity these splendid relics of early English poetry are not more widely read. "The Vision of Piers Plowman" is as modern (save for its medieval phraseology) as the daily newspapers. It deals with the identical problems of the classes and the masses that trouble us to-day. Miss Weston deserves praise for her skill in handling the translations. The book will be used by Professor Schofield in his classes in comparative literature at Harvard University.

"The Yale Book of American Verse"² is a delight to the eye as an example of fine bookmaking. The contents are printed on smooth, heavy paper, the type is clear, and the poems appropriately placed within wide margins. The binding is of Yale blue with gold decorations. This anthology in-

American
Classics

¹Romance, Vision, and Satire. By Jessie L. Weston. Houghton Mifflin, 337 pages. \$1.25 net.

²The Yale Book of American Verse. Yale University Press. 569 pp. \$2.25 net.

cludes the best of our American classics—those authors who "have added to their other distinctions the all-essential one of being dead." It was prepared and edited by Prof. Thomas R. Lounsbury, whose taste is to be highly commended, likewise his admirable and discriminating preface, which is all that a preface should be.

Arnold Bennett offers two plays,—*"The Honey-moon"* and *"Milestones."*³ The first is after the manner of "Polite Farces,"—a fluffy trifle of a parlor play that hangs its movement on the question as to whether any business in the world is important enough to interfere with a man's honeymoon. The question is decided in the negative.

"Milestones," on which Edward Knoblauch collaborated with Bennett, is a kind of moving-picture-show play that begins with the first milestone, Act I, in 1860 and continues to the second milestone, Act II, in 1885, and ends at the third milestone, Act III, in 1912. The same characters figure throughout,—first as hot-headed rebels against the existing order of things, later on as stubborn conservatives who in their turn are challenged and opposed by the rising generation. It is neither a satire nor a comedy, just a bit of carefully worked out realism. *"Milestones"* reads much better than it plays. The action is slow; the conversation drags; the characters move like marionettes. It might easily be strengthened as an acting play without marring its realism. The play serves a good purpose as a corrective against the tendency of the visionaries and emancipators of to-day to become the tyrants of to-morrow.

*"Rutherford & Son,"*⁴ a play in three acts by Githa Sowerby, is a grim piece of realism—a study of a man with an iron will whose overpowering personality ruined the lives of those who were bound to him by the ties of family affection.

It explains the domestic revolt that amounts to a disease in our own day and analyzes the cause with an unsparing hand. It is a dramatic version of the old knowledge, that a business or an institution may mean more than life itself to a man, whereas to a woman the affections must ever turn the balance in the scale of values.

It is rather startling to find the poetical works of George Meredith,⁵ now issued by the Scribners in complete and authoritative form, constituting a bulky volume of more than 600 pages. For a study of Meredith's spirit, there can be no better material found. And at the same time the reader will, among much-tortured language and over-subtle thought, meet with almost inexhaustible stores of beauty as well as wisdom. Meredith the poet is harder to read than Meredith the novelist, but as a poet he is hardly less worth while than as a novelist.

³Milestones. By Arnold Bennett and Edward Knoblauch. George H. Doran Co. 122 pp. \$1.

⁴The Honey-moon. By Arnold Bennett. George H. Doran Co. 111 pp. \$1.

⁵Rutherford & Son. By Githa Sowerby. G. H. Doran. 123 pages. \$1.00 net.

⁶The Poetical Works of George Meredith. With some notes by G. M. Trevelyan. Chas. Scribner's Sons. XVI-623 pp. \$2.

TRAVELERS' IMPRESSIONS

THE approaching completion of the Panama Canal is stimulating American interest in the lands surrounding the Caribbean, and during the

Caribbean
Lands

past few months there has been a marked increase in the number of published works devoted to that part of the world. In the years immediately following the Spanish American War many books about the West Indies came from the press, and it is probably true that during the past fifteen years more travelers have visited those lands than in their entire history prior to that time. One of the American correspondents who won marked distinction during the war was Mr. Stephen Bonsal, who has since made repeated visits to the various islands of the group and has become well acquainted with the history, traditions, and institutional life of the peoples who inhabit them. His latest and most comprehensive work, "The American Mediterranean,"¹ deals with the political and commercial relations of the islands and the possibility of developing American commerce with them. Mr. Bonsal's graphic literary style makes his book readable throughout, although more than one of its chapters has to do with topics that under the hand of a less skillful writer might prove dry and barren. Mr. Bonsal's treatment of these subjects is encyclopedic in its range and anything but encyclopedic in manner and method.

The political overturn in Mexico, our neighbor to the South, seems a fit occasion for a new survey of the country from the American viewpoint. This has been undertaken in "A Mexican Journey," by E. H. Blichfeldt.² This work also, like Mr. Bonsal's, is more than a mere record of travel. It is a study of the government and social customs of the Mexicans, although the author claims no credit for original research. The opinions and sentiments regarding the Mexican people which the author expresses are the outgrowth of sympathetic contact and correspondence with individual Mexicans for several years. The descriptive passages of the work are fruitful in suggestions for American travelers.

So few are the Americans who venture into South America for extended journeys that Mr. Caspar Whitney, who, during the past ten years, has made five separate overland and river expeditions into the southern continent of our hemisphere, deserves special distinction. These expeditions were largely by canoe and chiefly on streams more or less connected—which gives significance to the title chosen by Mr. Whitney for his latest book: "The Flowing Road."³ The travels included in this account embraced a continuous journey from Santa Isabel, on the Rio Negro, in Brazil, to Ciudad Bolivar, on the Orinoco, in Venezuela; from San Fernando, on the Apure, to the head waters and return, of the Orinoco by way of the Atabapo and the Casi-



CASPAR WHITNEY

(Who writes of extended river journeys in South America)

quiere; down the Portuguesa, in Venezuela, the Apure and the Orinoco, to its mouth; and on the Parana, the Salado, and Feliciano rivers in Argentina. Mr. Whitney also made saddle trips crossing the mountain ranges and penetrating the pampas of the Argentine and the forests of Brazil. The object of two of his most prolonged journeys was to have a look at the native people in the far southeastern corner of Venezuela. Altogether Mr. Whitney has succeeded in finding out a great deal about the continent and its inhabitants that will be wholly new to most of his North American readers. To such as may be inspired by his book to venture on like journeys themselves, Mr. Whitney offers many useful suggestions. He tells us that one may now go to all the important centers of South America in comfort. Excellent steamers ascend the Amazon, the Parana, the Magdalena, and the lower Orinoco. In a sleeping car from Buenos Aires on the Atlantic side, one may cross the Andes to Valparaiso on the Pacific. Comfortable railway travel is also possible in the Argentine, in Venezuela, in Chile, and in Brazil, while in Peru and Ecuador one may have two train trips which Mr. Whitney reckons among the most famous of the world.

Another extremely interesting account of South American journeys is "The Path of the Conquistadores," by Lindon Bates, Jr.⁴ In this volume the author describes Trinidad and Venezuelan Guiana, introducing into his narrative a sufficient amount

¹The American Mediterranean. By Stephen Bonsal. Moffat, Yard & Co. 488 pp., ill. \$3.
²A Mexican Journey. By E. H. Blichfeldt. T. Y. Crowell Co. 280 pp., ill. \$2.
³The Flowing Road. By Caspar Whitney. J. B. Lippincott Co. 319 pp., ill. \$3.
⁴The Path of the Conquistadores. By Lindon Bates, Jr. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 307 pp., ill. \$3.50.

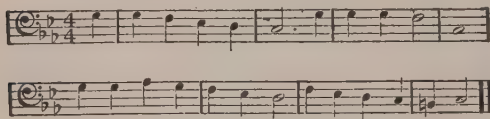


SIMON BOLIVAR, "THE LIBERATOR"

(From a painting by Francis M. Drexel, reproduced in "The Path of the Conquistadores")

of history to excite the reader's interest and answer some questions suggested by the memorials that the "Conquistadores" left in those countries.

Two comprehensive, useful books on the North American North, both well illustrated, are: Mr. William Brooks Cabot's "In Northern Labrador,"¹ and Charles Sheldon's "The Wilderness of the North Pacific Coast Islands."² Mr. Cabot's volume is the result of several thousand miles of interior travel extending over a period of twelve years. Mr. Sheldon's recital is largely the account of a hunter's experiences on the coast islands of British Columbia and Alaska.



CANOE SONG OF GABOON, REPRODUCED FROM "THE FETISH FOLK OF WEST AFRICA"

(All African music, like Oriental music, sings downward)

Mr. Robert H. Milligan supplements his work on "The Jungle Folk of Africa," with a volume devoted to "The Fetish Folk of West Africa."³

Whereas in the earlier book the African is described in relation to his surroundings, his external world, in the present volume the author attempts to reveal the interior world of the African, his mental

¹In Northern Labrador. By William Brooks Cabot. Boston: The Gorham Press (Richard G. Badger). 292 pp., ill. \$2.50.

²The Wilderness of the North Pacific Coast Islands. By Charles Sheldon. Charles Scribner's Sons. 246 pp., ill. \$2.

³The Fetish Folk of West Africa. By Robert H. Milligan. Fleming H. Revell Co. 328 pp., ill. \$1.50.

habits. Needless to say, this is a subject that few writers have ventured to treat, and the white men who have lived close enough to the African in his native land to write intelligently of his folk lore are certainly not numerous. Mr. Milligan has had the advantage of close association with the negro in Africa and has been a student of fetishism to good purpose.

One of those books on special phases of African native life which affords more than usually entertaining reading is Mr. Hilton-Simpson's description of the "Land and Peoples of the Kasai."⁴ This is a narrative of a two years' journey among the cannibals of the Equatorial forest and other savage tribes of the southwestern Congo. It is provided with several useful maps and many illustrations. These latter are taken from photographs made by the author himself, who, however, deplors the fact that many of his best negatives were spoiled because of the damp climate.



CARIBOU ON QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLAND

(Illustration from "The Wilderness of the North Pacific Coast Islands")

Once understood, the Chinese are a lovable and great people. This is the verdict of a Westerner who has lived and worked among them for fifty years. J. Macgowan, who desires to stand forth as an interpreter of China to the West, writes with sympathetic understanding of the Chinese character. Two great deeds in Chinese history prove that the sons of Han are a strong race. The first, Mr. Macgowan tells us in his preface, was achieved two

⁴Land and Peoples of the Kasai. By W. M. Hilton-Simpson. A. C. McClurg & Co. 356 pp., ill. \$3.50.

centuries before Christ, when Shih Huang-ti, the Napoleon of China, built the Great Wall to prevent the wild tribes from harrowing his subjects. Nearly two thousand miles in length, and over twenty feet in height, it winds over mountains and valleys, and has stood the wear and tear of more than twenty centuries. The second great deed is now being done—a deed even greater than the establishment of the Republic. The mailed fist of the military West has been trying for seventy years to force opium on the Chinese. Millions of money have been invested in it and China's teeming populations have been slowly enmeshed in its web, and yet China, by its own internal force of character, has dropped the opium habit. "To-day the bloom of the poppy is vanishing out of the land, and within another year or two opium will have been expelled from the whole of the eighteen provinces." This volume, which is written with unusual clarity and comprehensiveness of style, is copiously illustrated.¹

Henri Borel, the official Chinese interpreter in the Dutch East Indies, has given us another book on this subject which he entitles "The New China: A Traveler's Impressions."² This is also an intimate recital of the life of the people on a less ambitious scale than Mr. Macgowan's volume. It is illustrated. The translation from the Dutch has been made by C. Thieme.

What the author calls a review and a reverie concerning dramatic and enlightening experiences in Ireland is entitled "The Pope's Green Island."³

The writer, Mr. W. P. Ryan, is an Irish journalist, who has, for the past five years, been editing two Irish magazines, the *Irish Peasant* and the *Irish Nation*. His book, which one kindly English critic has called "the best book on Ireland ever written by an Irishman," is characterized in the introduction as "a light tipped account of the social, economic, religious, literary conditions in Ireland at the present time." Particularly interesting is that portion devoted to the history and aims of the Gaelic League.

That veteran traveler, historian, and descriptive writer, William Elliot Griffis, has produced another book on Central Europe: "Belgium the Land of Art,"⁴ than which no other land is richer or more affluent.

Dr. Griffis writes with his wonted wealth of anecdote and his usual charm of style. The volume is illustrated.

It has been the fault of the guide books often to treat Portugal as a continuation, almost a province, of Spain. Mr. Aubrey F. G. Bell, in his book "In Portugal,"⁵ hopes to give some idea of the distinctive individuality of the country and to point out the "utterly opposed character of the two peoples, which must probably render eternal the divorce between Spain and Portugal." The text reads

¹Men and Manners of Modern China. By J. Macgowan. Dodd, Mead & Co. 350 pp., ill. \$3.50.

²The New China: A Traveler's Impressions. By Henri Borel. Dodd, Mead & Co. 282 pp., ill. \$3.50.

³The Pope's Green Island. By W. P. Ryan. Small, Maynard & Co. 325 pp. \$1.50.

⁴Belgium the Land of Art. By William Elliot Griffis. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 310 pp., ill. \$1.25.

⁵In Portugal. By Aubrey F. G. Bell. John Lane Co. 227 pp. \$2.



A LION DECORATING THE GATEWAY OF
NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S PALACE
(Illustration from "Bismya")

very entertainingly, but a few illustrations would have added much to the volume.

In "Twice Around the World,"⁶ Edgar Allen Forbes, author of "The Land of the White Helmet," gives us a snappy, graphic account of what a "live wire" American saw in a double circumnavigation of the globe. There is a certain refreshing colloquialness about the way Mr. Forbes uses the vernacular in describing his adventures, which were many and varied. This book is packed full of illustrations, the captions of which are always apt, if not startlingly appropriate.

That redoubtable traveler and lecturer, Dwight L. Elmendorf, in a refreshingly worded preface to his new book, "A Camera Crusade Through the Holy Land,"⁷ has the courage to compare himself with Peter the Hermit, not entirely to the advantage of that ancient worthy. He went through the Holy Land, he tells us, for the express purpose of seeing for himself the places mentioned in the Bible, to study ancient customs which still remain, and if possible to understand the significance of many sentences of the Scriptures which were very obscure. The volume is sumptuously illustrated with full page photogravure reproductions of photographs.

Early in the summer of 1898 Dr. Edgar James Banks, Field Director of the Expedition of the Oriental Exploration Fund of the University of Chicago, set out for Babylonia to excavate among the ruins. His investigations were chiefly confined to the ruined mound of Bismya and were remarkably successful. He has told the story of these adventures and explorations in a copiously illustrated book which he has entitled "Bismya or the Lost City of Adab."⁸ No other Babylonian ruin, except perhaps Tello, where the French have been at work for many years, have yielded so many beautiful objects of ancient art as Bismya. Statues, vases, gold, copper and ivory objects, tablets of

⁶Twice Around the World. By Edgar Allen Forbes. Fleming H. Revell Co. 319 pp., ill. \$2.

⁷A Camera Crusade Through the Holy Land. By Dwight L. Elmendorf. Charles Scribner's Sons. Ill. \$3.

⁸Bismya or the Lost City of Adab. By Edgar James Banks. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 455 pp., ill. \$5.



A PICTURESQUE BIT OF GLOUCESTER HARBOR
(Frontispiece from "Historic Summer Haunts")

clay, graves, weapons of war, fragments of palaces, temples and private homes, household utensils, and even games and toys of children—all these unite in "forming a distinct picture of the life and civilization of the people of Babylonia of five thousand or more years ago."

Many sons and daughters of New England will be thankful to Mr. F. Lauriston Bullard and Mr. Louis H. Ruyl, who figure as the author and illustrator, respectively, of "Historic New England Summer Haunts from Newport to Portland." As the title implies, these glimpses of historic New England are confined chiefly to the towns and villages along the coast. There is, however, a slight departure from this plan in the chapter devoted to the "Whittier country," which means, of course, the valley of the Merrimac. Mr. Ruyl's etchings give characteristic examples of New England coast scenery and all of the subjects have historical associations that give them a perennial interest for New Englanders.

BIOGRAPHY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

AT last we have the personal and literary life of Mark Twain, by his friend and associate, Albert Bigelow Paine, a three-volume biography² fully illustrated with letters, comments, and incidental writings hitherto unpublished, with new episodes and anecdotes, make this a fascinating story. "When I was younger," Mr. Clemens once said quaintly, "I could remember anything whether it happened or not, but I am getting old, and soon I shall remember only the latter." It was to correct this tendency in the writings about Mark Twain by himself and others that Mr. Paine has conscientiously prepared this memoir. It is saturated with the Mark Twain spirit and fairly glows with an affection that the writer does not attempt to conceal. One of the most characteristic things about Mark, says Mr. Paine, was his domesticity. This is a side of the great humorist not always recognized. It is well illustrated in Mr. Clemens' own quaint way. Upon his return from his last trip abroad he is said to have remarked to one of the reporters on the steamer, "If I ever get ashore, I am going to break both my legs so that I cannot get away again."

From the abundant manuscript materials that were collected during his lifetime by the late John Nicolay, who was one of President Lincoln's secretaries, Miss Helen Nicolay has compiled a volume wholly concerned with the personal traits of the martyr President.³ The overflowing envelopes of personal jottings, private letters, and newspaper clippings which had been arranged by her father under this head have been blended into a systematic and coherent volume by Miss Nicolay, who herself grew up in an atmosphere of devotion to Lincoln. Since the publication of "Abraham Lincoln: A History," by Nicolay and Hay, new letters have

come to light, and these have been drawn upon in the preparation of "Personal Traits." Although many books of Lincoln anecdotes are in existence, it is doubtful whether among them all there is one that contains so much that is authoritative, and at the same time illustrative of the Lincoln character, as will be found between the covers of Miss Nicolay's work.

The surviving officers of our army who saw service in both the Civil War and the Spanish-American War are few in number. One of the most distinguished of this little group, General James Harrison Wilson, gives his recollections of both wars in a two-volume work entitled "Under the Old Flag."⁴ Having been graduated from West Point in 1860, Lieutenant Wilson was serving with the topographical engineers at Fort Vancouver when the Civil War broke out. During the war he first served on the staff of General T. W. Sherman. Later he was with McClellan and Grant at Antietam and Vicksburg, and in the Chattanooga campaign, and as Brigadier General of Volunteers distinguished himself as a cavalry commander under Sheridan. In the last months of the war he organized and commanded the cavalry corps in the campaign against Hood and in the pursuit and capture of Jefferson Davis. In the Spanish War General Wilson commanded the First Division of the First Army Corps in the expedition to Porto Rico. At the time of the Boxer rebellion in China General Wilson was second in command of the American forces. In 1901 General Wilson was placed on the retired list as Brigadier General of the United States Army, with General Fitzhugh Lee and General Joseph Wheeler, in accordance with a special act of Congress. In his recollections of the Civil War General Wilson gives an intimate account of some military operations, especially in

¹Historic Summer Haunts from Newport to Portland. By F. Lauriston Bullard. Little, Brown & Co. 329 pp., ill. \$2.50.

²Mark Twain: A Biography. By Albert Bigelow Paine. Harper & Brothers. 3 vols. 1719 pp., ill. \$6.

³Personal Traits of Abraham Lincoln. By Helen Nicolay. The Century Company. 387 pp., ill. \$1.80.

⁴Under the Old Flag. By James Harrison Wilson. D. Appleton & Co. 2 vols. 1162 pp., ill. \$6.

the closing campaigns, that have received comparatively slight attention from historians. His story throws new light on many of the maneuvers in which he figured, and it is quite possible that more than one of his statements will give rise to controversy. He gives us intimate portraits of Lincoln, Grant, Sheridan, Sherman, Dana, McClellan, and Custer.



LAURA HAWKINS, THE ORIGINAL "BECKY THATCHER" OF "TOM SAWYER"

(From "Mark Twain: a Biography")

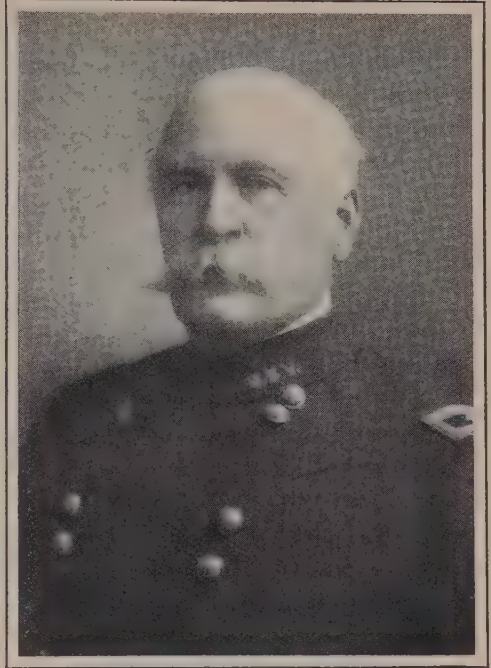
A new book on Whistler in the form of "Memories,"¹ by T. R. Way, who knew the artist for many years, brings together some of the most interesting of Whistler's unfinished sketches. It is a sympathetic book, written, however, quite frankly and without any illusion. Mr. Way came to know Whistler because of their common interest in lithography, and it is the lithograph stone that plays a large part in their friendship. The book is copiously illustrated.

New Memoirs
of Whistler

In Mr. John Joseph Conway's volume on "Footprints of Famous Americans in Paris,"² are given gossip accounts of the lives of sojourners in the French capital. Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, Tom Paine, Lafayette, Robert Fulton, Paul Jones, Count Rumford, Samuel F. B. Morse, Henry W. Longfellow, William Morris Hunt, Margaret Fuller, Dr. Evans, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, John Howard Payne, Whistler, and a number of lesser known Americans during the siege by the Germans and the Commune. There are many illustrations and a preface

¹Memories of James McNeill Whistler. By Thomas R. Way. John Lane Co. 150 pp., ill. \$3.

²Footprints of Famous Americans in Paris. By John Joseph Conway. John Lane Co. 315 pp., ill. \$3.50.



GEN. JAMES H. WILSON
(Author of "Under the Old Flag")

by Mrs. John Lane. "Every one," said Sadi Carnot, when President of France, "has two countries; his own and France." And, in the words of our own Whitelaw Reid, this has been peculiarly and gratifyingly true of the most eminent Americans.



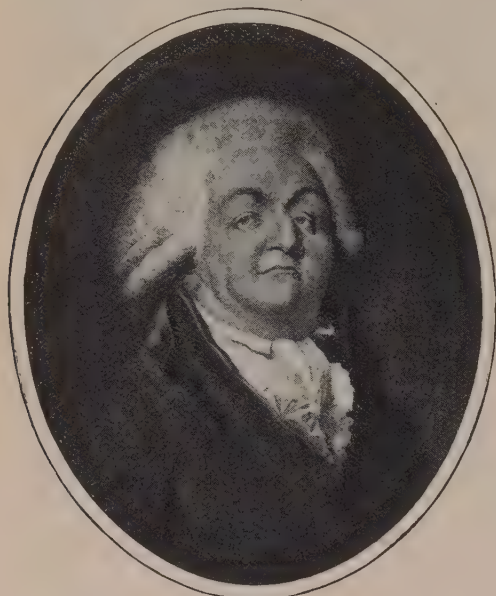
DR. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN (AN OLD PRINT)
(From the collection of M. Godefroy Mayer, Paris)

A clever French writer, S. G. Tallentyre, author of "The Life of Voltaire," has now written "The Life of Mirabeau."¹ He introduces his subject with the assertion that the two great representative Frenchmen of the eighteenth century were Voltaire and Mirabeau. "Voltaire was the last influence of the old order, and Mirabeau the first of the

Professor Angelo Heilprin, during the catastrophe of Mt. Pelée gave him world-wide fame. It was the weight of authority of this scientist and explorer also which turned the scales during the Senate debate in favor of the Panama route for the canal against the Nicaraguan. The elder son, Louis, who died but a few months ago, was one of the greatest experts in encyclopedia work of his age. The volume is illustrated, chiefly with portraits.

In the "Heroes of the Nations" series, which the Putnams have been bringing out at intervals during many years, we now have "Canute the Great,"²

by Laurence Marcellus Larson, of the History Department of the University of Illinois. Around the biographical sketch of the famous Scandinavian who became King of England, Professor Larson has woven the story of the rise of Danish imperialism during the Viking age. The book is illustrated with reproductions of coins and medals, maps, runic stones, and tapestries.



MIRABEAU

(From an engraving by Fiesinger, after the picture by Guerin)

new." It is a readable story this, the career of that dominant figure of the Revolution, Gabriel-Honoré de Riquetti, Comte de Mirabeau. The biographer closes with the tribute "that piercing and unerring outlook into far consequences of him who was not the subtlest or the adroitest, but the wisest of the statesmen of France."

Dr. Gustav Pollak's biography: "Michael Heilprin and His Sons"² is really the life story of three remarkable men. Dr. Michael Heilprin, who died in 1888, a scholar and

The Heilprins, critic, distinguished for his studies in Biblical literature, philology, and history, and his picturesque career as a Hungarian patriot, is well known in this country, as well as in his own land. The career of his younger son,

¹The Life of Mirabeau. By S. G. Tallentyre. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 366 pp., ill. \$3.50.

²Michael Heilprin and His Sons: A Biography. By Gustav Pollak. Dodd, Mead & Co. 540 pp., ill. \$3.50.



MICHAEL HEILPRIN

(From "Michael Heilprin and His Sons")

³Canute the Great. By Laurence Marcellus Larson. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 375 pp., ill. \$1.50.





THREE-COLOR ILLUSTRATION IN "THE SEASHORE BOOK." STORY AND PICTURES BY E. BOYD SMITH. (HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN)
(Half-tone reduced. A good effect of distance)

PICTURE BOOKS IN COLOR

HOW THE NEW THREE-COLOR PROCESS IS MAKING OUR GIFT BOOKS FOR CHILDREN ATTRACTIVE

BY ERNEST KNAUFFT

HOW many fond parents in selecting a Christmas book for "Buster," and choosing one with colored pictures, are aware of the scientific knowledge and expert labor that go to produce that book?

Very few, we venture to surmise! Yet the arts of engraving and printing in color as practiced to-day, are closely akin to the marvelous discoveries in light and sound waves, in photography and chemistry, that have made moving pictures, and telephones, and talking machines, possible. Color printing is used extensively in all kinds of books and periodicals, but it is in the books for children that we find some of the most delightful surprises of picture-book making. As perfect accuracy is not required on the part of the artist or plate maker—as it would be in a scientific book, for example, where precious stones, flowers, insects, or birds were to be depicted—hues sometimes run riot as it were in a most fascinating manner.

"Little Red Riding Hood's" mantle makes as brilliant a scarlet against the dense green of the wood, as even Solomon might covet. The atmospheric glow in Maxfield Parrish's romantic compositions (partly due to his special stipple technique), harmonizes with their ultra imaginative character. Foreign artists like Edmund Dulac are able to render costumes of silks and satins bedecked with embroidery, metal and precious stones, that scintillate on the printed page to a degree that rivals the miniatures of Van Eyck. No longer does the author have to record the fact that "Goldilocks'" hair was like spun gold, the color prints have visualized its luster for us. As "Blue Beard" mounts the stairs in pursuit of Sister Ann his beard glows in the sunlight in richest ultramarine. The "Water Babies" swim about in apple green water, companions to pink-tailed fishes, and iridescent bubbles rise as they breathe.

For a number of seasons H. J. Ford has designed the colored pictures for Andrew Lang's Fairy Books. These are printed in four colors (viz., yellow, blue and two hues of red, a vermillion and a carmine). Here lapis lazuli blues, oriole scarlets, amber yellows, and Persian oranges and greens, combine to make pictures that possess as exotic a flavor as do the foreign tales in the letterpress.

Tiny details are sometimes preserved in a way that makes the minute etchings of Cruikshank look like rough sketches. In the original illustration for "Gulliver's Voyages," by P. A. Staynes, which we reproduce on page 763, the yellow of the Chinese ceramics is counterfeited with an accuracy that would be acceptable in a *catalogue de luxe* of an art connoisseur's collection.

A few words upon some of the processes that produce these colored pictures, may perhaps, assist the reader to appreciate the illustrated gift books that our publishers offer each holiday season.

SOME FIRST PRINCIPLES OF COLOR PRINTING

A few "first principles" to bear in mind are as follows:

Except in etching, copper-plate engraving and in lithography, all printing surfaces must be in relief. All methods here under consideration require relief "blocks."

Every letter "o" on this page is printed from a metal circle in *relief*, which is inked by rollers every time a page is printed. All lines and dots in the pictures in these pages are in similar relief—type high—and so printed.

A few homely illustrations will perhaps make the entire process of color printing clear.

Imagine the end of a wooden spool; think of this as a "cut" or "plate" i. e. the printing surface. If the spool were put in our press, type high, it would

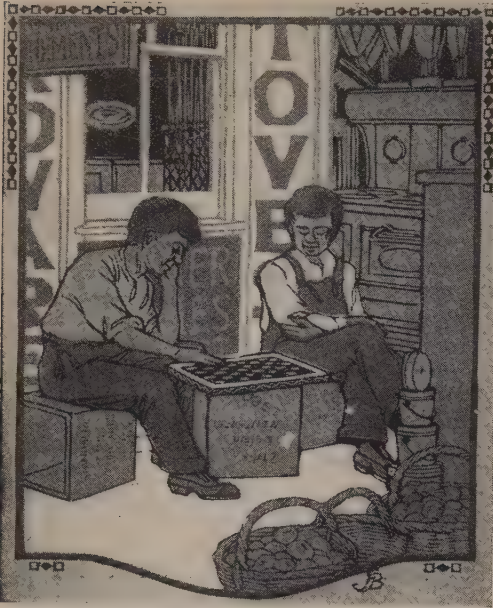


PHOTO-ENGRAVING—LINE WORK—USED TO REPRODUCE PEN DRAWINGS

Photo-engraving is easily understood by any one who has used a camera.

In "line work" the artist makes a pen drawing in line. The drawing is placed before a camera. These lines are photographed exactly as the amateur would photograph telegraph wires—they "come" dark against the sky. The negative is then developed.

In the negative as every "camerist" knows, the dark lines appear as white lines. This negative is put over a zinc plate that has been previously sensitized with some substance that hardens when exposed to light (say albumen and bichromate of ammonia). The light passing through the white lines of the negative makes this coating insoluble in the line (image) part only. Then the rest of the coating is washed off the plate. When the plate is dry, it is heated slightly, and dusted with some resistant to acid (like resin, dragon's blood, etc.) this powder sticks to the lines, but is easily dusted off the rest of the plate. The plate is now immersed in (or sprayed with) an acid (and water) bath, the acid eats into the rest of the plate, lowering it, *leaving the lines in relief*. Here is our printing surface.

The pen drawing by Faith Avery, on the opposite page was etched in this way.

A PAGE ILLUSTRATION (REDUCED) IN "ALL THE YEAR ROUND" BY JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY (BOBBES-MERRILL)

(A woodcut engraved and printed—from six blocks—by Gustave Baumann. In the book the colors were all flat tints, in our reduction the half-tone dots and cross lines of the ruled Levy screen—120 lines to the square inch—are to be distinguished under a magnifying glass. By realizing that a common spool, cut by hand to an octagonal form, would print an "O" like the one in (s)tove(s), one should understand perfectly the nature of the hand work in wood engraving. By realizing that an "O" painted the same color as this one in the illustration—a yellowish buff—would if half-toned "come out" exactly like the "O" above, one may realize how an original drawing or painting is reproduced by half-tone, *without any hand work*)

THE HALF-TONE PROCESS

"Line work" is a perfect process for reproducing black lines, or dots, or solid blacks, but it does not reproduce the graduation of tone called "half-tone." A process was needed which would faithfully reproduce photographs, artists' "wash drawings" and paintings. Several minds set to work and a process was devised as follows:

A negative (on an orthochromatic plate) is made from the original photograph, wash drawing, or painting "copy", and is etched very much as is the pen drawing in line work. Only, between the lens and the plate (to become the negative) is placed a grating or screen, this formerly was a gauze or mesh, but to-day it is generally two ruled sheets of glass, cemented together so that the lines are at right angles, forming tiny squares between them, or at other angles forming lozenges or diamonds between them. (See Figure C.) (The mezzograph screen is granulated, not ruled.)

This screen is the crux of half-tone engraving. It breaks up the picture into a multitude of dots. Examine under a magnifying glass our illustration Figure C, and then look at every illustration in this article (except the four line cuts which were reproduced by the zinc etching) and you will see that a series of tiny dots and lines produce the image.

In the light of the foregoing it ought to be easy to understand that if Mr. Baumann's "o" were to be reproduced by photo-engraving, he would draw an octagonal black "o" on paper and it would be photographed and etched, as described, above, that is mechanically and not cut by hand as he cuts his "o" on wood.

print a very heavy "o" in black. If you stamp the spool end on to an inking pad and then press it upon paper, it prints the *color of the ink of the pad*. That is the important thing to remember.

Turn to the wood cut by Mr. Baumann; note the "o" in (s)tove(s) and see how easy it is to imagine that "o" as a spool end, with the margins cut off (by a penknife) eight times to make an octagonal form!

WOOD ENGRAVING, THE PROCESS OF THE PAST

The woodcut was used for centuries for very beautiful color printing, first in flat tints as in Mr. Baumann's prints; later, after the days of Bevic, graduated tints were obtained by breaking up the flat tints with white lining. Perhaps the most lovely colored illustrations that ever appeared were those designed by Kate Greenaway in the Seventies, and they were broken up into soft tints by the wood engraver Edmund Evans. But to-day the woodcut is rarely used, photo-engraving having taken its place.



LINE PLATE, ZINC ETCHING, REDUCED, FROM AN ILLUSTRATION, IN BLACK AND RED, IN "THE KEWPIES AND DOTTY DARLING"; PICTURES AND VERSES BY ROSE O'NEILL (DORAN)

(The original, a pen drawing. A Ben Day tint, put on the apple, flag, hair ribbon and shoes)

THE THREE-COLOR PROCESS—THE PROCESS OF THE FUTURE

By the three-color process is usually meant, the producing of three different plates (one for printing yellow, one for red, one for blue) from an artist's painting, or from nature, by the half-tone process. In the four-color process a black plate, or an extra red plate, is used in addition.

The three-color process is the half-tone process plus the use of three color filters. (Usually placed before the lens.) It is the use of the filter that has made the Kinemacolor moving picture possible.

Now every amateur photographer knows that the ordinary non-orthochromatic plate is extremely sensitive to blue light, the blue rays travel so rapidly through it that blue "comes out" almost like white. White light is the most rapid traveling color. To rectify partially this fault, orthochromatic or color sensitive plates are used and a yellow film (of, say, gelatin) is placed on the camera, the blue rays are absorbed or delayed in it, as it were, so they come through more slowly, more nearly approximating the red and yellow rays, which are not delayed but are naturally slow traveling colors.

On this principle the three-color plates are produced. Imagine a painting of six circles like spool ends—yellow, orange, red, green, blue and brown—as being before the camera, adjusted to take a half-tone upon an orthochromatic plate. To make the blue plate (i. e. the plate to print blue from) we do what the amateur photographer does when he wants to take the blue sky, we put an orange (composed of red and yellow), or a red, filter in front of the lens. This filter may be a sheet of colored glass or of dyed gelatin, or a liquid dye inclosed in a glass cell. The negative made through this filter is really a picture of the yellows and reds and the oranges that surround the blue circle. The negative is unaffected in the blues hence when this negative is placed over the copper plate (to be etched,) the light passes through where the blue images are transparent. The light hardens the sensitive coating on the copper plate, so the coating does not wash off, but acts as a resister when the plate is etched, the result is metal in relief to receive blue printing ink. The reds are photographed through a green filter, and the yellows through a blue-violet filter. (The process may differ somewhat abroad so that other colored filters may be used.) To recapitulate—the color that is opaque in the filter is transparent in the developed negative, and is again opaque in the final plates. In short,



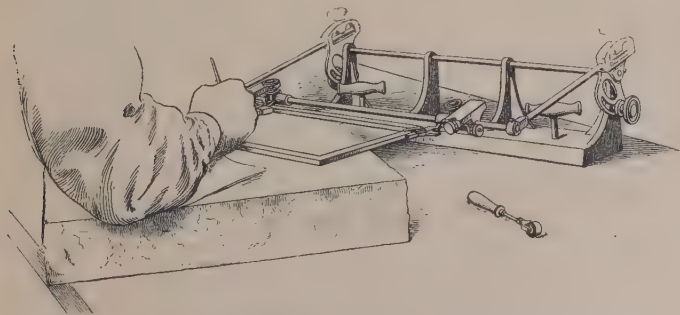
LINE PLATE, ZINC ETCHING, REDUCED FROM A PAGE ILLUSTRATION IN "BETTY-BIDE-AT-HOME"

BY BEULAH M. DIX (HOLT)

(Originally drawn by Faith Avery in ink lines only; the tint put on by Ben Day film, tint No. 526 used on the flesh, and No. 318 on the rest of the drawing. This gives a very graphic idea of the make-up of a hand-tinted color plate. If printed in red over yellow it would complete the flesh tones in the face and hands, and produce an orange hue elsewhere, which printed on from a blue plate would become brown)

the rays from our blue spool end would not go through the red filter, therefore the negative would be plain glass, and hence in the copper plate to print from would be solid opaque. And this is true of every particle of blue that made up greens and purples and browns.

When printing these three half-tone plates, the pressman uses three inks—yellow, red, and blue. The red is printed over the yellow (after it is dry) and the result is an orange proof (pure yellows and pure reds of course being the result if they were in the original copy, but orange being the result in the mixed shadings and hues). The blue plate, printing blue over the yellow, produces green. The blue, over the red, produces purple, and over the full orange it produces browns; over the light oranges it produces gray shading tones. *These mixed gray tones are the ones most characteristic of the three-color half-tone process.*



HAND-TINTING APPARATUS IN USE

(Fig. A.—A Ben Day Shading Medium machine. The artist's hand is "laying" a tint onto a lithographic stone, by pressing on the gelatin film with a stomp or burnisher. For larger tints he will use the roller seen on the table. He may lift the frame and put a zinc plate under it)



HALF-TONE, 120 LINES, REDUCED, FROM THE COLORED COVER OF "PIGGY-WIGGY" (STOKES)

(The original was a pen, or brush, black outline drawing, tinted in colors by the artist, Mrs. Grace G. Wiederseim, the designer of the "Campbell Kids." This was given to a draughtsman who traced it in black. From this tracing four photographic transfers were made on zinc plates. Each plate was put under a Ben Day film and a tint imprinted on it, to correspond to the colors of Mrs. Wiederseim's original. All the blacks on one plate, the key plate, the yellows on another, the reds on another, the blues on another. In the picture above one may discern in addition to the stipple of the final colored cover, the cross lines of our half-tone screen.)

There is an element of uncertainty in the half-tone three-color process, that sometimes gives unsatisfactory results. Grays "come" too light and colorless, the browns "come" muddy, and the red and pink objects look "burned up." On the other hand at times quite unexpected and pleasing effects are produced.

THE BEN DAY PROCESS, A "HAND TINT" PROCESS

The three-colored half-tone process is entirely mechanical and yet it is an expensive process. A less costly process than it, by which nearly all the colored supplements for the daily papers are made, is the Ben Day process—named after the inventor—by which the tint plates are made by hand.

In Figure A one may see a draughtsman working with the Ben Day process. Under his hand is a frame which corresponds to a transparent slate,

but in place of glass it is fitted with a film of gelatin. The under side of the gelatin is embossed with tiny points or lines. This surface he inks with a roller charged with printer's ink. The lines or dots thus inked do not prevent his seeing through the gelatin. Underneath the gelatin he places a plate usually of zinc, upon which has been transferred by photography a copy of a key-plate.

In the case of Mrs. Wiederseim's "Piggy-Wiggly" the key plate was a photograph of a tracing he made of her original illustration (which was a black, pen or brush, drawing, she had colored in water colors.) With this original as a "copy" before him, the draughtsman lays a tint on one plate for the yellows, a tint on another plate for the reds, and on another for the blue.

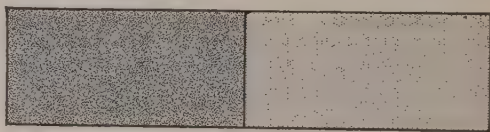
The process of "laying" the tint is as follows:

Wherever he wishes a tint, he leaves the plate exposed, over the rest he paints in a wash of gamboge water color, then he puts the plate under the film and goes over the film with the little roller we see in Figure A. The pressure from this *imprints* the dots or lines from the underside of the film *onto the zinc*. This gives an even tint, say for the red in a face; if he wishes to increase the tint, say a little on the cheeks, still more on the lips, he shifts the plate a fraction of a line and presses down again with a smaller instrument (a stomp or a burnisher), this enlarges the dots or lines and so thickens the tint. Another shift and another pressure and the tint is thickened still more. The gamboge is then washed off, taking with it any impression of ink that may have run over the outlines of the parts intended to be tinted.

Now the plate is ready to be etched. It is treated as in the line-work process. The result is a plate that will print a series of dots, as in Figure C, or grainings, as in Figure B, or lines. These plates are printed just as the half-tone plates are.

SOME SUCCESSES IN THIS SEASON'S BOOKS

As we have said, Mr. H. J. Ford introduces an exotic coloring into his pictures in the Lang books.



SPECIMENS OF HAND TINTS IN USE

Fig. B. (Grain stipple No. 318, and Fig. C. half-tone stipple No. 526, of the Ben Day films, the same as were used upon a metal plate, on which had been transferred a reduced photographic facsimile of Miss Avery's pen drawing. The tints and the lines were then etched together in one operation)

This season's volume is called "The Book of Saints and Heroes," by Mrs. Lang, edited by Andrew Lang (Longmans, Green) and Mr. Ford has surpassed himself in several of the plates; the one of "St. George," with its rich scarlets is, as a "Bro-mide" would say "worth framing"; and the stretch of blue water lit by moonlight, in "Crossing the River," is most effective.

Charles Robinson is another English illustrator with a keen appreciation of the effect of both line and tint. He has decorated "The Big Book of Fables"—edited by Walter Jerrold—on every page, and there are over three hundred. All the pictures are not perfect, but a large number are



HALF-TONE, REDUCED, FROM A FOUR-COLOR ILLUSTRATION, IN "THE BIG BOOK OF FABLES" (CALDWELL)

(The original from a tinted drawing by Chas. Robinson. The print in the book was lighter, an amber-tint, but the general effect is well preserved here)

most sprightly, and striking in color effects, as in the frontispiece "The Peacock and the Crane," with its wealth of feathers and roses, it is remarkably well spotted. The English illustrators have evolved a style (perhaps Arthur Rackham is mainly responsible for it) consisting of a firm outline, usually in brown ink, and a limited number of tints of noncommittal color. Mr. Robinson's illustra-

tion of "The Maid and the Needle," which we reproduce, is a striking example of this style. It looks something like tinted vellum or ivory. One is not sure whether the woodwork, wall, and floor, are yellow, or blue, or gray.

Another Robinson book is a new edition of Anatole France's "Bee, the Princess of the Dwarfs," retold in English by Peter Wright (Dutton). The color plates are noticeably free from "muddy" tints, the blacks are sparingly introduced, and therefore "tell" with maximum force. A heavy dark brown line frames each picture (there are sixteen) which greatly enhances its clarity. Altogether this new edition of "Bee" is a very sumptuous one.



HALF-TONE, REDUCED, FROM A FOUR-COLOR ILLUSTRATION, IN KINGSLEY'S "WATER-BABIES" (LITTLE, BROWN)

(The original a delicately tinted water color, by Ethel F. Everett. Examine under a glass, and note black cross lines of our half tone screen in the border)



HALF-TONE, REDUCED, FROM A THREE-COLOR ILLUSTRATION, IN "ALICE IN WONDERLAND," BY LEWIS CARROLL (JACOBS)

(The original a tinted drawing by Elenore Plaisted Abbott)



HALF-TONE, REDUCED, FROM A FOUR-COLOR ILLUSTRATION, IN "GULLIVER'S VOYAGES," BY SWIFT (HOLT)

(The original from a water color by P. A. Staynes. The print in the book was much lighter, the yellows have "come" too dark in our half-tone reproduction)

The illustrations by René Bull in a new edition of "The Arabian Nights" (Dodd, Mead) are mounted on brown paper, which gives a much wider margin than in "Bee," and perhaps makes Mr. Bull's designs brilliant to a greater degree than Mr. Robinson's. But this is not altogether due to the mount, but rather to Mr. Bull's way of working, for he aims at brilliancy above everything else, and he certainly runs further in the gamut of shades and hues than does any other illustrator we know of. The costume of the "Genie" in the frontispiece is surely a *tour de force* of four-color illustration.

P. A. Staynes is not so well known as Ford, Robinson, Rackham, and Dulac, but he is fast forging to the front as a master illustrator. In his pictures for "Gulliver's Voyages" (Holt)



HALF-TONE, REDUCED, FROM A THREE-COLOR ILLUSTRATION, IN "PRINCESS RAGS," BY HARRIET T. COMSTOCK (DOUBLEDAY, PAGE)

(The original was a water color by E. R. Lee Thayer. The color in the mother's gown is of a pleasant turquoise blue)



HALF-TONE, REDUCED, FROM A FOUR-COLOR ILLUSTRATION, IN "DICKENS'S CHILDREN" (SCRIBNERS)

(The original a charcoal drawing on Japan paper tinted in water color, by Jessie Willcox Smith. Our half-tone is a little darker than the print, but the values throughout are pretty well preserved)

there is something so distinctive that we feel no one else could have composed them. In the picture on page 6 we see Gulliver prone upon a green hill, that seems to extend for miles and miles toward the horizon, and on it over a hundred tiny Lilliputians, who have bound Gulliver, are moving about in vivid pageantry, yet none is higher than half an inch! On page 156 is the illustration we reproduce, and it is a marvelous specimen of English plate making and color printing. The minute decorative details on the ceramics and silks "come out" most remarkably. They are quite in keeping with the present day stage craft attention to color minutiae as witnessed in "The Daughter of Heaven."

Miss H. Cowham is another British illustrator with a brilliant future. Her spindle-legged children are "cute" beyond description. She has only one picture in "Caldwell's Boys and Girls At Home" (Caldwell), but that, reproduced by half-tone from a water color, possesses a sketchy effect, especially in the white costume of the little girls, that is quite equal to the French draughtsmen at their best. In the same volume is also a reproduction of a water color by F. Harrison—"A Snowy Day," that is full of sentiment.

American artists are led by Jessie Willcox Smith. Her ten drawings of "Dickens's Children" (Scribners) are the result of many years experience in designing for color printing. Here again we must quote the "Bromide" and say "worth framing."

Miss Florence Storer is not so expert in her technique but there is genuine sentiment in her

composition, and her snow effects are quite distinctive in "Christmas Tales" by Eugene Field. (Scribners).

It would by no means be unprofitable for any art student wishing to post himself on the possibilities of the different reproductive processes, if he would compare these snow scenes with two (January and November) by Gustave Baumann, illustrating James Whitcomb Riley's "All the Year Round" (Bobbs-Merrill). The comparison of the tones produced by thousands of minute dots in Miss Storer's pictures, and the perfectly flat tones in Mr. Baumann's pictures, would make the student appreciate the fact that the same results are often obtained in art by very different means. We are not certain that the publishers list the Riley volume among their juveniles, but it having been grouped with the picture books we have made use of it, since it so graphically demonstrates the fundamental principles of relief blocks and color printing. Besides Riley is so associated in the young people's mind with "Little Orphant Annie," that they may take to his Burns-like verses for each month, and appreciate them, as well in Mr. Baumann's prints.

A new edition of George MacDonald's "The Princess and Curdie" (Caldwell) contains twelve full page illustrations in color by Helen Stratton. A roseate sunset in "Curdie Watches the White Pigeon" is highly characteristic of the new four-color printing.

The several illustrations in "The Gold Fish" by Julian Street (John Lane), designed by Eugenie Wireman, are effectively reproduced, especially in the colors of the goldfish globe.

A new edition of "Alice's Adventures in Wonderland" (Jacobs), contains some full page color



HALF-TONE, REDUCED, FROM A FOUR-COLOR ILLUSTRATION, IN "CALDWELL'S BOYS AND GIRLS AT HOME" (CALDWELL)

(The original a water color by one of the most clever of English illustrators, Miss H. Cowham. Examination of this plate, under a magnifying glass, will give one a clear idea of the half-tone dots. Compare the white cross lines in Fig. C)



HALF-TONE, REDUCED, FROM A FOUR-COLOR ILLUSTRATION, IN "THE ARABIAN NIGHTS," (DODD, MEAD) DESIGNED BY RENÉ BULL

(Light greens in the landscape very luminous; figure and foreground a violet color, are too dark in our reproduction)



HALF-TONE, REDUCED, FROM A FOUR-COLOR ILLUSTRATION, IN "CHRISTMAS TALES" BY EUGENE FIELD (SCRIBNERS)

(The original was a water color by Miss Florence Storer. There are refined neutral tints throughout the picture)

prints designed by Elenore Plaisted Abbott. The frontispiece, which we reproduce, shows a very firm outline, well adapted to the exigencies of color printing.

Sometimes our publishers do not go so far as to use three or four prints, but content themselves with two color printings that give very effective results. They add a decorative effect to a book and take away from the monotony of black type. In "Once Upon a Time Tales," by Mary Stewart, (Revell) the illustrations by Griselda M. McClure, are printed in brown and dull orange, and the result is pleasant.



HALF-TONE, REDUCED, FROM A FOUR-COLOR ILLUSTRATION IN "THE BOOK OF SAINTS AND HEROES"

—ANDREW LANG FAIRY-BOOK SERIES (LONGMANS, GREEN)

(The original, a water color by H. J. Ford. Our reproduction "comes" much blacker than the print in the book, which was full of orange yellows)

The cover of "Live Dolls in Wonderland," by Josephine Scribner Gates (Bobbs-Merrill), is in three colors from a water color by the illustrator of the book, Virginia Keep. It is drawn in a free sketchy style, and makes an admirable façade for a child's book.

The Penn Publishing Company have used a touch of color on their title pages with good result. They use a simple device, or design, printed in black with a solid blue background that fits the page admirably, as, for instance, in Roger Paulding, "Gunner's Mate," (by Edward I. Beach, illustrated by Frank T. Merrill) where the ocean is a solid blue. In this book also a blue tone is printed over the frontispiece, which again emphasizes the value of colored inks.

FINANCIAL NEWS FOR THE INVESTOR

THE brief cable despatch which appeared in the newspapers a few weeks ago telling of the discovery of forged Belgian railroad bonds to the amount of more than \$6,000,000 has raised the question whether investors in this country might not be victimized in a similar way. The values of properties which stock and bond certificates represent constitute a subject which is usually so much more important than the mere quality, validity or security of the paper certificates themselves that not enough attention is paid to the possibility of loss in these latter directions.

When we accept a dollar bill we think little of the paper certificate itself because it states on its face that "this certifies that there has been deposited in the Treasury of the United States of America one silver dollar," and we know there is little chance of anyone breaking into the Treasury and carrying off that silver dollar. But just as the Government is ever on the alert to detect counterfeit bills so it is necessary that someone should ever be on the alert to prevent counterfeit, or forged, bonds and stocks. It is such a fixed habit of mind with us to regard the European countries as superior to the United States in all investment matters that Americans may be pardoned a little pride in knowing that in respect to bogus securities there are more effective safeguards in this country against such deception than exist in Europe.

It is reported that several banks were victimized by the forged Belgian railway bonds. Such a thing is practically impossible in this country. If you purchase a share of stock or a bond in a legitimate corporation you can practically be certain it is an authentic certificate. That is one worry the American investor does not have. This secureness is due chiefly to the efforts of the New York Stock Exchange and to the fact that one powerful engraving company has attained a degree of efficiency which reduces to a minimum the possibility of forged certificates being circulated. Not so many years ago forged bonds and shares were not uncommon in Wall Street and inferior printing and lithography presented peculiar temptations to the unscrupulous. But ultimately the Stock Exchange virtually limited the securities which it would admit to those engraved by one careful, effi-

cient and powerful company, and forgery has practically faded away. Of course there are many stocks and bonds not listed on the Exchange, but the standards set by the Exchange have extended to nearly all issuing corporations and the virtual monopoly which one company secured from the Exchange enabled it to secure a lion's share of other work.

It has been charged that the Stock Exchange is altogether too favorable toward one engraving company. That may or may not be the case. This much is true: that no stock or bond can be dealt in on the Exchange until the proper authorities are confident the engraving company has taken the utmost precautions for the preservation of its plates from fire and theft and from the possibility of illegitimate use or forgery. Every bond, coupon or certificate of stock must be printed from steel plates, and the manner of printing, and to a certain extent the colors are specifically provided for by the Stock Exchange, not only to prevent counterfeiting but also to make a distinctive appearance for different amounts and denominations.

Thus the investor is protected against counterfeits, but nothing will protect him against his own carelessness in losing securities or leaving them in insecure places. No man or woman who owns securities should fail to have a memorandum, in duplicate or even triplicate, containing a complete description of each certificate with numbers and name of bankers from whom purchased. Investors who live where there are safe deposit companies can take no better precaution than to rent a safe deposit box for \$5 or \$10 a year to place their securities in. There are a great many persons who think they cannot afford this, but in the long run it proves a very cheap method of insurance. There is no recorded instance of an effort to break into a modern safe deposit vault, and even such a terrific fire as that which destroyed the Equitable Life Assurance Society Building in New York City left \$300,000,000 of securities practically uninjured.

Perhaps an even better plan for those who own large quantities of bonds and stocks is to place them with the trust department of a reliable trust company, which will not only attend to their safe keeping but will clip

coupons when due and credit the proceeds and remit on order, collect dividends and watch for bonds which may be called in, which latter the individual investor often fails to do. If securities are lost or destroyed it is necessary at once to notify the corporation, and the banker from whom they were purchased. The procedure which follows before the owner can get a new certificate varies with different corporations and in different States. Often an indemnity bond has to be furnished. Rarely does the owner fail to secure a new certificate, but he often must first go to endless trouble and even to law. Obviously the careful, sensible investor will not get himself into such a fix. He will place his securities where they cannot be lost or destroyed.

This is the season when many of the colleges and universities publish their annual treasurers' reports. The best possible education for the individual investor is to read a copy of such a report for, say, Yale, Harvard, Columbia, Princeton, or Amherst. It will teach him more common sense than a dozen books on finance or twenty lectures. Most universities or colleges earn slightly under 5 per cent. on their investments. On \$13,000,000 Yale earned 4.97 per cent. last year. It is apparent that these big investors are not greedy. The most notable thing about these investments, however, is their wide distribution. One college has upward of 200 different securities. This is complete insurance against loss. It is to be noted also that while Yale

and other universities buy stocks their purchases of bonds and mortgages are from twice to three times that of stocks. This is a proportion which the individual might do well to follow.

Like every other good citizen the investor must rejoice in prosperity made certain by ample harvests and the ending of election controversies.

George B. Caldwell, vice-president of the Continental & Commercial Trust & Savings Bank of Chicago and president of the Investment Bankers' Association, is quoted as saying that, unless all signs fail, the coming period of prosperity "will not be the inflated kind based on speculation, watered stocks, over-extension of credits and bold adventures." Let us pray that he is right. But the fact must be faced that nearly all periods of great prosperity have been marked by new fashions in finance. New flotations of every conceivable nature are put out when optimism is the order of the day, and at such times the investor is supposed to be "easy." After all, the tried and established securities are best. Let the other fellow take the new ones. As the years pass conservatism tends to increase in corporation finance. For example the bond issues on newer combinations of public utility companies are better protected in many ways than was the case with many earlier combinations. But it is still true that time is a great solvent for investments as well as for physical objects and human character. New enterprises must win their spurs.

TYPICAL INQUIRIES AND ANSWERS

No. 407. SAVINGS BANK PROTECTION

I have read that the Savings Bank laws of New York offer more protection to depositors than those of any other State except Massachusetts. Would you kindly tell me whether there is any appreciable difference in the protection given depositors in such States as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Washington and the District of Columbia.

Your question may be answered by considering the banking laws of the several states from two points of view: first, as to the *type* of savings institutions which they contemplate; second, as to the extent of the latitude given to the institutions in investing the funds deposited with them. As in New York and Massachusetts, the Pennsylvania and New Jersey laws contemplate the incorporation only of "mutual" savings banks—that is, banks without capital stock, organized for the mutual benefit of the depositors, and managed wholly in their interests, rather in the interests of a body of stockholders like other forms of business enterprise. In none of these four States can a savings bank get a license to do business until it has been shown to the satisfaction of some state

official or board, such as the Superintendent of Banks in New York, the Commissioner of Banking in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and the Board of Bank Incorporation in Massachusetts, that (to use the language of the New Jersey statute) "greater convenience of access to a savings bank will be afforded to a considerable number of people; that the density of population in the neighborhood will afford it (the bank) support, and that the incorporators are fit."

Neither in the State of Washington, nor in the District of Columbia do the laws contemplate the organization of this type of savings institution. It seems clear that in both places, savings banks may be, and generally are, joint stock banks, and that institutions may be incorporated to carry on both a savings and a commercial banking business. In Washington, the law specifically provides that, when both classes of business are carried on by the same bank, separate books of account must be provided for each. In the District of Columbia, the law seems to be silent on this point, but it

may be presumed that, inasmuch as all banks there are under the supervision of the Comptroller of the Currency, the same wise provision is uniformly made on the authority of that Federal official.

Trustees of the savings banks in New York and Massachusetts have the least latitude in the manner in which they may invest the funds of their institutions. In this respect, the provisions of the laws of the two states differ but little. Likewise, the laws of New Jersey and Pennsylvania are practically the same in this respect. For purposes of comparison let us take, then, the general sections of the New York and New Jersey laws, which define the kinds of railroad bonds in which the banks' funds may be invested. The New York law reads:

"The trustees of any savings bank may invest the moneys deposited therein, and the income derived therefrom, only in . . . the mortgage bonds of any railroad corporation incorporated under the laws of any of the United States, which actually owns in fee not less than five hundred miles of standard gauge railway exclusive of sidings, within the United States, provided that at no time within five years next preceding the date of any such investment such railroad corporation shall have failed regularly and punctually to pay the matured principal and interest of all its mortgage indebtedness and in addition thereto regularly and punctually to have paid in dividends to its stockholders during each of said five years an amount at least equal to four per cent. upon all its outstanding capital stock; and provided further that during said five years the gross earnings in each year from the operations of said company, including therein the gross earnings of all railroads leased and operated or controlled and operated by said company, and also including in said earnings the amount received directly or indirectly by the said company from the sale of coal from mines owned or controlled by it, shall not have been less in amount than five times the amount necessary to pay the interest payable during that year upon its entire outstanding indebtedness, and the rentals for said year of all leased lines, and further provided that all bonds authorized for investment by this paragraph shall be secured by a mortgage which is at the time of making said investment or was at the date of the execution of said mortgage, (1) a first mortgage upon not less than seventy-five per cent. of the railway owned in fee by the company issuing said bonds, exclusive of sidings, at the date of said mortgage, or (2) a refunding mortgage issued to retire all prior lien mortgage debt of said company outstanding at the time of said investment, and covering at least seventy-five per cent. of the railway owned in fee by said company, at the date of said mortgage. But no one of the bonds so secured shall be a legal investment in case the mortgage securing the same shall authorize a total issue of bonds which, together with all outstanding prior debt of said company, after deducting therefrom in case of a refunding mortgage the bonds reserved under the provisions of said mortgage to retire prior debts at maturity, shall exceed three times the outstanding capital stock of said company at the time of making said investment, and no mortgage is to be regarded as a refunding mortgage under the provisions of this paragraph, unless the bonds which it secures mature at a later date than any bond which it is given to refund, nor unless it covers a mileage at

least twenty-five per cent. greater than is covered by any one of the prior mortgages so to be refunded."

The New Jersey law reads:

"No savings bank shall invest the moneys deposited with the same . . . except . . . in the first mortgage bonds of any railroad company, which has paid dividends of not less than four per cent. per annum regularly on its entire capital stock for a period of not less than five years next previous to the purchase of said bonds, or in any consolidated mortgage bonds of any such company authorized to be issued to retire the entire bonded debt of such company."

No "Philadelphia lawyer" is needed to tell which of these two statutes provides the more careful regulation. In Washington and the District of Columbia, however, the manner of investing savings bank funds seems to be left entirely to the discretion of the institutions' directors. Nor does it not appear that the banks of either of these places, which simply have savings "departments," are strictly required, as they should be, to invest their savings deposits differently from their business deposits, and forbidden to use such investments for any other purpose.

NO. 408. BALANCE SHEETS

I take the liberty of asking your opinion relative to the enclosed financial statement of a real estate concern, in which I am a stockholder.

Almost any financial statement of a concern of this kind, issued in the form of a balance sheet, is practically meaningless on its face. As a matter of fact, there is really only one kind of a balance sheet that conveys any definite idea of the issuing concern's financial condition, and that is the balance sheet of a bank, in which questionable items, such as overvaluations of property, and so on, find no place, and which on that account always show liabilities covered by nothing else but tangible assets. In most all other cases, balance sheets are of little value, except as *comparative* statements; that is, only as it is possible to set the balance sheet of one year over against the balance sheet of the preceding year, noting whatever changes there may be in the various items, and seeking explanations for them. Take the particular statement in hand. We have no means of knowing the significance of the all-important item of real estate, whose "book value" is set down at over a half million dollars. "Book value," as the name implies, is merely the value of the asset as carried on the books of the corporation. The concern might, for example, have purchased, let us say, \$50,000 worth of real estate, set a "prospective" value of \$500,000 upon it, and sold securities against it on that basis. We don't know that the company in question indulged in such a practice; but we do know that the practice is one which has been indulged in by a good many real estate concerns. In the absence of strictly accurate information about this item of assets, it naturally follows that there is no means of telling how much underlying security there is for the company's stock. In other words, there is no means of telling whether it represents to its full extent actual, tangible values, or whether it represents in large measure merely a capitalization of the hopes of the company's promoters and officers. Needless to say, there are no grounds on which the stock could be discussed as an investment.

